Gennadius Scholarius
Complete Works



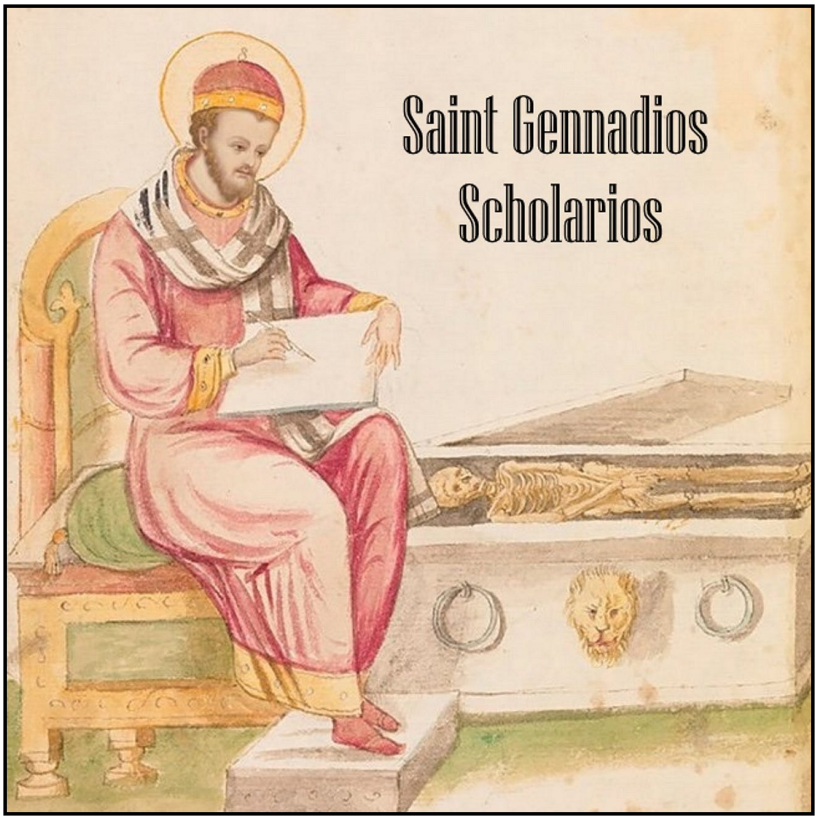
VOLUME 2

The Complete Works of
The Holy Patriarch of Constantinople
Saint Gennadius Scholarius

(OCGS 2)

Volume 2

THE MOST HOLY
PATRIARCH OF



CONSTANTINOPLE

(1405-1473)

INDEX

INDEX

C. Anti-Latin Polemics. 1

I. First Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (1445). 1

1. Part One: The Causes of the Schism. 1

a. Preface: 1

b. That this difference is ancient and [dates] from the Third Council; and what the fathers of that council thought concerning it. 3

c. What some in the Roman church thought at that time concerning the Spirit, and especially Augustine. 5

d. That because of this difference the churches were often divided and united economically, not dogmatically; and that this became the cause of the addition to the Symbol. 7

e. That the schism occurred especially because of the addition in the Symbol, and that we rightly turned away from the Latins because of the addition, which was worthy of aversion. 8

f. That they made the addition against us and those still sharing the same views with us at that time, whom they say are Nestorians; and that whenever they insist that they believe similarly to us, they either say things inconsistent with themselves, or they wish to be Nestorians themselves, or they wish to deceive us 10

g. That they falsely accuse both Nestorius and Theodoret and Cyril and us, whenever they say that our opinion is Nestorian and Theodoret likewise [is] Nestorian. 12

h. Excerpts from the acts of the Third Council confirming the aforementioned points summarily. 14

i. That what Nestorius says in his own symbol concerning the Spirit is not heretical; and that even if that [statement] receives another explanation, even thus it is against the Latins and for us; in which [is discussed] also concerning the "through" [διά], that in the procession of the Spirit it does not signify a cause. 17

j. From what cause was Cyril suspected of holding unsound doctrine, as the present-day Latins hold unsound doctrine? 21

k. That Theodoret wrongly suspected Cyril; for Cyril's meaning was clear from his subjoined utterances. 24

l. The sayings of Cyril, through which he later, because of the criticisms and molestations from Theodoret, also made his own opinion clearer, and [demonstrated] that all these things are against the Latins and foreign to their current theology. 25

m. Refutation of such slander [is] clear from Maximus's letter to Marinus; in which [is contained] also [a discussion] concerning its authenticity, and a recapitulation of the previously demonstrated [points] as in an epilogue. 27

2. Part Two: Doctrine and authority of Saint Augustine. General theory of the images of the Trinity in creatures. 30

a. The connection of the preceding [points] with the following, and a preliminary statement of the arguments of comparison concerning Augustine, whom the Latins bring forward for their defense. 30

b. Concerning Augustine's motives for this opinion, how many they seem to be and what they are. 31

c. Examination of Augustine's four motives; and the first, [and] the second, and it is shown that in the interpretation of those sayings of scripture, Augustine ought not to be obeyed, if he is altogether discordant with our teachers. 33

d. What understanding our teachers had concerning those scriptural sayings; and that if Augustine had a different understanding as the Latins now interpret him, the understanding of all the others is better. 34

e. That it is not impossible for any teacher to err concerning any question of the faith, and proofs of this from many examples and solutions of the arguments, which some say to the contrary. 37

f. Concerning the images and the presuppositions, by which Augustine seems to be moved towards this opinion; and first concerning the presuppositions, that it is very dangerous to posit them, and that Augustine also in many other [things] is Platonic and disagrees with the other teachers, and an excuse for him. 44

g. That Augustine himself also testifies that it is not found clearly in the scriptures that the Spirit is called love; and that [while] it is true that the Spirit is love as God; [however,] for this to belong to him hypostatically as the love of the Father and the Son is neither necessary, nor is it confirmed by any of the other teachers; and that other [absurdities] will happen and [namely] that the Father and the Son are two principles, if this dogma should prevail. 46

h. Concerning the image of God in us according to memory, understanding and will, that even if it is useful for other [purposes], yet for the present inquiry of the Latins it has no necessity and that to believe all [things] by it and the other images and to use [them] for all [purposes] overturns the faith; and that this is how it seems to both Augustine and the other teachers. 49

i. Concerning that the Latins use this image and the others beyond measure and the purpose of the teachers; and that if Augustine had used this image altogether, he would have fallen into more heresies, and for this reason not even he himself used it altogether. 52

j. Concerning that not from all the images, which the teachers use, do they gather the truth, but they cling only to those which seem to them to be conducive to their opinion; and what are the other images. 53

k. Concerning that we use the images better, and how the procession of the all-holy Spirit is ineffable and inconceivable, and for this reason not even is it possible to find an image of it; and what the teachers say concerning the procession and its difference from the generation. 54

l. How the teachers used all the images and for what need; that [it was] against the Sabellian confusion and against the Arian division, not for the sake of the processions; and that from none of these images is it possible to show the Son to be the cause of the Spirit; and a survey by attack against each image. 56

3. Part Three: Doctrine of the Greek Fathers. 63

a. Concerning that it is necessary both to draw Augustine and each of the teachers to the common faith; and that it is easy to do this. 63

b. What the Catholic faith holds concerning the procession of the Spirit; and that the Son is the cause of the temporal procession of the Spirit. 66

c. That those who fail to comprehend the purpose of the teachers are refuted, for this reason they claim that the temporal mission and the eternal procession are one and the same. 70

d. That concerning the eternal and hypostatic procession of the Spirit, the teachers speaking, all say that it proceeds distinctly from the Father, and no one from the Son. 72

e. That the same is shown also from the synods, and especially of the second and third. 75

f. That this is clear also from the words of Damascene, and brief solutions of the Latin objections. 77

g. Examination of the saying of the Gospel in which it is said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, showing that the saying has the same force as if it had said from the Father alone; and a collection again of the synods towards the meaning of this saying. 79

h. Exposition of the sayings, in which the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father through the Son; and that some not understanding these well, have yielded to the Latins. 81

i. Since it is possible to truly interpret these sayings in relation to temporal procession, yet because they can also be rightly understood concerning the eternal procession, this must be conceded to the Latins: namely, which of the sayings distinctly signify temporal procession, which signify eternal procession, and which are common to both. 82

j. That the teachers, when they say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, are unfolding the evangelical teaching and demonstrating both the essential unity of the divine persons and their order through this exposition, as well as the distinction of their processions. 85

k. Supervision of the words of Nyssa, on which the Latins especially rely, showing that these rather support the previously expounded understanding. 87

l. That the phrase "through the Son" does not only mean "after the Son," but is equal to "with the Son" and "in the Son." 91

m. That if someone wishes to give a clearer explanation of "through the Son," he will say "not without the Son," removing the other properties that belong to all those not without them, because of the union and pre-existence. 92

n. That even if the Son is placed before the Spirit as being pre-conceived by Him, nevertheless He is truly distinguished from Him, and not only in thought; and that the Latins, not accepting such an order of pre-conception, become inconsistent with themselves. 93

o. Further confirmation through sayings with examination of the aforementioned concerning the order. 94

p. That the Latins pre-ordaining the Son of the Spirit as [the] cause of him, say nothing necessary, but try to show this from certain cosmic examples, which are shown [as] dissimilar to the proposed [one]; and that the Son is not of necessity middle in the divine persons. 97

q. On the whole matter of mediation in the divine Persons; and how the Father is a medium, and how the Son, and how the Holy Spirit. 99

r. What is the nature of the Son's mediation. 101

s. Confirmation from authoritative statements of what has been said concerning the Son's mediation. 102

4. Part Four: The arguments of the Latins. 104

a. And first concerning the example of the energies of the fire. 104

b. Concerning the saying of the great Basil saying: "As the Son has towards the Father, thus also the Spirit towards the Son." 105

c. Concerning the saying of Athanasius saying, that the Spirit has such an order and nature towards the Son, which the Son [has] towards the Father. 106

d. On the saying of Nyssa in which it is said that the Spirit is said to be of the Son, but the Son is not said to be of the Spirit, nor does the relative sequence itself reverse; in which also is about the relation of the divine persons to each other, and the refutation of what the Latins are sophistical about the relation and which they interpret wickedly this saying. 107

e. On Athanasius's statement saying that the Holy Spirit is the energy of the Son; wherein also concerning why the relative sequence is not reciprocal. 114

f. Concerning the saying of the same Athanasius saying the Son to be greater than the Spirit. 117

g. Concerning the saying of the same Athanasius, in which the Son is said [to be] the source of the Spirit. 119

5. Part Five: The formula "a Patre per Filium". 125

a. Sayings of the teachers denying the Son's causality of the Spirit. 125

b. Arguments from common assumptions shared with the Latins, showing that the Son is not the cause of the Spirit, which is the same as saying that the Spirit does not proceed from the Son, in the strict sense of "proceeding" as meaning the specific and hypostatic progress from its own cause. 126

c. Exposition of our and the teachers' common clear doctrine with a summary of what has been said, which is that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. 133

d. That in saying the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, the preconception of the Son towards the Spirit is indicated. 135

e. That from this the essential consubstantiality of the Son and the Spirit becomes clear. 136

f. How the essential consubstantiality of the three hypostases and the unity and monarchy of the divinity is thereby revealed. 137

g. How in saying the Spirit proceeds through the Son, a certain progression from the Son is understood, not for the sake of subsistence, but for the sake of distinction and separation only. 139

h. That these explanations are not contradictory to each other, but from all these, one true understanding is gathered, distinct from the understanding of the Latins. 142

i.That according to the premises, those statements of the teachers in which it is said that the Spirit is or proceeds through the Son are easily and truly shown to be ours. 143

6. Part Six: Agreement of the Greek and Latin Fathers 146

II. Second Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (1445). 173

1. Part One: Introduction to the entire treatise. 174

a. The first chapter of this makes clear what the holy teachers think about those who trust too much in human wisdom in their investigation of divine matters; and how safety is commendable; and what it means to innovate in divine things, or to think during the discussion. 174

b. Concerning those who alter words and leap from one notion to another to strengthen their own doctrines. 176

c. Concerning those who use worldly examples to prove that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, it is more dangerous than likely to trust these things concerning divine matters. 177

d. Because we are rightly and piously refusing to follow those who use such a method concerning matters of faith. 178

e. Concerning those who excessively investigate the progression of the Holy Spirit, as if it could be comprehended by human methods. 178

f. Concerning those who interpret both the scriptural and the teachings of the Fathers according to their own purpose, without paying attention to the circumstances associated with what is being said and the proper purpose of the words. 180

g. Concerning those who disregard the common confession of the Church and only pay attention to the opinion of one particular teacher, giving it the same reverence as the canonical scriptures. 181

h. Concerning those who think that no teacher can err in any aspect of the truth, even if he maintains his own opinion apart from it, and also that some teachers intentionally left out certain details for the sake of convenience, not making doctrinal statements. 182

2. Part Two: Exegesis of the controversial texts. 184

a. On the Sending. 184

b. On "All that the Father has is mine." 186

c. On "He will take from what is mine." (John 16:14) 189

d. On "the character of the hypostasis." 195

e. On "the Spirit of the Son and the Spirit of Christ." 197

f. On "the Spirit proper to the Son." 198

g. On the breathing and the power that proceeded from Christ. 200

h. On the saying of Athanasius, where the Son seems to be said to be greater than the Spirit. 201

i. How to understand Athanasius's saying. 202

j. On the saying of Basil: "As the Son is related to the Father, so the Spirit is related to the Son." 204

k. On the third in order and dignity. 206

l. On being second in dignity. 207

m. On the third in order. 210

n. In General, Regarding the Order Among the Divine Persons 214

o. Because this statement of Basil has received corruption as it is presented by those who oppose us. 217

p. Regarding the statement of Nyssa, in which the term "closely" is used and through the term "closely". 219

q. Because "through the Son" is not the same as "from the Son". 222

r. What does "through" mean in the phrase "through the Son" when it is said of the Spirit? 226

r.1. On the outpouring and granting through the Son and such things. 226

s. Why it is said that the grace of the Spirit is poured out or given from the Father through the Son for three reasons. 229

t. That it is fitting for the Spirit to be granted through the Son, just as it would be for it to subsist through the Son, if it were so. 231

u. On the manifestation through the Son temporally. 233

v. On the manifestation through the Son eternally. 233

w. Concerning the procession through the Son. 236

x. Regarding the foundation, if they submit to the opinion of those around Scotus, namely the two generative powers. 245

y. On the sayings of Cyril, where it is said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. 247

z. On the sayings of Cyril, where it is said that the Holy Spirit is from the essence of the Son. 250

3. Part Three: Accord of the Eastern and Western Fathers. 253

4. Part Four: The positive arguments of the Greek opinion. 259

a. From Saint Dionysius. 260

b. And again from the same. 262

c. From St. Justin. 262

d. From the First Council. 263

e. From the Second Council. 264

f. From the Third Council. 265

g. From the Fourth and Subsequent Councils. 267

h. From the Great Basil 271

i. From Gregory the Theologian: 272

j. From the same and other theologians concerning the personal property: 274

k. And again from the same and other theologians concerning "except for the cause": 276

l. From the property of the Holy Spirit through the sayings of the teachers: 277

m. From Saint Augustine, through the primary proceeding from the Father with the corroboration of other teachers: 279

5. Part Five: Objections and Responses. 285

Objection 1 285

Response 1 285

Objection 2 287

Response 2 287

III. Third Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (after 1446). 290

1.Part One: George Scholarius, the most humble creature of God, for the eternal information of those who come across this text. 290

Introduction

Three polemical treatises on the procession of the Holy Spirit fill the present volume. This constitutes only a portion, albeit the principal one, of what George Scholarius has left us on the subject. The remainder will be included at the beginning of Volume III, where it will occupy nearly a third of the text.

The procession of the Holy Spirit, an eternal point of contention between Greeks and Latins since the time of Photius, was extensively examined at the Council of Florence. However, contrary to the opinion of Scholarius and several others, the Greeks had concentrated almost all their polemical efforts not on the dogmatic question itself but on the addition of the word Filioque to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. It will come as no surprise, then, to see Scholarius adopt a contrary method. His treatises aim primarily to substantiate the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit a Patre solo (from the Father alone) through scriptural and patristic arguments. In what follows, we will briefly examine: (1) prior editions of these works; (2) manuscript sources; (3) the date of composition and their mutual dependence; (4) the patristic documentation employed; (5) new literary and historical insights; and (6) the theological content. The final and most important point—the doctrinal value of these writings—will not be addressed here. We leave this to the judgment of historians of dogma and professional theologians.

Prior Editions

Two of the three treatises included here, the first and the third, had already been published by Greeks in the 17th century. These editions, which quickly became exceedingly rare like most Greek works printed in the modern period, remained largely unknown to Western theologians. They also appear to have had little influence on the theology of Greeks and Russians, judging by their writings on the procession of the Holy Spirit. These editions suffer from the common flaw of being incomplete and highly defective in terms of textual accuracy, as will be evident from some typical variants we have noted in our edition.

In 1627 or 1628, a tripartite collection of polemical writings on the procession of the Holy Spirit was published in Constantinople, without indication of date, place, or publisher. It opens with a dedicatory epistle to the four Eastern patriarchs, among whom was Cyril Lucar, then in his third patriarchate of Constantinople (1623–1630). From this epistle, it is easy to deduce the name of the editor, who had published in the same year (1627) a dissertation by Cyril Lucar against the Jews. This editor was the hieromonk Nicodemus Metaxas, who operated a Greek printing press imported from England. Anticipating that the Turks would not allow him to use his printing equipment for long, the hieromonk quickly produced a series of polemical collections directed specifically against the Latins. Dosithaeus explicitly states that the collection in question was edited by Nicodemus. The first part bears the title: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης λόγοι ἀποδεικτικοὶ δύο (Two Demonstrative Discourses by Our Holy Father Gregory, Archbishop of Thessalonica). It is a quarto volume of 4 unnumbered folios and 112 pages, containing two dissertations by Gregory Palamas on the procession of the Holy Spirit. The second part is the first treatise by

Introduction

George Scholarius on the same subject, titled: Γεωργίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου τὸ σύνταγμα (The Treatise of George Scholarius), subtitled Ὀρθοδόξου καταφύγιον (Refuge of the Orthodox), attributed to the later monk Gennadius. It is a quarto volume of 1 unnumbered folio (belonging to the first quire), 292 pages, and 1 blank folio (belonging to the last quire). Additionally, there are 14 unnumbered folios inserted between pages 30 and 31. The third part is a dialogue by Maximus Margounios on the procession of the Holy Spirit between a Greek and a Latin: Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου ταπεινοῦ Κυθήρων ἐπισκόπου διάλογος (Dialogue by Maximus Margounios, Humble Bishop of Cythera). It is a quarto volume of 1 unnumbered folio (belonging to the first quire), 75 pages, and 4 folios (for errata). As E. Legrand notes, this exceedingly rare and precious collection must include all three parts to be complete, as evidenced by the final errata, which lists typographical errors from each of the three sections.

The errata for Scholarius's Σύνταγμα (Treatise) is particularly extensive, occupying no less than five pages in minuscule type. Metaxas realized, after the edition was completed, that the sole manuscript he had used was riddled with lacunae and erroneous readings. This manuscript, which we will discuss shortly, is none other than Codex Dionysianus 246 from Mount Athos. The corrections provided in the appendix are not merely a list of typographical errors but variants from another manuscript that came into his possession after the work had already been printed. Unfortunately, he neglected to provide any description of this second manuscript. He recounts his misfortune as follows: After the publication of this book by Scholarius, we came across another manuscript. Comparing it with the first, we found these discrepancies and have recorded them here. Let no one be astonished at the multitude of errors, for they are not the fault of the typesetter but of the earlier manuscript, which was so corrupted and full of gaps that we could scarcely transcribe it. Therefore, reader, take note of these errors, for in many places you will find the book deficient.

Metaxas is justified in complaining about his manuscript, assuming he read it accurately. What is certain is that his edition is rife with misreadings, which sometimes result not only in misinterpretations but also in outright nonsense. The variants compared to our text were so numerous that after the first few pages, we abandoned a full collation, contenting ourselves with occasionally noting egregious errors. Moreover, we did not record the corrections borrowed from the other manuscript, as they would not have improved our edition and would have constituted unnecessary clutter.

The Third Treatise of Scholarius

The third treatise of Scholarius, by far the shortest, was published by Dositheaus in the Tomos Agapes (pp. 252–291) in a very poor edition riddled with inaccuracies of every kind, which cannot be attributed solely to the printers. Dositheaus had access to the sole manuscript preserving this work, Codex Dionysianus 150. However, he arbitrarily combined this opuscule with two others that follow it in the manuscript into a single work, which he divided into chapters. Furthermore, he omitted the patristic passages intended to elucidate the treatise, which is written in the form of a profession of faith. These passages, likely written by Scholarius himself as marginal notes, are exceedingly difficult to decipher and occupy nearly as much space as the treatise itself. Finally, in certain places, the Patriarch of Jerusalem took considerable liberties with the manuscript text, to the point that his version is more of a personal elaboration than a literal transcription. For this reason, we have had to forgo collating his text with ours in certain passages. The text

of Dositheaus, with all its imperfections and lacunae, is the one found in Migne's Patrologia Graeca, Vol. 160, cols. 668–691.

With the exception of the dedicatory epistle to John Comnenus, Emperor of Trebizond, the entire second treatise is published here for the first time. The epistle was first edited by Simonides in his collection of Byzantine texts published in London in 1858 (Gennadius Scholarius, Archbishop of Constantinople and Ecumenical Patriarch, First Epistolary Book on the Procession of the All-Holy Spirit, pp. 49–52), based on Codex Oxoniensis Seldenus 42 from the 17th century. It was later edited by Hergenröther in Migne's Patrologia Graeca, Vol. 160, cols. 665–668, based on Codex Theologicus Graecus Vindobonensis 275 from the 15th century. It seems that the learned editor either failed to notice that this latter manuscript contained the entire second treatise following the letter or assumed that the treatise was identical to the third one edited by Dositheaus. This explains why, in the Patrologia Graeca, the dedicatory epistle to John Comnenus immediately precedes the opuscule contained in the Tomos Agapes and appears to serve as an introduction to it.

Manuscript Sources of the First Treatise

For the edition of the first treatise, we have used five 15th-century manuscripts, one of which was transcribed by Sylvester Syropoulos shortly after the work's composition, another reviewed by Scholarius himself, and a third not only reviewed but also annotated by him. We are therefore certain of possessing the authentic text of the author, who revisited his work in his later years.

The copy by Syropoulos serves as the basis for our edition. It was completed in September 1446, approximately two years after the original was written. The text is excellent and corresponds, with one exception (p. 8, line 30), to the corrections made by Scholarius late in his life in Codex Dionysianus 330 from Mount Athos. This manuscript is now Codex Vaticanus 1145, comprising 228 folios. Folios 5 and 225 are blank:

1.(ff. 1–5) Table of chapters.

2.(ff. 6–224) The Treatise of the Most Wise and Learned Universal Teacher of the Holy and Orthodox Church of Christ and Its Sacred Theology, Lord George Scholarius, on the Procession of the Holy Spirit: First Part. On the Causes of the Schism in Summary; and That the Acts of the Third Council Are Clear Proof That the Latins Are in Error. Prologue. Incipit: The Divine Word and Guardian of Truth.

3.(f. 224v) Completed by the hand of me, the Grand Ecclesiarch Deacon Syropoulos, in the year 6950 [1446], in the month of September, in the first indiction.

4.(f. 225) Beginning of a table of chapters, containing only the formula transcribed in No. 2, except that the words on the Procession of the Holy Spirit have been replaced here with: a book against the Latins.

The second manuscript used is none other than Codex Pantocratorinus 127, described in the introduction to the first volume (pp. XXIX–XXXIV). As mentioned there, the transcription of the first treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit in this manuscript, which is autograph for all other parts, is not in the hand of Scholarius but likely belongs to his former secretary, George Galesiotes. This copy, predating the fall of Constantinople, was recovered in Gallipoli after the catastrophe and handed over to Scholarius

himself by a friend in loose quires, which he then added to his autograph. It occupies folios 212–353. Only the title is in Scholarius's hand, along with a note at the bottom of folio 212, which provides the date of the work's composition and to which we will return shortly.

Even more valuable is Codex Dionysianus 330 (Athous 3864 in Sp. Lampros's catalog), as it was carefully reviewed and corrected by the author himself, making it effectively equivalent to an autograph. As we have already noted, Scholarius made only one significant modification to the original text provided by Syropoulos and all other manuscripts (p. 8, line 30 and following). The manuscript measures 22 x 14 cm and comprises 212 folios, plus 8 blank folios at the beginning and 4 at the end. It retains its original binding, featuring the Byzantine eagle at the top and bottom of the covers, four circles in the center, and at each corner, a floral design difficult to identify. The manuscript consists of two parts, bound together from the outset under the same cover, but the quires of each part have distinct numbering, marked on the first and last folio of each. The quires contain 8 folios, except for the last in each series, which has 10. Folios 65 and 66 are blank:

1.(ff. 1–60) George Scholarius: Against the Doubts of Plethon on Aristotle, Book One; in the margin, in Scholarius's hand: and against the Hellenes, that is, the polytheists. Incipit: As I consider, O most mighty and serene leader Constantine. The title is repeated at the top of the page, while in the lower margin Scholarius has written in his own hand: Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, the sinner Gennadius now; but George Scholarius, when I wrote these things, with Your help.

2.(ff. 67–212) Without a title, but simply: First Part: On the Causes of the Schism in Summary, and That the Acts of the Third Council Are Clear Proof That the Latins Are in Error. This is the first treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit. In the upper and side margins, Scholarius has written in his own hand the short preface found at the beginning of our edition. Here, it begins as follows: By the same George Scholarius: Composed after discussions. Throughout, one finds autograph corrections in the margins, the details of which are provided in the notes. The scribe appears again to be George Galesiotes, due to the striking similarity between the handwriting of the Dionysianus and that of folios 15–16 of Codex E. 84 from Lavra, which were copied by Galesiotes, according to Scholarius himself.

In addition to these autograph or quasi-autograph sources, which would have sufficed on their own, we deemed it useful to collate two other 15th-century manuscripts: Parisinus 1290 from the Greek collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale and Palatinus Vaticanus 359. The former, a paper manuscript of 310 folios, bears on folio 1 recto the following old shelfmarks: A. 15 CIO CIO XXII. No. 68. 2239. 2956. On a guard leaf, opposite the title, is written: No. 68: of the eighteenth year. Above this, a later hand has added: Table of Contents: George Scholarius, later renamed Gennadius the Monk, against the Latins, the first treatise divided into six parts, each subdivided into chapters, except the sixth, which is read continuously as a discourse, and nothing more.

1.(ff. 1–5) An accurate table of contents for the present volume.

2.(f. 5) The blessed one wrote and began this with his own hand: George Scholarius. Composed after fifteen discussions, etc. This is the short preface published by Renaudot. It presents some variants compared to the text of Dionysianus 330 and Pantocratorinus 127.

3.(ff. 6–310) First treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.

4.(f. 310) By John of Dokheia:

> In the heavens, O father, you now dance with the angels, having joined the holy archpriests; yet here below, you still live with the Church of God, enlightening the faithful for whom you struggled, conquering and humbling the pride of the Latins through the all-wise volumes from your lips, and watering all creation with divinely inspired words.

This epigram, whose somewhat fanciful punctuation we have reproduced, was published by Sp. Lampros in Hellenomnemon I (1904), p. 304, with the erroneous reading ἐν θείοις (with divine) instead of ἐνθέοις (divinely inspired) in the last line.

1.(f. 310) A second epigram, in a different hand:

> The one who wrote with his fingers, the one who possesses, Anthony, most excellent among physicians, descended from the noble Pyropouloi, the one who reads with zeal, may the thrice-blessed Trinity guard the three.

Palatinus 359 is a paper manuscript in octavo format, comprising 255 folios in two columns. It was formerly owned by a certain papas Nathanael and features, at the beginning, on unnumbered folios, a Latin index and a Greek index in a 16th-century hand. It contains only the treatise of Scholarius.

These two manuscripts provided few variants. The same cannot be said of Dionysianus 246 (Athous 3780 in Lampros's catalog), which served as the basis for the edition by Nicodemus Metaxas, through which we became acquainted with it. This is a 16th-century paper manuscript of 165 folios. On the verso of the guard leaf is the following note: From the library of the catechetical monastery of Lord Dionysius. – Ignatius, hieromonk, who wrote this book while still a layman on the island of Chios and was then called Isidore, out of desire and love for Isidore the martyr who suffered martyrdom on the island. Pri (= 1602). This note is supplemented by another on folio 165v, which reads: This book was completed in the year ζρε (= 1597); in the new year, αφζ' (1602), on the 27th day of September, a Monday. It was written by the hand of me, Isidore the sinner, on Chios. A third note adds that the manuscript entered the monastery library in January ζρια (1603).

Folio 1: The Treatise of George Scholarius, later known as Gennadius the Monk. – First Part: On the Causes of the Schism in Summary, and That the Acts of the Third Council Are Clear Proof That the Latins Are in Error. Judging by the variants, this manuscript is related to Parisinus 1290. The subtitle added by Metaxas in his edition, Refuge of the Orthodox, does not appear in the manuscript and is likely an invention of the editor.

The work of Scholarius is also recorded in Baroccianus Oxoniensis 92, a small octavo manuscript of 8 and 203 folios from the early 16th century. The treatise on the Holy Spirit occupies folios 8–192, followed by Scholarius's sermon on the Transfiguration (folios 193–203), published in Volume I. The title reads: By the Most Wise and Learned Universal Judge of the Romans, Lord George Scholarius: A Book Against the Latins. The table of chapters is preceded by the distich of Syropoulos (cf. p. 262 of our edition), leading us to suspect that this manuscript is a copy of Vaticanus 1145. The title appears to have been abbreviated by the scribe. The first folios contain notes by Andreas Dotos on the procession of the Holy Spirit. The work was

lent to Maximus Margounios in 1597. We have not consulted this manuscript, nor the brief excerpts contained in Ambrosianus 979 (folios 43–49) and Iberitanus 600 (Athous 4720 in Lampros's catalog, No. 7).

The second treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit, dedicated to John Comnenus, Emperor of Trebizond, has been preserved in at least six 15th-century manuscripts, one from the 16th century, and one from the 17th century. For our edition, we have taken as the basis the excellent copy made by Sylvester Syropoulos in September 1447, barely two years after the composition of the work. This copy constitutes the greater part of Codex Parisinus 1291, comprising 153 folios out of 229. Folios 3, 203, 211, and 220 remain blank. This is the former Regius 2957, cited by Renaudot.

At the top of folio 229 is the following note: This book was completed by the hand of me, the Grand Ecclesiarch Deacon Sylvester Syropoulos, in the year 6955 (1447), in the month of September, in the 16th indiction.

1.(ff. 1–3) Table of contents for the volume.

2.(ff. 4–6) To the Most Exalted and Pious Emperor of Trebizond, Lord John the Great Comnenus: George Scholarius sends greetings. Incipit: The first book was composed by us during our studies.

3.(ff. 6–148) By the Most Wise and Learned Teacher of the Holy and Orthodox Church of Christ and Its Sacred Theology, Lord George Scholarius: On the Procession of the Holy Spirit, Against Those Who Disagree with Us on This Matter, Second Book. First Part, Preliminary to the Entire Discourse. Incipit: Since some place more trust in human wisdom than is fitting. This is the second treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit, divided into four sections.

4.(ff. 149–152) A Difficulty. Incipit: Some inquire whether the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son.

5.(ff. 152–153) Another Difficulty. Incipit: They also inquire whether the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, as the Greeks say. The index explicitly attributes these two questions to Scholarius. They form an appendix to the second treatise on the procession, as seen in other manuscripts.

6.(ff. 154–160) At What Time and by Whom the Italians Were Taught, etc. Incipit: At the Seventh Holy Ecumenical Council.

7.(ff. 160–191) On the Holy and Ecumenical Council That Restored Photius, the Most Holy Patriarch, etc. Incipit: The most pious emperors reigning. In the lower margin: This part was transcribed from an old Antiochene book. This refers to the Acts of the Photian Synod of 879–880 at Hagia Sophia.

8.(ff. 191–193) Letter from Pope John to the Most Holy Photius. Incipit: John, Bishop, servant of the servants of God.

9.(f. 193v) From the Synodical. A brief extract of seven lines.

10.(ff. 194–200) By Peter, the Most Holy Patriarch of Antioch: On Unleavened Bread. Incipit: Those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word.

11.(ff. 200–202) That Rome Ought Not to Boast of Its Primacy. Incipit: If because Rome received the Chief Apostle. A short work by Photius against Roman primacy. Cf. Hergenröther, Photius, Vol. III, pp. 170–172.

12.(f. 202v–203) By Chrysostom. Incipit: Just as a sword is given by the Master for the benefit of men.

13.(ff. 204–211) Legatus, or On the Spirit. Incipit: A Latin: Have you seen the letter recently sent to the patriarch? A dialogue composed by Barlaam of Seminara.

14.(ff. 212–219) What the Bishop Must Necessarily Know and Teach Others: Here He Speaks of the Articles and the Mysteries. Incipit: The bishop, standing as a mediator between God and men. An anonymous piece, which may perhaps be attributed to Scholarius. We will revisit this in the context of his pastoral works.

15.(ff. 219–220) Four anonymous fragments.

16.(ff. 221–225) By Chrysostom, from the Homilies on the Acts, Third Moral Homily: On the Election and Virtue of a Bishop. Incipit: My discourse is not for everyone, but for those who aspire to leadership.

17.(ff. 225–228) By the Same: On the Departed: Ninth Moral Homily. Incipit: Even now, a great mystery is accomplished for the dead.

18.(ff. 229–229v) By the Theologian: From the Funeral Oration for Caesarius. Incipit: I am persuaded by the words of the wise that every soul.

In addition to Syropoulos's copy, we have collated three other 15th-century manuscripts: Parisinus 1218 (ff. 277–419), Laurentianus Plut. VII, Codex 27 (ff. 1–103), and Ottobonianus Vaticanus 81 (ff. 1–129).

Parisinus 1218 is a paper manuscript of 546 folios, formerly Regius 2963. Some sections are written in a later hand on pages left blank by the original scribe. Among the numerous treatises contained in this volume, the following are of interest to us:

1.(ff. 3–6v) Funeral Oration for Our Holy Father Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus. A monody published in Volume I, pp. 247–254.

2.(ff. 277–418) On the Procession of the Holy Spirit, Against Those Who Disagree with Us on This Matter, Second Book. Incipit: To the Most Exalted Emperor of Trebizond, Lord John the Great Comnenus, George Scholarius sends greetings with the most reverent goodwill.

3.(ff. 471–475) Scholarius's Epitaph for the Most Holy Archbishop of Ephesus. Incipit: The sacred body of Mark lies hidden here.

4.(ff. 472–489v) Scholarius's Dialogue. The characters of the dialogue: Olbianus, Eulogius, and Benedictus. Incipit: Olbianus: But it is time to reflect, O Eulogius.

The dialogue on folios 466–469 is attributed to Scholarius by M. Omont in his Summary Inventory, but this is incorrect; this fragmentary piece does not belong to our author.

This manuscript is unique in that the two aporiai or final objections, which conclude the treatise in Syropoulos's copy and other manuscripts, are placed immediately after Chapter 23 of the second part (cf. p. 386, line 29). From folio 344 to folio 347v, a later hand has added numerous patristic and liturgical citations in the margins to support Scholarius's arguments. Additional marginal notes appear on folios 354–360.

This manuscript contains only Scholarius's treatise (ff. 1–103). The aporiai are found at the end, as in Parisinus 1291. On folios 77, 78, 79, and 80, a Catholic reader has added personal reflections in the margins. On folio 95v, regarding the interpretation of the Augustinian expression procedere principaliter a Patre (cf. p. 440, lines 16ff. of our edition), the reader has written: Most manifest falsehood.

Ottobonianus 81, comprising 129 folios, is also entirely devoted to our treatise. It is an excellent copy with beautiful calligraphy, made directly from the original, as the scribe affirms on the verso of the last folio: It has been faithfully transcribed from its original, as far as possible. The phrase as far as possible seems to discreetly allude to the difficulty of deciphering the original.

Compared to Syropoulos's copy, the three manuscripts discussed above provide only a few minor and insignificant variants. They are closely related to one another, as can be seen from their titles and a glance at

the variants. Since Ottobonianus 81 was transcribed directly from the original, it must be concluded that these manuscripts represent a text revised by the author, with the version in Parisinus 1291 being the first draft, as it came from Scholarius's pen in the spring of 1445. The main difference between the two versions lies in two notable omissions made in the second draft for the sake of brevity (see p. 313, line 7 – p. 314, line 2, and p. 394, lines 17–26).

The text of Codex Theologicus Graecus Vindobonensis 275 (ff. 1–166), a 15th-century manuscript we have not used, undoubtedly belongs to the second draft. Its title is identical to those of the three manuscripts we have collated. The same can be said of Parisinus 1284 (16th century), which is a copy of Parisinus 1218; Dochariensis 108 (Athous 2782 in Lampros's catalog, 15th century); and Seldenus Oxoniensis 42 (ff. 15–110, 17th century). On the other hand, the excerpts from the first two parts contained in Iberitanus 382 (Athous 4502 in Lampros's catalog, ff. 766–782, 15th century) appear to derive from Syropoulos's copy, as its lengthy title is reproduced verbatim.

Manuscript Sources of the Third Treatise

The sole manuscript preserving the third treatise is Dionysianus 150 (Athous 3684 in Sp. Lampros's catalog). It is a paper manuscript measuring 29.5 x 21.5 cm, comprising 111 folios. This manuscript is divided into two distinct parts: the first includes folios 1–57, and the second, folios 58–111. Only the first part belongs to Scholarius, not because he transcribed it himself, but because most of the titles and all the notes covering the initial folios are in his hand. This section consists of seven quires, numbered at the bottom of the last folio of each; all have 8 folios, except the last, which has only 6, and the first, which originally had 12 but now contains only 10. The last of these two missing folios was likely left blank, but the first contained the end of the treatise that opens the volume. The scribe used red ink, which has yellowed over time, making the reading of certain passages, especially the notes, quite challenging. This is likely why these notes were not included by Patriarch Dositheaus in his edition of the opuscules contained in this collection. The text itself, as published by Dositheaus, is riddled with inaccuracies, as we have mentioned. On the other hand, the arbitrary fusion of three distinct opuscules into a single work and the division into chapters undoubtedly belong to the editor of the Tomos Agapes. Dositheaus states in his preface that he found most of Scholarius's opuscules in a large book located in the monastery of Saint Anastasia. The term large perfectly describes the format of Dionysianus 150, and it is highly probable that this unique manuscript was once part of the library of Saint Anastasia near Thessalonica. Folios 60–111 contain only works by George Coressios, a 17th-century controversialist. Although the paper used for this second part is less yellowed than that of Scholarius's treatises, it was chosen in the same format to allow the two sections to be bound into a single volume. Below is the content of this precious manuscript:

1.(ff. 1–10) Exposition of the Sound and Orthodox Faith of Lord George Scholarius, Later Patriarch of Constantinople, in the Form of a Confession. Incipit: George Scholarius, the most humble creation of God, for the eternal assurance of those who read. Incipit: Since it is difficult for the two sides. (= Tomos Agapes, 252–272; Migne, CLX, 667–691. The text ends in the manuscript at κατὰ ταυτησὶ τῆς ἡ = Migne, 690 D). This is the third treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit.

2.(ff. 12–17) By the Same: On the Sayings of the Western Saints, on Which the Latins Especially Rely, a Brief and Clear Response. Incipit: Since the Latins and those who share their views. (= Tomos Agapes, 272–282; Migne, 691–702).

3.(ff. 17–23) By the Same: That It Is Impossible for the Son of God to Be the Progenitor of the Spirit or to Proceed It with the Father, That Is, It Is Impossible for the Spirit to Proceed from the Son; and That Those Who Deny Making Two Principles or Confusing the Hypostases, Even If They Seem to Say Something to the Unlearned, Are Nonetheless Unacceptable to Those Who Think Rightly. Incipit: That, according to the principles of faith, it is impossible for the Son. (= Tomos Agapes, 282–291; Migne, 702–704).

4.(ff. 23–24) By the Same: Refutation, as if in Passing, of the Sophistical Arguments of Peace, Which the Latinizers Use to Deceive the Simpler Ones; in the Form of a Dialogue, Without Characters: Eulogius, Benedictus, and Olbianus. Incipit: Olbianus: But it is time to reflect, O Eulogius.

5.(ff. 36–46) By the Same, Lord Gennadius Scholarius: A Brief Apology for Why the Sound-Minded Greeks Do Not Accept the Council of Florence and the Union Poorly Defined There. Written After the Death of Emperor John. Incipit: From where and how the Latins were moved to make the addition to the Creed. (= Tomos Agapes, 291–307; Migne, 713–732).

6.(ff. 46–53) Synodical Tome Against the Heresy of the Latins, Composed in the Month (illegible) of the Year 6805: Deposing John Beccus from the Patriarchal Throne and Subjecting Him to Anathema, as One Who Defected to This Heresy; and Similarly Handing Over to Anathema All Others Who Hold or Will Hold the Same Views as He, in the Presence of the Most Pious Emperor and Autocrat of the Romans, Lord Andronicus Palaeologus; with the Most Holy and Ecumenical Patriarch Lord Gregory Presiding, and the Entire Holy Synod and the Most Illustrious Senators in Attendance. Incipit: The recent turmoil and confusion. (= Migne, 142, 233–246, but without the signatures).

7.(ff. 53–55) Definition Made by the Latins in Florence and Signed by Some of Our Own, by the Concession of God. Incipit: Eugenius, Bishop. The list of signatures is accompanied by brief observations by Scholarius on each signatory, indicating those who recanted and those who persisted in the union.

8.(ff. 55–57) Note by Scholarius on the Assembly Held at the Xylala Palace Upon the Arrival of the Papal Legate in the Capital, and the Response of the Opponents to the Emperor. Incipit: We boldly report to Your Mighty and Holy Majesty. The same document, with some autograph passages by Scholarius, is found in Baroccianus 85, ff. 1–3.

9.(ff. 60–101) By George Coressios, Theologian: On the Procession of the Holy Spirit. Four dialogues between a Greek and a Latin: the first covers ff. 60–78; the second, ff. 78–86; the third, ff. 86–90; and the fourth, ff. 90–101.

10.(ff. 102–107) By George Coressios of Chios, Physician and Theologian: On the Authority of the Pope.

11.(ff. 107–109) By the Same: On Purgatorial Fire.

12.(ff. 109–111) By the Same: On the Enjoyment of the Saints.

On folio 101, this note: In the year 7127, in the month of November, on the 13th day (1619), by the hand of me, the humble hieromonk Ignatius of the Monastery of the Honorable Forerunner, that is, of Lord Dionysius, on the island of Chios.

Introduction

Date of Composition of the Treatises and Their Mutual Dependence

The first two treatises were composed within less than a year and likely followed one another within a few weeks or months. The first was not begun before the autumn of 1444, and the second was completed before August 1445. These precise indications are provided by the following documents:

First, Sylvester Syropoulos transcribed in August 1445 a short treatise by George Scholarius on a passage from Theodore Graptos, in which the author explicitly refers to his two earlier works on the procession of the Holy Spirit. These are undoubtedly the two treatises we are publishing. Syropoulos's copy is contained in Coislin 101 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, ff. 284–293. It concludes with this note: This book was completed by the hand of the Grand Ecclesiarch Deacon of the Most Holy Church of God, Sylvester Syropoulos, in the year 6953, in the month of August, in the eighth indiction (1445). On folio 286, Scholarius writes: It is not difficult to resolve and refute, as we have sufficiently demonstrated in the two books. Assuming Syropoulos's copy was made at the end of August 1445, the original must have been composed no earlier than the beginning of that month. By that time, the two treatises on the procession of the Holy Spirit had already been published.

Moreover, the first treatise is no earlier than the autumn of 1444 and may have been completed by the end of that year or the beginning of the following year. This is evident from:

1.The autograph note by Scholarius inserted in Pantocratorinus 127, f. 212 (cf. Vol. I, p. XXXIV). According to this note, the work was composed eight years before the fall of Constantinople, that is, in the year 1445, which for the Byzantines began on September 1, 1444.

2.The autograph preface to this first treatise, preserved in Dionysianus 330 and Pantocratorinus 127 (cf. pp. 1–2 of this volume). In this preface, the author explains the occasion for writing his work. It was in response to the fifteen disputations held at the imperial palace between the Dominican Bartholomew Lapacci, Bishop of Cortona, papal legate and master of sacred theology, and George Scholarius, in the presence of Emperor John VII Palaeologus, the Despot Theodore, the Catholic Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory Mammas, Cardinal Francesco Condulmer, the pope's nephew, and many Latins and Greeks. It is known that Cardinal Condulmer left Venice on June 22, 1444, arrived at Modon on July 17, and sailed for Constantinople on July 20, where he remained until the autumn of 1445. Thus, the disputations mentioned by Scholarius took place after July 1444, and the first treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit is, as it were, a one-sided account of these debates. It follows that this first treatise must have been composed at the end of 1444 or the very beginning of 1445. Indeed, some time elapsed between the appearance of this work and the second treatise, dedicated to John, Emperor of Trebizond, as is clear from the dedicatory epistle: John had heard of the first work and requested the author to send him a copy. Instead of sending it, Scholarius chose to thoroughly revise his work. This new elaboration became the second treatise, which was thus composed in the first half of 1445.

It is more difficult to determine the precise date of the third treatise, which is merely a brief summary in the form of a confession of faith based on the two preceding works. Scholarius explains at the outset the reasons that led him to compose it: He knows the aversion most people have for lengthy treatises and is aware that his second treatise, especially in the first part, is rather daunting with its endless citations of patristic texts. To make his work more accessible and to disseminate his conclusions among the educated

public of the capital, he decided to condense them into a short exposition of the Orthodox faith. Moreover, he felt the need to articulate his thoughts more clearly in response to the attacks of the unionists, who sought to portray him as self-contradictory. By the time he wrote this definitive confession of faith, he had not only published the two long treatises we know but also other dissertations or dialogues, διαλέξεις (cf. p. 459, lines 4–7), all on the procession of the Holy Spirit. This leads us to believe that this confession of faith was written at least after the dialogue titled Neophron or Aeromythia, composed in 1446, which will appear at the beginning of Volume III. We publish it before the latter because it truly serves as the complement and conclusion of the two major treatises. One thing, however, is certain: this work was written while Scholarius still bore the name George and had not yet become the monk Gennadius, that is, before 1450. It must therefore be placed between the years 1446 and 1450.

Thus, at the time he composed these lengthy controversial treatises on one of the most profound and obscure questions of theology, Scholarius was still a layman. This may seem surprising in the West, especially in our time. The phenomenon is not unusual in the East, where laymen often hold the highest expertise in sacred knowledge. In Byzantium during the first half of the 15th century, George Scholarius, equally versed in Latin and Greek theology, was the most renowned doctor of divine sciences, and his friend Sylvester Syropoulos, with the admiration of a fervent disciple, lavishes superlative epithets on his title of master of sacred theology: The most wise and learned universal teacher of the Holy and Orthodox Church of Christ and its sacred theology. He compares him to a fountain from which flows a stream of admirable wisdom, and he takes the trouble to express this in verse at the head of a table of contents.:

Table of Contents of the Second Admirable
Work of the Wise Scholarius, Flowing from a Fountain.

If the third treatise is merely a brief summary of the other two, the second presents itself as a thorough revision of the first, reworked from the ground up. As the author declares in the dedicatory epistle, he aimed to create something more concise, clearer, and more thoroughly documented from a patristic perspective: much more concise than the former, clearer, and better armed with the sayings of the teachers (p. 270, lines 24–25). The doctrinal foundation is undoubtedly the same, but the arrangement of topics and the method of exposition differ. The first part of the first treatise, which deals with the origin of the Filioque controversy—or, as Scholarius puts it, the causes of the schism—is barely represented in the second. The first part of the second treatise corresponds to the second part of the first, but in a new form. It consists of a series of general propositions supported by patristic texts, whereas the first treatise offers a more extensive and literary exposition of St. Augustine's doctrine on the images of the Trinity in creation and a general theory on the use of these images. While the method of reconciling Greek and Latin Fathers is more developed in the first treatise (Part 6) than in the second (Part 3), the scriptural and patristic arguments of Latin theologians are presented more comprehensively and critiqued at greater length in the second treatise (Part 2) than in the first (Parts 3 and 4). Overall, the second treatise is more didactic, methodical, and richly furnished with scriptural and patristic texts than the first; however, it is also more challenging to read and less engaging than the first. The first treatise may lack order, contain repetitions, digressions, and a sharper polemical tone, but its expression of thought is more expansive and spontaneous. The theology is

more accessible and less daunting. The Emperor of Trebizond would likely have appreciated the first treatise more than the one dedicated to him.

Patristic Documentation

To combat the Catholic dogma on the procession of the Holy Spirit a Patre Filioque, Photius, in his Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit, had above all appealed to scholastic reasoning. In his work, patristic documentation is almost non-existent. Many Byzantine polemicists, in their dissertations on the same subject, followed this method: They seek to corner the Latins into absurdities, into dead ends through theological reasoning. This method still dominates in the writings of some contemporaries of Scholarius, for example in the Capita Syllogistica of Mark of Ephesus, of which Mgr Petit recently gave a critical edition. However, since the twelfth century, under the influence of discussions between Greeks and Latins, the examination of patristic tradition has become a key element of the controversy. If the Latin Fathers formulated the doctrine on the procession of the third person of the Trinity in the following terms: Spiritus Sanctus a Patre Filioque procedit, the Greek Fathers in turn employed the formula: "τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται". The "διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ", on which Photius maintained complete silence, Byzantine polemicists had to explain it. There was therefore a need for them to follow the Latins on the ground of patristic tradition. For, when it comes to an incomprehensible mystery like that of the Trinity, purely human reasoning has very little weight. It is above all important to know what the sources of divine revelation teach: namely Scripture and tradition. The method of authority is the only effective one in this matter. This is the one that had been followed in the discussions of Florence, not enough however to the liking of Scholarius, because, contrary to the opinion he had formulated from the beginning in the assembly of his own, the Greeks had lost the best of the time of the sessions to dispute the legitimacy of the addition of a word to the symbol, instead of focusing the debate on the truth of the doctrine expressed by the word itself. It is not surprising, therefore, that in his treatises our author speaks little or not at all of the addition to the symbol. Nor does he dwell at length on purely scholastic reasoning to overcome the adversary. He concentrates all his effort on the examination of scriptural and patristic testimonies. His treatises are above all dissertations of positive theology, and it is the texts of the Greek and Latin Fathers that constitute the main fabric. There is therefore reason to take a look at his documentation in the matter.

This documentation is abundant as regards the Greek Fathers. It is much weaker for the Latin tradition. Of this, Scholarius studies well only the main representative, that is to say Saint Augustine, and among the works of this doctor, he hardly uses anything but the De Trinitate, which, it is true, is essential for the subject. Augustine is, in fact, the great authority that the Latins have always put forward. Scholarius believed he could be satisfied with it. One may regret it. It would be easy, with this method, to diminish the value of the testimony of this doctor, to present him as an original and an isolated one in the continuity of the Latin tradition, whereas this continuity is an obvious fact, which no one can reasonably contest. Let us say in Scholarius's defense, that if he was so brief on the Latin Fathers outside of Saint Augustine, it is because he knew them only very imperfectly and had not made a personal study of them. He says in his first treatise, p. 222, 1. 28-35: "Καίτοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης πατέρων οὐ πολλὰ ἔχομεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόσα ἡμῖν αὐτοὶ Λατῖνοι παρέσχον ἐγγράψαντες· ταῦτα δὲ εἰσιν, ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν δόξαν ἤλπισαν βοηθήσεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ γε τὰ τῶν διδασκάλων βιβλία παρ' ἡμῖν ἦσαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν φωνὴν μετεβάλλοντο, πάνυ καλῶς ἐγὼ πέπεισμαι

ὡς ἐν πολλοῖς ἂν εὕρομεν κἀκείνους τοὺς διδασκάλους τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀποδιδόντας τῷ Πατρὶ μόνῳ καὶ λέξεσιν αὐταῖς συνῳδὰ φθεγγομένους τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν διδασκάλοις καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν λύοντας" 2). He is much better informed about Latin theology after the schism. Not only has he read Saint Thomas, whom he attacks several times, but he is not unaware of the theory of divine processions of the Franciscan School, to the exposition of which he devotes an entire chapter of the second treatise. He generally reports in a clear manner the arguments of his adversaries, and loyally cites the patristic passages which they put forward in favor of their thesis. This is no small merit on the part of a polemicist. In this respect, his treatises are far superior to the productions of Byzantine anti-Latin polemics known hitherto.

The most exploited Greek Fathers are Saint Athanasius, Saint Basil, Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, Saint Gregory of Nyssa and especially Saint Cyril of Alexandria, the Greek doctor whose testimony the Latins have most often invoked. The names of Saint Maximus the Confessor and Saint John Damascene appear quite often; but it is almost always the same texts that are cited. The passage from the Letter to Marin of the first letter - of which the authenticity is contested, Scholarius knows it - is repeated ad nauseam without much profit for the Greek thesis, since it can just as well be understood in the sense of Catholic doctrine, and Latin theologians have often appealed to it. Two or three texts of the Pseudo-Dionysius also reappear more than their turn as true refrains. It is true that for Scholarius the Areopagite is the second doctor of the Church after Saint Paul" (p. 337, 22), an error for which he cannot be blamed, since it is general in his time. He also firmly believes in the authenticity of the discussion of the Fathers of the first Council of Nicaea with the philosopher Phaedo, reported at length by Gelasius of Cyzicus in his History of the Council of Nicaea, and covers with the authority of the council two or three passages of this apocryphal document. More curiously, he once cites the Quicumque symbol, said of Saint Athanasius, under the name of the same council (p. 329, 30-33).

A few other references to apocryphal writings can be found in the Table of Patristic Citations at the end of the volume. But these citations are relatively few in number, and they were made in good faith. The great mass of texts used is of recognized authenticity, and they are reproduced without malicious omissions, without disloyal cuts. Does this mean that the anthology of Greek patristics on the procession of the Holy Spirit compiled by Scholarius in his two treatises is exhaustive? In no way; many names and many important passages are not included. Didymus of Alexandria, for example, and Saint Epiphanius, two authorities that Latin theologians invoke in favor of the Filioque doctrine, are not named even once, and we have searched in vain in this collection for the following passage of Saint Cyril of Alexandria in the Commentary on Saint John (P.G., 74. 301 AB): "Επειδὴ, γάρ ἐστι Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ καὶ νοὺς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἰδὸς τὰ ἐν τῇ βουλήσει Μονογενοῦς, πάντα ἡμῖν ἀναγγέλλει ... καὶ εἰδὲς ἀδιδάκ τως πάντα τὰ ἐξ οὐ καὶ ἐν ὑπέρ ἐστιν, τὰ θεία τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποκαλύπτει μυστήρια". These omissions are doubtless explained by the fact that Bartholomew Lapacci, at the conferences of Constantinople in the autumn of 1444, had not alleged the passages to which we allude. Scholarius, in fact, reports others, which are just as favorable to the Catholic dogma. It is curious to note that the great polemical work of Photius entitled Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit is not mentioned even once. Complete silence also on an argument that since Photius anti-Latin polemicists have rarely omitted: the one that is drawn from the two shields on which Pope Leo III had the Niceno-Constantinopolitan symbol engraved without the addition of the Filioque. Perhaps Scholarius knew that the same Pope Leo III had sent, in 809, to all the Churches of the East a profession of faith in which he taught as a dogma of faith that the

Holy Spirit proceeds equally from the Father and the Son, Spiritum Sanctum a Patre et Filio acqualiter procedentem. The two shields do prove something against the addition of the Filioque, but they are without force as regards the substance of the dogmatic question, the only one that the Byzantine theologian examines ex professo. On the other hand, Scholarius makes use of the letter of Pope John VIII to Photius and defends its authenticity. He is unaware that the Niceno-Constantinopolitan symbol as we recite it is not the work of the second ecumenical council, and is anterior to it by several years, and that the Council of Ephesus, when it defends not adding anything to the symbol, is referring to the symbol of Nicaea properly speaking and not the Niceno-Constantinopolitan one. These data of contemporary criticism, which the Byzantine theologian is quite excusable for not having known, overturn several of his arguments.

To what extent is Scholarius's rich patristic collection indebted to the anthologies of his predecessors on the same subject? It is difficult to say, given the large number of polemical writings on the procession of the Holy Spirit still unpublished. What belongs properly to our polemicist is undoubtedly the numerous references to the writings of Saint Augustine and the few other citations of the Latin Fathers. These are ignored completely or almost so by the Byzantines. As regards the Greek Fathers, we have noted that Scholarius had largely drawn from the collection of Mark of Ephesus recently published by Mgr Petit. The large work of Nilus Cabasilas, still unpublished, also provided him with more than one reference. The main passages of Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregorys, Cyril, and Damascene, which the Latins objected to the partisans of the procession a Patre solo had been known for a long time. They had been particularly studied in the thirteenth century, before and after the union of the Council of Lyons (1274).

If Scholarius is to be believed, the contradictory conferences on the procession of the Holy Spirit held at the imperial palace in the last months of 1444 before a select audience turned to his triumph and the defeat of the pontifical legate, Bartholomew Lapacci. He says this modestly at the beginning of the dedicatory epistle to John of Trebizond (ὅς καίτοι σοφὸς ὢν, οὐχ ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἥττων ἐφάνη, p. 270. 1. 2-3). We unfortunately do not know if the Bishop of Cortona and his Catholic entourage had the same impression at the end of these debates. One is a little surprised that Scholarius is silent about this triumph in the first treatise, which was composed immediately afterwards, and that he only speaks of it in a private letter, placed at the beginning of a treatise that he recommends to keep secret until after his death, or at least until the day when he himself deems it opportune to publish it (p. 272, 8-10).

But this is of little importance. What deserves attention are the new pieces of information that Scholarius gives us, at the end of his first treatise, on the role he played at the Council of Ferrara-Florence; it is the severe judgment that in the same place he makes on the conduct of the Greeks at this council; the grievances that he formulates against the Pope and the Latins; the way in which he appreciates the debates that took place on the question of the addition to the Symbol and the doctrine of the procession. There are two and a half pages there hitherto entirely unpublished, which have been suppressed in certain manuscripts, such as the Paris. 1290 and the Dionysianus 246, but which have been fortunately preserved by both the copy of Syropoulos and the two copies revised and annotated by Scholarius himself (p. 237, 19-260, 30). We learn first of all that the speeches delivered by Bessarion at Ferrara, at least from the fourth session (October 15, 1438) onwards, in response to the Latin orator, Andrew of Rhodes, on the addition to the symbol, were not by him but by Scholarius. The latter loudly claims paternity, and says, not without malice, that his mouthpiece, whom the emperor himself had designated, lacked memory in reciting them: τῶν τοῦ Νικαίας λόγων ὁ πατὴρ

Introduction

ἦν ἐγώ· ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ἐγὼ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ῥόδου δεδωκὼς ἀποκρίσεις· δ δὲ ταύτας τὸν Νικαίας λέγειν ἐκέλευσε· καὶ εἶπεν, οὐδὲ πάνυ καλῶς ἀπομνημονεύσας (p. 258, 15-15). Against this claim Bessarion, as far as we know, has never protested. He must have known, however, the work of his contemporary, which was given the widest publicity, even among the Latins. On this account, it is of three speeches at least that the literary heritage of our author is increased. They were inserted by Dorotheus of Mytilene in his History of the Council of Florence, where they can be read. On the addition to the symbol, Scholarius maintains the same thesis as in his polemical treatises: "The Council of Ephesus has forbidden forever any ecclesiastical authority, even another ecumenical council, the right to tamper with the literary integrity of the symbol, by adding even a single word, even if that word be the expression of a dogma".

More important from a certain point of view is the affirmation that follows this first one, because it seems to definitively settle a question hitherto debated among critics, and on which we have taken a clear position in the introduction to the first volume of this collection: Scholarius categorically affirms that in Florence he made four speeches of a doctrinal nature: „Εἰς δὲ τὴν Φλωρεντίαν αὖθις ἀναγκασθέντες ἐλθεῖν, περὶ μὲν τῆς ῥήσεως ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱεροῦ Βασιλείου, ἣν τὰ Λατίνων πεφρονηκότες διαφθεῖραι δοκοῦσι, τέτταρας διαλέξεις ἐποιησάμεθα· ἄλλην δὲ ἀπορίαν οὔθ' ἡμεῖς κεκινήκαμεν, οὔτ' ἐκεῖνοι λελύκασι, πολλῶν ἐνοχλουσῶν τῷ ζητήματι" (p. 258, 18-22). In our opinion, these four speeches correspond to nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the series: Speeches in Florence on Religious Peace, published in vol. I, p. 296-375. The declaration that the four speeches in question had as their object the famous text of Saint Basil in the Third Book Against Eunomius, P. G., 29, 653, where it is said that the Holy Spirit holds his being from the Son (παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχει τὸ Πνεῦμα), a text whose authenticity had been disputed since the thirteenth century and which had just been the subject of a long debate in Florence itself, seems at first sight to be opposed to this identification. In fact, there is no direct mention of this passage in the harangues of the first volume. But they are indirectly related to it, if one pays attention to the moment when they are situated by Dorotheus of Mytilene: They come after the palaeographic inquiry which was conducted in the full council around the famous text, and after the discussions on the dogmatic question of the Filioque between John of Ragusa and Mark of Ephesus. During these discussions, the Latin orator brought numerous texts of the Western and Eastern Fathers, which show their fundamental agreement despite the diversity of formulas. Scholarius speaks of these testimonies and this agreement at some length in the first of the four speeches, and, in the others, the main theme developed is precisely this absence of opposition, this fundamental understanding on the procession of the Holy Spirit between the doctors of the two Churches. According to the sending note to the Fathers of the council, the author declares that he is taking this step of his own accord. It is, in fact, at the most critical moment of the council. The last public session (25th session) was held on March 24, 1439. On March 30, Monday of Holy Week, Patriarch Joseph gathered his bishops and prelates to encourage them to seek a modus unionis, because the previous discussions had reached an impasse. While Isidore of Kiev and Bessarion spoke in favor of the union, Mark of Ephesus went so far as to treat the Latins as heretics, with whom it is impossible to agree, as long as they do not remove the Filioque from their symbol. On Tuesday, March 31, the emperor tried to rally the Eastern prelates to the cause of understanding. The next day, the anti-unionists tried to escape. On April 10, the Pope submitted four propositions to the Greeks and summoned them to explain their doctrine frankly. On April 13 and 14, Bessarion delivered his great speech to recommend the union. It is then that Scholarius deems it opportune to intervene to support the cause defended by the Bishop of Nicaea (April

14), by dealing with the agreement of the Fathers among themselves, the impossibility in which they were to teach a contrary doctrine, the means of reconciling their affirmations. Doubtless, in these four speeches, the famous passage of Saint Basil is not the subject of any special mention, and one has the right to be astonished that barely five or six years later, their author declares that he has treated only such a limited subject. We believe that we must see in this too discreet and which would be false, if one took it literally, a device of his self-esteem to attenuate a painful avowal and to conceal as under a veil a past which displeases him so much now and which he would like to erase forever. Does he not, a few lines lower, beat his mea-culpa: "Ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ πρὸ πάντων κατηγορῶ" (p. 259, 12)? This is why the identification of the four speeches indicated here with the unionist speeches published in Volume I does not seem doubtful to us. Added to the solid reasons already given, this explicit declaration of the author definitively resolves the question of the authenticity of these pieces.

By the same ending of the first treatise, we learn that Scholarius was part of the group of Greeks who left Florence to go to Venice, before the signing of the decree of union: Εὐχόμεν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι, he writes, προαπεληλυθότες ἐκεῖ, οἱ μὲν ἰδίων χρειῶν ἕνεκα, οἱ δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς ἐκείνας οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι βλέπειν (p. 259, 18-20). The violent recriminations that follow against the council are quite curious and will be appreciated differently. When he writes them, Scholarius seems to have lost sight of the formula of conciliation that he himself had proposed to the Greeks and which had been addressed to the Latins, a formula whose text Syropoulos reports: "Ἡμεῖς οἱ Λατῖνοι ὁμο λογοῦμεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀἰδίως ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς καὶ μοναδικῆς προβολῆς ἐκπορεύεσθαι · ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ Γραικοὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ πιστεύομεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύε σθαι, ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶναι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀναβλύζειν καὶ οὐσιω-δῶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἤγουν ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ προχεῖσθαι διϊσχυριζόμεθά τε καὶ πιστεύομεν: Καὶ ἤδη ἑνούμεθα ἀλλήλοις καὶ θεοφιλῶς συναπτόμεθα". ["We Latins confess that the Holy Spirit eternally proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one principle and a single procession; we Greeks, on the other hand, confess and believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, but that it is proper to the Son and springs forth from Him and essentially from both, that is, from the Father through the Son, we affirm and believe: And now we are united to each other and lovingly joined together."]

The Dogmatic Content

The thesis supported in the three treatises is far from the formula of conciliation that has just been read. It is the very thesis of Photius: The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, that is to say, holds from Him alone its existence. The Son is not involved in this vital communication by which the Father eternally brings forth the third person within the Trinity. The Father alone is principle, source, cause in the divine processions. He alone is Father and spirator, πατὴρ καὶ προβολεύς. Προβολή, just like πατρότης, is the incommunicable property of His hypostasis. There is no relationship of origin between the Son and the Holy Spirit. Scholarius in no way admits the explanation of Catholic theologians affirming that the Father is the primordial principle, the principle without principle of the Holy Spirit, but that He communicates to the Son, in begetting Him, the spirative virtue, by which the Son also participates in the production of the Holy Spirit, and constitutes with the Father a single and unique principle of the third person. This unique principle is the Father and the Son not insofar as they are two, but insofar as they are one: it is the Godhead that is the Father and the Son emitting the Holy Spirit. This point of view, the Byzantine theologian rejects with all his might,

expels it from all the formulas by an exegesis that does not have the merit of novelty, because it is found in the polemicists, his predecessors, at least from the thirteenth century. What is new in him is the eclectic art with which he makes his own the various explanations of διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ found by the adversaries of the Latins who preceded him; it is the subtle flexibility that he deploys to combine, reconcile, explain these interpretations. One can affirm that one hears in him all the Byzantine polemic against the Catholic dogma since the origins of the controversy. In certain places, no doubt, he makes concessions to the Latins that almost no one before him had granted them. He grants them, for example, that certain Greek Fathers have sometimes used the formula ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται τὸ Πνεῦμα, when it is a question not of the temporal procession (ἡ *πρόοδος χρονική*) or mission (πέμψις), but of the eternal procession. But this is an illusory concession, for he immediately adds that the preposition διά, when it is a question of processions ad intra and when there is no relation with creatures, never has the causal sense in the Fathers, that is to say, never expresses the relation of origin. The διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ signifies at the same time 1° σὺν Υἱῷ, conjointly with the Son; 2° μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, in the company of the Son; 3° οὐκ ἐκτὸς τοῦ Υἱοῦ, not outside the Son; 4° μετὰ τὸν Υἱόν, after the Son; 5° the union in the essence, the consubstantiality of the persons, τὴν *συνάφειαν κατ' οὐσίαν*, τὸ *ὁμοούσιον*; 6° the distinction of the persons, τὴν *διάκρισιν* τῶν *ὑποστάσεων*, and their mutual manifestation by the fact of this distinction, ἔκφανσις ἀΐδιος; 7° the order of the persons, τὴν τάξιν τῶν *προσώπων*; 8° the purely nominal and conceptual mediation of the Son.

This order of persons, as it was stated by the Savior in the baptismal formula, has in itself nothing absolute; at least, we can know nothing about it from Revelation: Ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν *προόδων* καὶ ἡ τάξις τῶν ὀνομάτων μεσιτεύειν τὸν Υἱὸν ἀναγκάζει κἀν τῷ λόγῳ κἀν τοῖς νοήμασιν ἡμῶν· εἰ δὲ κἀν τῷ *πράγματι* οὕτως ἐστὶ καὶ τίς ἂν ὁ λόγος εἶτ, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων ἰσχυρίσασθαι δύναιτο" (p. 201, 22-25). According to the point of view in which one places oneself, the middle can be occupied as well by the Father or the Holy Spirit as by the Son (cf. p. 146-148). The Trinitarian diagram can be as well an angle as a straight line or a triangle; but when it is a question of indicating the origin of the persons, that is to say, their respective relation in relation to the Father, the only principle of the two others, it is the angle which is the best figure, and it is the diagram that Scholarius is fond of: The Son and the Holy Spirit are compared to two rivers coming out of the same source, to two branches growing from the same root, to two brothers begotten by the same father.

Such is the doctrine to which our theologian tries to rally all the Fathers, both the Greeks and the Latins, including Saint Augustine himself. By what processes, by what tours de force he arrives there, the reader will learn by reading his treatises. He is well persuaded of having found the true solution. He declares to have written by the movement and under the illumination of divine grace. There is no danger, he says in one place, that I miss the truth, and I would not easily admit that another could find something truer than what I have written. He nevertheless changes his mind immediately, and declares that being a man, he does not possess the charism of infallibility. He is ready to submit to the decision of a true ecumenical council, even if this decision is contrary to what he has just taught. As for the assembly of Florence, it has little or no authority for many reasons. And he ends his first treatise by asking God to grant peace to the Churches.

Note by X. A. Sidéridès

Introduction

Having had no part in the writing of this introduction, I feel obliged to declare that several of the ideas expressed in it do not align with my personal views.

X. A. SIDÉRIDÈS

Works of George Scholarius.

C. Anti-Latin Polemics.

I. First Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (1445).

† OF THE MOST WISE AND LEARNED AND UNIVERSAL TEACHER OF THE HOLY CHURCH OF CHRIST AND THE ORTHODOX FAITH AND ITS SACRED THEOLOGY, LORD GEORGE SCHOLARIUS, CONCERNING THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

1.By the same George Scholarius; composed after fifteen dialogues held in the palace with the papal envoy and Bishop of Cortona and teacher of theology among the Latins; with the Lord Gregory the Patriarch present, as well as the Cardinal and many Latins and Orthodox, before the Emperor John and the Despot Theodore; for having been asked for the conclusions of those dialogues, he compiled them in this book; having been copied into many [copies] and distributed everywhere, and now found even among the Latins. At that time, the writer was the universal secretary of Emperor John and universal judge of the Romans and teaching in the triclinium of the Emperor every preparation [day/week], with the senate and all the city being present, the word of God; to the glory of God Himself who gives all things: +.

1. Part One: The Causes of the Schism.

† Concerning the causes of the schism in brief, and that the events of the Third Council are clear proof that the Latins are wrong in their beliefs.

a. Preface:

1.Invoking the divine Word and the guardian of truth as the patron of this discourse, I will speak of the Spirit of truth, having dared and chosen to do so for two reasons: first and foremost, because of those who have written against the Latins since they separated themselves from the Catholic Church. Some of the earlier writers composed brief treatises and did not wage war against falsehood with an abundance of resources, nor did they expound the complete understanding of the Catholic Church concerning each of the difficulties associated with this question. Some of them, even when fighting less vigorously on crucial points, more heavily criticize the errors of the Latins in their customs and observances. Of all the later writers, the most excellent and sufficient, and commensurate with the magnitude of this whole matter, were especially the divinely inspired Nilus and the holy Theophanes, and after them, the namesake and accurate followers of the holy Gregorys wrote [on this subject]. But even with their teaching, certain sophists who arose afterwards, while possessing intellect, achieve nothing more for their listeners beyond [what was achieved] against the

Latins and themselves through what they have written, except that they seem to be certain sophists in truth and falsifiers of the ancient and true theology. And to those who are either simpler through lack of education or duller through wickedness in [their] minds, they seem to be saying something. And indeed, the recent conflict of our people with the Latins has revealed many things that were previously hidden.

2.And as is wont to happen with all those who are later in time but investigate anything more diligently, so also I, having thoroughly examined the writings of all those who have written on both sides and having delved into the sacred books, beginning from afar in my zeal concerning such matters, have come to discover something further for the advocacy of truth and the refutation of falsehood. And if this is so, those who may be concerned to hear this present discourse will judge, whom I believe, even if they find nothing further in it, will not cast a vote against us as being altogether worthless, being just, and for this reason it was necessary to stand against those sophists and to establish writings on behalf of the truth and to fill what was lacking in them. For those [previous writings] were indeed written quite adequately according to their respective times, but the present need required a certain not small addition, which it seemed necessary for me also to contribute and to contribute to the Church of Christ, with whatever preparation I happen to have, providing the eagerness from within, and grounding the hope of success on the champion of truth and the good example of our guides, whom by custom following, it is impossible to experience any deviation.

3.For this reason, therefore, it occurred to me to write this present discourse, following the opinion and intention of those holy fathers and at the same time opposing the harsh impetuosity of those now opposing the all-holy Spirit, I mean those who still wish to support this image of peace with writings that have nothing sound in them and with deeds that are more fitting for tyrants and are altogether foreign to our court. Those who were wise in former times and good and zealous for the teachings of their fathers, by the recent conflict of our people and another time, God permitting, which befell this city, were so greatly inflamed, that they completely ignored the true and just judgment concerning both divine matters and what was advantageous to themselves; which indeed has caused them to either misunderstand me or to hold contrary opinions, sometimes being misled by our opportune silence, sometimes interpreting our actions in words or deeds according to what seems to them, and indeed even slandering [them].

4.It was necessary, therefore, also for these reasons, having written a discourse, to correct those of them who are not altogether incurably ill and to lead them back to that ancient and familiar opinion both for themselves and for the Church of Christ, and to establish in the truth the souls shaken by falsehood, and to aid by good repentance those responsible for this conflict, of whom some having passed from this present life have departed, while others still living show a more vehement repentance after suffering unjustly for the truth; for as much as the harm is poured out upon fewer, so much less will they need many purifications for the conflict, and to stop many from doubting about me and from slander; for neither will anyone misunderstand hereafter, nor will they be led to slander, my opinion having become clear, when it was destined to be both more mature in itself and more profitably than before set forth to the friends of truth.

5.For these reasons I have undertaken this present discourse. And if all these things have zeal for the truth of the faith and no human passion, but rather concern for the salvation of the brethren, and if they bear some excuse for the due labor of the talent given [to me], and if I bear with difficulty and am pained by the shame and confusion which have befallen us from the conflict and our apathy towards good things, and I would wish not even to live, while this prevails, and I pray to see again the former calm; and I long for the

peace of all the churches, but as it may be advantageous to us and to the truth; and I consider it necessary that we, standing with the truth, should reject with the Latins, since they have become the cause of scandals, all the danger from this aberration and schism, and I wish the truth to be preserved in our race until the consummation [of the age], and if [we cannot save] any others, at least to render ourselves blameless to our Lord [by preserving] the deposit of the faith, which He Himself and His disciples after Him and all the synods of the faithful and the circle of holy teachers without any doubt entrusted [to us], He who sees all things knows; but let it be allowed to each one to judge, as he may wish.

6.But I, trusting in the grace of Christ, who even me being a sinner has enlightened with the knowledge of the truth and has not allowed [me] to be overcome by falsehood, not for boasting but rather for the establishment of this work, which I chose for the benefit of all, I fully inform all men, that such is my intention and that I have been moved firmly and truly by such considerations.

7.And there is no fear lest I may choose the best indeed, but err in the search for truth concerning it; for He who has granted [me] to choose these things, will also be a guide towards the attainment of the truth, and at the same time I do not innovate a doctrine as the Latins do, but I contend for an ancient and common doctrine, witnessed by all angels and saints, and which has been extinguished by the Latins by their innovation, but shines forth among us always by the grace of Christ; whence it is impossible for him who has contended for the truth to fail of the goal of truth.

8.And if this present discourse has been composed simply thus and almost befitting a layman, those who are about to encounter it, both now and later, must pardon [me], for having determined to make it [available] not only to a few and wise men, but also to all, both to remind the wiser ones, and to teach and persuade those who are otherwise disposed, if it is possible, I decided that such a form ought to be given to it. And little indeed has been cared for by me, while improvising, for the order of the chapters, but as each [topic] may fall in with the reasoning, so also it is placed; for it was necessary to be greatly concerned for the truth in the thoughts when dealing with God, but to make no account of the [outward] arrangement in other things.

b. That this difference is ancient and [dates] from the Third Council; and what the fathers of that council thought concerning it.

1.Examining [the matter], I find that this difference concerning the Spirit between the Church of Rome and the Asiatic [Churches] has existed from the time of the First Council itself, not having come forth into this form nor immediately broken out, but rather arising from there and being slowly nurtured and finally advancing to the detriment of the Church. For the difference concerning both the essence and the hypostasis, which then occurred and now exists between Greeks and Latins, has greatly contributed and now cooperates with this difference, which they say the holy Athanasius resolved, ascribing to the narrowness of the Roman tongue their inability to agree with us, since we, of course, better and more appropriately call hypostasis the individual [being] according to the likeness of created things, in which such things have subsisted, and essence the form and the nature, or that which is individual. This difference became clearer at the Third Council; but not even then did it come openly into the midst, but only having emerged, again retreated into the background. For then Nestorius in his own symbol concerning the Spirit added: "And neither considering the Son [to be the Spirit, namely the Holy Spirit], nor [believing] that it has received its existence through the

Son"; and neither did the council censure [him], nor did Cyril [do so]. This one, therefore, even called Theodoret a slanderer, accusing him of blasphemy and impiety, among other things, because he called the Spirit proper to the Son, as having existence from the Son or through the Son. And after that censure, he everywhere rightly distinguishes, speaking of the Spirit as proper to the Son as not foreign and according to the concept of essence, but of the Father, as proceeding from Him, which is the same as saying, according to the concept of cause; for thus he refers himself to the opinions of the ecumenical councils and the canonical scriptures, and stands outside all censure.

2.And he was so far from accusing those around Theodoret of Nestorian heresy for this reason, that he even later testifies to them that they condemn and anathematize Nestorius's profane empty words, he says, with us, and they never considered them worthy of discussion, but they follow the evangelical and apostolic dogmas and in no way harm the confession of the fathers, as they, of course, have made this clear through a written and clear confession; for they always confessed that the Spirit subsists from the Father, but is called proper to the Son as consubstantial, but not as having existence from Him; and in the very agreements they confessed these things, or rather, it was on such terms, so to speak, that they were reconciled. And not only did they confess these things and did Cyril show and agree, but also Theodoret says that the letters of Cyril, from which the pretext for peace seemed to arise, are adorned with evangelical nobility, both because in them the Lord our Jesus Christ is proclaimed as perfect God and perfect man, and because the Spirit is included in them not as having existence from the Son or through the Son, but as proceeding from the Father, and is named proper to the Son as consubstantial. And Cyril again seems to be displeased, not because Theodoret ascribes to him an opinion alien to him concerning the Spirit and falsely accuses his faith, not because Theodoret is impious and again resorts to Nestorius's blasphemies, but because he says that he should be corrected and healed; but he always thought the same concerning all things. Therefore, he was painfully borne [this] until the end, being slandered.

3.Thus also Cyril knew Theodoret's, or if you will, Nestorius's true opinion concerning the Spirit, and thus he considered it of greater importance to always have this opinion himself, not to seem to have later changed his mind. And the fourth and fifth holy councils rightly award to Cyril the prize for the struggles for piety, the testimony of the correct faith, while also sparing Theodoret, because they did not call him a slanderer as Cyril did earlier, and they consider all to accept Cyril's writings, having no suspicion concerning them from Theodoret's censures, and they urge all to anathematize Theodoret's writings against the correct faith and the correct chapters of Cyril, because the correctness which Theodoret said they later perceived, whether thinking so or even pretending, they had from afar and from the beginning.

4.But they anathematize neither Theodoret nor Theodoret's opinions, but only side with Cyril as if wronged; for still Cyril's reverence among many was in danger because of Theodoret's surviving censures, and it seemed to many that he had not even originally thought correctly, just as they also despised Theodoret, who lived for a long time, and held the man in suspicion and feared that he did not fully adhere to the vote of the Third Council, although Theodoret never wrote anything contrary to that council afterwards nor troubled its decrees, but nevertheless he was suspect to some, so that even at the Fourth Council he was again forced to anathematize Nestorius, and thus finally became superior to all suspicion. And not only honoring Cyril did the divine fathers do these things, but also strengthening the council of which he was leader, and at the same time favoring Theodoret; for the censures against Cyril, the part concerning the Spirit, attached the stigma of

slander, since Cyril's opinion had become clear in his writings, and thus he had escaped all accusation; but the part concerning the divine economy, they ascribed to him the stigma of heresy; for even if he did not openly contend for Nestorius, yet by his rivalries against Cyril he seemed to make Nestorius strong, so as even to turn Cyril against him in everything towards Nestorius's heresy.

5.For all these reasons, since it was not easy to erase these chapters of Theodoret from the whole earth, it occurred to those fathers to make them obscure and invalid in another way. And they accept Cyril's anathemas as having a sound pretext, the refutation of heretical blasphemy, and at the same time as having been troubled rashly and in vain; for through what Cyril immediately apologized for and wrote later, he showed himself free from all suspicion. But as for Theodoret's censures, if they could prove them profane and far from the sacred [writings], they thought they would be acting in a way that was advantageous both to Theodoret himself and to Cyril and to the affairs of that Third Council. Thus, to speak briefly about all things, the entire church of the Asians held these views concerning the Spirit's existence, and quite rightly in Cyril's time, giving what then happened instead of a vote, it holds us [to these views]; from which it is shown to those who follow accurately that the council both agrees with all those before it and defines nothing differently, and Cyril, while in other things very much champions the truth, in the opinion concerning the Spirit is moderate and does not deviate from the common opinion of all.

c. What some in the Roman church thought at that time concerning the Spirit, and especially Augustine.

1.The Church of Rome, although agreeing in other matters at that time with the rest of the body of the Church, in this part at least began to disagree, with some of its teachers spreading this doctrine, if those who refer this opinion to Augustine are telling the truth, not yet having fully judged and agreed [on this matter]. For the Bishop of Rome, Celestine, both in what he writes to Nestorius and in the other synodical letters against Nestorius, does not seem to blame Nestorius for anything else than that he wronged the Incarnation of the divine Word and raged against our salvation, not being able, it seems, to find any other evil in Nestorius's faith. For even if he says somewhere in the letter to the clergy of Constantinople, "that the impious dialectician was abandoned by the Spirit, since he also thought contrary to the divine Spirit Himself," he says nothing else than how is it not likely that he who has thought contrary to the Spirit should be abandoned by the Spirit? But he who opposes the Spirit's teaching and the truth of the faith, in whatever part of the faith he may undergo the perversion, thinks contrary to the Holy Spirit. And in those same times the teaching of Augustine was also prominent, who was almost the first to articulate and establish this opinion among the Latins, being more ambitious in this than all those before him, as far as it appears from the obviousness of the wording, both by Nestorius openly confessing and writing the opposite of this, it seems, perhaps having supposed that he was saying something displeasing to the common opinion of the Eastern Church here as also in his other follies, and by many there examining Nestorius's symbol, while blaming him for some things, but having nothing to censure in the opinion concerning the Spirit, not so much favoring Nestorius as the common confession of the Church, whom Augustine supposed to be erring in so thinking, for he was very much captivated by this doctrine.

2.And that the teacher was moved by such pretexts for this opinion to undertake it with much effort, is clear from what he everywhere contentiously sows this opinion in his own writings; for he diverts the

discourse like a stream always towards the subject concerning the Spirit, departing from the direct purpose of the discourse, nor is he easily diverted, but persists using all means, so that he may be able to show the Spirit as also proceeding from the Son; nor does he proceed in the manner of teaching as usual, but rather in the manner of disputation, as if others were proposing this question, and he tries to assist the opposite opinion, both putting forth their arguments and objections, so that he may seem reasonably to conclude the truth. And that these things are so, is clear not only from the other books and discourses of Augustine, which I read understanding the Italian language, but also from these few which have been translated into our language, to whoever wishes to examine. And this manner of speaking very much shows him to have made the discourses concerning the Spirit for a contest, as this question began to trouble more violently than before at that time and to raise the difference to a greater extent; wherefore it seems to many that those sections were later inserted into Augustine's writings by those who made the addition, wishing to refer the cause of this opinion especially to that teacher, who differed in sanctity and wisdom from almost all the European teachers. But this is not so, but rather Augustine's words are genuine and testify to the difference, which as I said before, is now troubling us, being established in his times, and they show Augustine to have been the cause to those later [generations] of this newer opinion, having thus established it after many struggles.

3.But concerning the pronouncements of Augustine and the other fathers from Europe, there will be a general treatment later. But now I have mentioned this teacher for the sake of showing that during the time of the Third Council, the question concerning the Spirit was being stirred up, and the Latins were differing from us from then on, except not all together, nor openly thus, nor with much opposition and animosity. That while the Third Council was being convened, letters were also sent for Augustine, seeking his presence specifically; for those filling the place of the Pope were about to suffice for the authority of the council; and as he had already departed from this temporary life before receiving the letters from the Emperor, the letter of Bishop Capreolus to the council, embedded in the synodical acts, shows this. Whether Cyril persuaded the Emperor to summon the man, hoping to find much support from him even in the words concerning the Spirit (for he did not presume to be confident in such matters by himself alone, but it was absolutely necessary to have Augustine's discourses concerning the Spirit), or whether it seemed advantageous to all, not only for the condemnation of Nestorius and the needed support of Augustine, but also for the resolution of the difference then being stirred concerning the Spirit, with all foreseeing where the danger of such strife would lead, I indeed cannot say confidently nor assert either of these from any true history, just as some assert the former; but from what my conscience suggests to me, paying attention to Cyril's words, I lean more towards the latter.

4.For some say that Cyril was the one doing this and more than others needing Augustine's presence; and that Cyril himself was moved by Augustine's sentiments and conceived in himself the same opinion as him concerning the Spirit before encountering the censures from others, but after these, having given better attention, defined very clearly and everywhere championed the opinion pleasing to all in common; for he saw that all accepted what Nestorius thought concerning the Spirit's existence; but what he himself gave the impression of thinking, they judged to be somewhat strange and unusual and far from the sacred [writings]. But to me, carefully examining Cyril's words, it seems that he never adopted Augustine's opinion, but rather held the common opinion of the Church; for thus he himself seems to speak, and thus all the councils always

and completely testify that his faith was and is right; and that he gave some such suspicion from the subject matter before him and the necessity of the words, as will be shown shortly.

d. That because of this difference the churches were often divided and united economically, not dogmatically; and that this became the cause of the addition to the Symbol.

1.This kind of difference concerning the Spirit, acting thus in the churches, at first harmed the common peace slightly, but after the Sixth Council, being more clearly exposed than before, became the beginning of open war. And yet, even before, they were temporarily divided and then reconciled again, since the differences between them were not concerning the faith; but later there was a not unreasonable pretext for those wishing to divide the church: the innovation of the Latins concerning the dogmas. Whence some, insinuating the difference in the faith, both being true and known to all, divided the churches, thus benefiting themselves for their own reasons, as if the power in such matters were transferred in time to others, who, caring more for their own good than for the firm concord of the church, unscrupulously dissolved the scandals of the churches, without any judgment having been made concerning the differences. The same thing happened finally under Photius; for he too was led to divide the churches, using the difference of opinion as a pretext, and again he gave the agreements of the churches as a reward for what was privately advantageous to himself, so that he might buy a greater evil with a lesser one; for thus it is more appropriate to speak than as it is usually said. And all were erring, making both the truth of the faith and the peace of the church in it a secondary matter to their own glory and drawing everything towards their own advantage; but they ought to have submitted the difference to an ecumenical tribunal, and either completely refrained from the innovation of the Latins, having been brought to the common test, if they appeared to be believing and stubbornly opinionated badly, or no longer left a pretext for division to those after them, if the innovation of the Latins harmed nothing in the chief point of piety, but having been united once, to remain united always at least for the sake of the Spirit; for then perhaps the Latins would have been more easily persuaded and would have changed to the common opinion of the church for many reasons, which everyone could easily understand. It seems that a great deal contributes at some time to the unproblematic unions of the churches, also the fact that not even the Latins themselves openly confess the opinion, nor blame our people, as if they accuse them unreasonably, but on the contrary, when accused, they always resort to the common confession; for they always put forward the symbol of the faith remaining in them and being proclaimed without any addition or subtraction.

2.And if some among them believe that the Spirit also proceeds from the Son, they said that the words do no harm, as having arisen thus openly from their teachers, and they confessed that they think nothing contrary to what has been commonly decreed, and that they understand the words of the teachers as the common faith wishes, that is, the unity of essence, not intending to represent the cause in saying that the Spirit is from the Son. Whether they understood thus, or for the sake of peace thought it necessary to conceal [their opinion], would be another matter; but thus apologizing, they caused our people not to become very burdensome to them, which is clear both from many other evidences and from Maximus's letter to Marinus. But concerning this later. Therefore, to have often been thus united and separated without examining anything concerning the difference in dogma, except that the Latins asserted to us that they have the same

faith and think the same things, just as they now assert, and they subjected to anathema those who innovate or add another definition of the faith; and seizing on this, those who pursued the union with them for the sake of private gain, accomplished the agreements, which also Photius did finally, and this became the cause of the innovation in the Symbol for the Latins; for they grew weary of always composing new reconciliations after many cares in continuous battles and divisions, and they were painfully borne the reproaches of heresy; for those who wished to be hostile to them always brought forward the heresy, and thinking that this opinion having been added in the Symbol, those from Asia would no longer trouble them, but as having been added by a judgment and council, they would accept it even unwillingly, having respected the authority of that church and what they alone were doing, which all ought to have done together, they hoped to draw in the others willingly or unwillingly, as indeed considering it difficult to disbelieve what is proclaimed by a synodical vote and judged synodically by a dogma. And this turned out contrary to their expectation; for they were no longer tolerable because of the prohibitions of the Third Council.

e. That the schism occurred especially because of the addition in the Symbol, and that we rightly turned away from the Latins because of the addition, which was worthy of aversion.

1.And as not only thinking wrongly, but also having proceeded to lawlessness and wronging the symbol of the faith, and in addition to this, seizing the authority of the Catholic Church alone and deliberating and acting with much authority as masters concerning matters differing for all, they were hated worse than before, and rightly so. For what was the need to develop a faith that was well established, and this concerning the article of the Spirit, well developed by the Second Council and in times demanding all accuracy, so that nothing said by those fathers ought to be silenced, nor indeed ought anything of what ought to be said to be silenced? For it is clear to all that of the Nicene symbol, which very narrowly taught the faith in the Holy Spirit, whence the audacity of the heretics was aroused, the Second of the holy councils, closing the mouths of the heretics, developed the article concerning the Spirit; and of the First Council having said so much, "And in the Holy Spirit" (we believe, of course), the Second said more clearly and perfectly: "And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of Life, who proceeds from the Father, who is co-worshipped and co-glorified with the Father and the Son"; and the Third decreed that it is necessary neither to add to these nor to take away; and all those after the Third were silent concerning the developments of the Second, considering it necessary to pay more attention to the prohibition of the Third Council than to imitate the authority of the Second. For indeed it was certainly possible for the Third also to add; but just as they used the power for the addition, the circumstances requiring this, so the fathers of the Third forbade themselves and others by the same power; having thus supposed it would be advantageous, if no longer should the symbol of the faith be troubled and harmed under the pretext of developments, and by wholly removing the authority to alter the symbol in any way; for, says the holy synod, "the holy synod has forbidden anyone to add" and the rest, they cut off every vain pretext of those who at any time would wish out of wickedness to boldly lay a hand on the symbol, just as our Lord Jesus said that He Himself, the Son, does not know the day of the consummation, saying [that] only the Father knows, so that He might put a curb on the meddlesomeness of the apostles. For who would dare thereafter to desire to know and dare to investigate what the Lord said He did not know? And the blessed Paul [says], "If anyone preaches to you," he says, "another gospel besides what I preached to

you, let him be anathema"; and subjecting himself to this judgment, if he should ever preach contrary to what was before.

2.Thus therefore also the fathers of the Third Council neither altered the symbol themselves nor said it was permitted for anyone else to alter it; for they foresaw, as is likely, that Nestorius's audacity might come upon others also; and just as he, trusting in his see, harmed the symbol, so also some of the other patriarchs, disregarding the common will of their equals in honor, under the pretext of an inopportune development, perhaps indeed a true one, perhaps also a false innovation, might harm the common confession of the faith; and they preempted this audacity like some excellent physicians, declaring that it is no longer permitted for anyone to touch the symbol of the faith.

3.And just as it was the work of the First and Second Councils to add against the heretics, so this [Third Council] showed it to be the work of the true councils and the disciples of truth to remain in the symbol of the Second Council, and it considers it a heretical wickedness to wish to innovate anything. And all the councils after it have observed this law; although each brought forth some decrees concerning the matters at hand and established laws, yet they completely abstained from the symbol, and just as it was permitted for them to pronounce concerning anything, as long as each had the authority of the ecumenical council and the whole holy church, so it was not permitted for them to touch the symbol, since the Third Council decreed that it should remain untouched; and these [later councils] necessarily observed its laws; for both were fitting for true councils, both not to annul anything of what seemed good to the previous [councils], or rather earlier to themselves, and concerning the things sought at each time to define the truth with authority; and they were able to do both, harming neither, both adding to the faith and developing and defining what seemed to them considering [the matter] to be true and just, and least of all altering the wording of the symbol. But if the Third Council did not wish to demonstrate these things to the others, nor indeed was hindering anyone whomsoever, ought not those after the Seventh Council to have rather used the example of the five councils, so as not to add, and these being later and successive? Or the example of those two earlier ones, being and by all means arriving at the need to add? Or if indeed it is necessary to speak the truth, not so much adding as composing the symbol; for at the Second it was perfect and lacked none of the necessary things? It is clear to everyone, I suppose, that the example of not adding would have been stronger than that of adding for those wishing to act rightly.

4.But those who added "and from the Son," disregarding all these things, dared the addition with much license, and surpassing the five councils, extended their zeal to those earlier ones, not even assuming the form of ecumenical councils; for the Bishop of Rome with the bishops under him did these things alone, with none of the patriarchs from Asia in any way conferring with him; thus they imitated those ecumenical councils, who both despised the earlier councils by not having the chapters of the ecumene counted together as they did, and making little account of the later ones, because they added in the symbol by their own authority, all of them abstaining from any addition; thus they revered the blessed Celestine saying that it is necessary for all to know what is being done, whenever the consideration is concerning a common matter. For these reasons rightly, as I said before, they were hated worse than before and rightly received the place of schismatics.

f. That they made the addition against us and those still sharing the same views with us at that time, whom they say are Nestorians; and that whenever they insist that they believe similarly to us, they either say things inconsistent with themselves, or they wish to be Nestorians themselves, or they wish to deceive us

1.And in addition to these things, it was not hidden from our fathers that that council and the addition and all the things then [done] were done against the Eastern Church, or rather, to speak more accurately, against the ancient and common doctrine. For what especially drove the Romans to those things was that many were siding with the Eastern Churches there, and thus the Latins were in danger even with themselves; for when the causes of the schism were being examined, since it was troubling everyone, in the discussions, as they are accustomed to do, they placed the causes outside of our people, and they considered those who adhered to the ancient [ways] to be using a more moderate faith concerning the Spirit, and not only in each generation were very many honoring the piety of the Asians, but also entire nations shared the opinion of the Greeks, or rather, they held to the ancient faith and were hostile to that new one, whether indeed thinking so very much, or also foreseeing that the danger of the schism would be increased from this. Of this opinion also was John the Pope in the time of Photius and, to speak truly concerning the Latins then, the Roman court, as is apparent from his letter to Photius, which those misrepresent who draw nothing towards the truth, but everything towards their own wicked preconception; for whence is it possible to convict it of forgery, the facts themselves agreeing with it and harmonizing so well, so that nothing further is added from it to those using it for the proof of the truth, the force of the facts being sufficient? For who does not know that before the addition, every necessity was incumbent on the president of Rome to defend the common confession and faith and to condemn and prevent what seemed to some to be their own, and to comfort with hopes of correction those of their equals and brothers who were being torn apart for these things, and to persuade them to be quiet and not to be scandalized at the rumors of innovations, as if they would be gradually uprooted by pastoral and paternal methods. And if he happened to be of the moderate and pious party, he would do this not only because of the office, but also because of the conscience of the truth. The letter contains such things, and nothing inconsistent with either the Pope's office or the events of that time.

2.And even if he was pretending these things while writing to Photius, but he himself was also plotting the danger and wished to confirm the wicked audacity of some by a common vote, since he himself was hiding this opinion within, what he wrote as befitting a father and shepherd and teacher, is on our side and agrees with the facts; but what he wished to do, was opposed not only to what was fitting, but also to himself; and being thus, it is surely on our side. But not only from that letter, but also from what he did here through his legates, both establishing Photius on the throne and persuading our church that the Roman [church] agrees with it and does not accept the innovations of some, and afterwards dying in the known [beliefs] and handing over that authority, which he was entrusted with, without any harm and spotless to God, he is shown not even to have conceived in his mind at any time the later apostasy; and he was not alone in his moderation; for he could not have resisted, with all the others being diseased, but besides a few already corrupted, he used the others who were of the same opinion and mind, and thus openly the church of Rome at that time stood before the manifest and common opinion.

3.But after no small time, the greater part having prevailed, and these were those insisting on adhering to the model of the European teachers badly, and for this reason daring to innovate; for as time went on, the

innovating part was being added to and increasing, while those who were moderate and held to the ancient doctrine were becoming fewer in number and therefore weaker day by day; therefore, this part having prevailed, the then Pope yielded, even if he was previously of the true opinion; perhaps indeed he was such a one, and all, as indeed the synod voting and the church thus legislating, accepted that innovation; just as now many Latins, although conscious that we speak true and just things, nevertheless are defeated by their own shepherds and are persuaded by them, doing a thing more cautiously than some of ours have undertaken to do; who not only of dogmas, but also of customs and religions beyond the borders having changed, have communicated, having despised their native and familiar [ones] as indeed base, through easiness, lest I say wickedness of mind. But these things would be a matter for another occasion to examine and consider.

4.But that that addition was devised both against the Eastern Churches and those still siding with these among the Latins at that time by those who did it, there is a clear proof, that now being asked by us, the Latins, what pressing necessity urged them to add, say that they devised to do this against the Nestorians. But all the Spaniards then were Nestorians, calling Nestorians those who held similarly to the Greeks concerning the Spirit, or rather, attaching a name least fitting to those preserving the common opinion of the Church; for what is [there] against the heresy of Nestorius, against which are the words of Cyril and the synodical votes, and all that struggle of the Church, [in saying] that the Holy Spirit does not have existence from the Son? For the Nestorian heresy was the blasphemy against Christ; but that concerning the Spirit, even if it was Nestorius's opinion, was not however bad; for it was not his own, but common and pleasing to all the orthodox, just as Nestorius also confessed many other things of the true [faith] in his own symbol; but none of those are called Nestorius's opinion, but only those which fought against the truth and the common opinion of the pious.

5.And that even after these things and until now they consider this opinion of Nestorius to be wicked and distorted, Thomas shows, explaining the saying of Damascene, in which he says we do not say the Spirit is from the Son. For he says that that teacher, following the writings of Theodoret, being a Nestorian, was himself also drawn into the falsehood, and as many of ours who have completely yielded to the Latins, thus in what they have written honor their own fathers; and they do not dare to say that Damascene was ever a Nestorian, as Thomas slanders him, but they interpret his [words] sophistically only, but they send this reproach to Theodoret and consider the anathemas of the fourth and fifth and sixth councils against those chapters sufficient for them for the proof of such myths. But what is most worthy of wonder, is that the Latins consider the Eastern Church to be Nestorian immediately from the times of Nestorius, and they consider the prevailing opinion in it to be thus hostile and inimical; and they insist that they believe the same things as us, and thus they deceive the simpler ones. And the apostates of the Eastern Church and despisers of the paternal customs and observances and laws clamor the same things up and down, being displeased that they do not draw all to their own danger; but there are some still able to be moderate.

6.For what faith of ours do you believe," someone might say to them, "O men of God, since we say daily in the symbol of the faith that the Spirit proceeds from the Father?" But this indeed is clear to all, as not even you have ever denied it; however, it did not seem good to you to stop at this, but you also say that it proceeds from the Son, as also having existence from Him and subsisting from Him, and you confess the Son to be the principle and (as we would say) the cause of the Spirit, and you urge all to believe thus. But these things are far from being our faith; for on the contrary, we believe from the beginning that the Father alone is the

principle and cause of the Son and the Spirit, and that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, that is to say, subsists, and has the cause of its hypostasis from there alone; but [we say that it] is consubstantial with the Son and is said to proceed through Him eternally because of the unity of essence and [proceeds] temporally through Him, because through Him the grace of the Spirit has been given to men. Nor can we believe otherwise, since our leaders command us to believe thus; for they have developed the article concerning the Spirit thus in their teachings.

7.When therefore we confess the Spirit proceeding from the Father, we bring to mind the developments of the teachers and direct our confession to the true understanding by these, knowing that it is impossible for so many teachers, so defined, so clearly having developed for us the article concerning the Spirit, to be mistaken. But as it seems, supposing that we ought to believe as you would wish and as you hope beforehand concerning us, you insist that we believe in accordance with you; but it would be easier to deny the Son to be the principle of the Spirit; for having known you to believe thus similarly to us, we would immediately confidently unite; but now risking to be separated from the teachers by uniting with you, even if we should agree that the Son is the principle and cause of the Spirit, we do not wish to willingly undergo so great a danger. It is clear therefore from what has been said, that they added that [clause] in the symbol against the opinion of the Greeks and the Spaniards, who were of the same mind as the Greeks as they themselves say, and they say that these are Nestorians, and us, as long as we hold this opinion, they consider Nestorians, even if they do not wish to call [us] thus openly, perhaps not wishing to grieve [us]; for they know that by such a blasphemy against us they will make the schism greater.

g. That they falsely accuse both Nestorius and Theodoret and Cyril and us, whenever they say that our opinion is Nestorian and Theodoret likewise [is] Nestorian.

1.And he falsely accuses Nestorius and Theodoret and Cyril and Damascene and the whole Eastern Church and says nothing clear, if anyone should proceed to say such things. For Nestorius, except for the things in which he erred in the divine economy, was moderate in other things, and no one accused him for other [reasons], so that nothing would have prevented him from enjoying the throne, if he had wished, having changed his mind, to believe Christ [to be] truly God, the same also [to be] truly man; and that council, condemning Nestorius's abominable dogmas and enumerating these, is silent about the blasphemy against the Spirit, [which] it would not have been silent about, if it were necessary for Nestorius to blaspheme against it; by how much more did they fear the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit and our Lord, defining [it] as beyond all pardon and in no way tolerable and much more [serious] than the blasphemy against Him.

2.But Theodoret nowhere agrees with Nestorius except in the unexceptionable [matters]; but rather he attacked Cyril as contradicting unskillfully and falling into inconsistencies and disregarding the common laws in the struggles against Nestorius, having put forward as a pretext the chapters of the anathemas, and he calls them afterwards some stammerings and unpleasant sounds, because they did not define the truth articulately and clearly. Whether indeed Theodoret admittedly associated some such baseness with those writings, or having suffered some human [weakness] clung to Cyril's opinion, it is not necessary now to examine; but Cyril, in other things, refutes Theodoret's impiety of Nestorius; for he says he would not have been burdensome to the one refuting it, even if he happened to be refuting unskillfully, unless he had wickedly

wished to cooperate with it. But in the discourses concerning the Spirit, he says that he is being slandered by him, or rather, he suffers this same thing even in other [matters], and he does not strike a decisive blow; [which] he would have struck very justly, if he thought him to be blaspheming against the Spirit. For what greater or more just [thing] would he have for the defense of what he suffered badly from Theodoret? And where more opportunely would he have shown his zeal for the truth than [when] the Spirit, who teaches the truth, was being openly blasphemed?

3.And not only before, but also after the reconciliations which took place between them, defining the same things thus openly, or rather even attributing these things to Cyril and insisting that the reconciliations took place on these [terms], he does not call [him] a heretic, [as] holding Nestorius's [opinions], [as] preserving some remnants at least of the Nestorian corruption, but on the contrary, he says that Theodoret and those around John, who were of the same mind as Nestorius, neither are nor ever were, from what they confessed, having provided him with sufficient proof of this; for they always confessed that the Holy Spirit does not have existence from the Son, but proceeds from the Father, but [is] of the Son as being of the same nature with Him and consubstantial. And that Theodoret not in vain favors Cyril with the (as Theodoret himself would say) correction or change for the better, but as Cyril says, [with] a continuous and innate confession of the truth, is clear from Cyril's writings; for it is possible to see after those reconciliations, or rather after Theodoret's censures, Cyril both in the letter to the Antiochians and in the interpretation of the symbol and in all [his] writings distinctly referring the cause of the Spirit to God and Father, but also confidently giving the things belonging to the identity of essence and the Spirit's bestowal to the Son. Except that he does not say such things as if apologizing; for neither does he wish to seem that because of Theodoret's censures he has become more knowledgeable, whom in the time of wars he ridiculed much for [his] lack of education, returning like for like and justly pouring out his zeal for the truth against those who in any way resist its champion. On the contrary, just as he testifies to those around Theodoret, that he never was of Nestorius's opinion, or rather ignorance, those [men] confessing this, so also he shows himself to be completely above those suspicions and [to] have the right opinion not [to] have learned later, but [to] have had [it] always in all ways.

4.And the acts of the Third Council show all these things to be so, which all those who are about to judge correctly concerning these [matters] must go through. And in those acts are contained the letters of Cyril and Celestine and John and all [the others] both before the council and after that council having been made and written, the divine fathers having thus judged it to be advantageous, [that] all these things should be included in the acts; from which having taken some parts of the words of Theodoret and Cyril and the others, whom we recently mentioned, we will now set forth. For those knowing well the [things] concerning the Third Council, the things said are sufficient for a reminder of those words; but as it has not yet happened [for anyone] to attend well to the acts of this council, the things said cursorily concerning them will not suffice and this writing would seem, not aiming at all accuracy, to be incomplete and narrower than necessary in the necessary [points].

h. Excerpts from the acts of the Third Council confirming the aforementioned points summarily.

THE CAUSE OF SCHISM

1.Therefore, while that holy synod was in session, a certain Charisius, a presbyter, an oeconomus of the church of Philadelphia, having come forward, reported concerning the falsified symbol, which Anastasius and Photius, the Nestorians, through Antony and James, set forth to those who had converted from the Quartodecimans and persuaded them to sign. And the Quartodecimans were those who celebrated Easter on the fourteenth of the moon like the Jews, and using some falsified acts of the apostles and other spurious books, which they called apocrypha. Then Charisius gives libels and sets forth his confession, which is rightly disposed, and immediately the falsified symbol of Nestorius is placed [before the synod].

2.Those being instructed for the first time in the ecclesiastical dogmas with accuracy or wishing to be converted to the truth from some heretical error, ought to be taught and to confess that we believe in one God, Father eternal, neither having begun to be later, but being from the beginning an eternal God, nor indeed having become Father later, since He was always both God and Father. We believe also in one God, Son, only-begotten and being from the essence of the Father, truly Son and being of the same essence, who is and is believed to be Son. And in the Holy Spirit, being from the essence of God, not Son, but being God by essence, as being from that essence, from which also is God and Father, from whom by essence it is in a peculiar way beyond all creation; which we consider to be from God not by essence, but by the cause of creation; and neither considering [Him] Son, nor having received existence through the Son. And we confess the Father perfect in person and the Son likewise and the Holy Spirit, not considering three different essences, but one known by the identity of the Godhead. But it is also necessary to know concerning the economy, which for the sake of our salvation in the economy according to the Lord Christ the Lord God accomplished, that the Lord God the Word took on perfect man, being from the seed of Abraham and David according to the declaration of the divine scriptures, and whatever other things concerning the economy and in this exposition he continues blaspheming, saying that the God the Word from God before the ages [is] one, and Jesus from Nazareth [is] another, considering the one born from the Virgin, our God, a mere man.

3.Therefore, these things having been read, the holy synod decreed, that it is not permitted for anyone to bring forward or write or compose another faith besides that defined by the holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea with the Holy Spirit; but those daring to compose another faith or bring forward or offer [it] to those wishing to convert to the knowledge of the truth from Hellenism or from Judaism or from any heresy whatsoever, these, if they are bishops or clerics, [are] to be alien [i.e., excluded] the bishops from the episcopate and the clerics from the clergy; but if they are laymen, [let them] be anathematized."

4.Concerning the proposed exposition, the holy synod said such things: "If some are found, whether bishops, or clerics, or laymen, either thinking or teaching the things in the proposed exposition by Charisius the presbyter concerning the Incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God, or the impure and distorted dogmas of Nestorius, which are also subjoined, let them be subject to the sentence of this holy and ecumenical synod, so that clearly the bishop is to be alienated from the episcopate," and the rest similarly with the aforementioned penalties.

5.From Cyril's letter to Nestorius: "With all these things your reverence must agree and assent without any argument; but the things which it is necessary for your reverence to anathematize, are subjoined to this our letter." These are twelve chapters, of which none is concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, but all are concerning the Savior's economy.

THE CAUSE OF SCHISM

6.From the fifty-third chapter of the acts of the Third Council, of which the beginning is: "Charisius by name, a presbyter": "For the sake of accurate clarity of the things said, the libel given by the aforementioned Charisius the presbyter and the exposition of that impious faith, which [is] concerning the Incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God with the signature of those deceived, have been inserted.

7.From the publicly proposed disputation against Nestorius, of which the beginning is: "I adjure the one receiving this paper," "that Nestorius is of the same mind as Paul of Samosata, who was anathematized by the orthodox fathers [and] bishops." And the things said are thus: "Paul said: Mary did not bear the Word. Nestorius said in agreement: 'She did not bear, O best one, Mary [did not bear] the Godhead.' Paul: 'For neither was He before the ages.' And Nestorius: '[They] represent a temporal mother to the Godhead, the creator of times.' Paul: 'Mary received the Word and is not older than the Word.' Nestorius: 'How then did Mary bear the one older than herself?' Paul: 'Mary bore to us a man equal [to us].' Nestorius: 'A man [is] the one born from the Virgin.' Paul: 'But greater in all respects, since from the Holy Spirit and from promises and from the things written [is] the grace upon Him.' Nestorius: 'I have beheld,' he says, 'the Spirit descending as a dove and remaining upon Him, bestowing the ascension upon Him. Having commanded,' he says, 'the apostles whom He chose, through the Holy Spirit He was taken up.' This indeed [is] the [Spirit] having bestowed such great glory upon Christ." And after a little: "Behold, the transgressor is shown clearly saying, 'He who was begotten from the Father was not born from Mary.' Behold, he agrees with the heretic Paul." And at the end he says: "If therefore anyone should dare to say that the Son before the ages, the only-begotten, begotten from the Father, and the one born from Mary the Virgin [are] different, and not the same one Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema."

8.From Cyril's letter to Valerian the bishop: "They have made it clear to all that they condemn and anathematize with us the profane empty words of Nestorius; for they have confessed that the holy Virgin is also Theotokos" and the rest, in which it is not added that Nestorius or those around Theodoret also blasphemed against the Holy Spirit.

9.From the twelve anathemas of Cyril against Nestorius, the ninth: "If anyone," he says, "says that the one Lord Jesus Christ is glorified by the Spirit as [by] a foreign power using it through Him and having received from Him the power to act, and [the power] to perform miracles among unclean spirits and to fulfill divine signs for men, and does not rather say [that the Spirit is] His own, through whom also He performed the miracles, let him be anathema."

10.From Theodoret's Refutation, of which the beginning is: "Here clearly not the ones now being pious": "The Spirit [is] proper to the Son, if indeed he said [this] as [being] consubstantial and proceeding from the Father, we will agree and receive the utterance as pious; but if [he said this] as having existence from the Son or through the Son, we will reject this as blasphemous and impious; for we believe the Lord saying: 'The Spirit which proceeds from the Father,' and the most divine Paul likewise saying: 'But we have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is from God.'"

11.From Cyril's letter to Eupotius the bishop: "I have received for [my] full assurance of the present disposition to your holiness the letter sent, which Theodoret of Cyrus is said to have composed against the anathemas; for they say that the small town is called thus. And having met with the things contained [in it], I offered to God songs of thanksgiving; and I have not ceased also saying that: 'Lord, deliver my soul from

unjust lips and from a deceitful tongue.' For I find myself being slandered everywhere and enduring this in each of the chapters."

12.From Cyril's Apology against this accusation: "I said beforehand, that the force of the chapters fights against Nestorius's stammerings or rather slanders and the things said very carelessly; for he saying concerning the Holy Spirit, 'This indeed [is] the [Spirit] having bestowed such great glory upon Christ,' 'having made Him terrible to demons,' 'having bestowed upon Him the ascension to the heavens,' and having uttered such trifles as if [speaking] of some common man among us, the anathema became necessary, not at all against those saying that Jesus was glorified by the Holy Spirit." And after a little: "But we do not say that He [Christ] as also each of the saints, used [the Spirit] as a foreign power which [is] through the Holy Spirit; for the Spirit was and is His, as indeed [it is] also the Father's; and the divinely eloquent Paul having written this very clearly will make [it] clear to us: 'But those who are in the flesh cannot please God. But you are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you. But if anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, this one is not His.' For the Holy Spirit proceeds from God and Father according to the Savior's utterance, but is not foreign to the Son; for He has all things with the Father. And this He Himself taught, saying concerning the Holy Spirit: 'All things whatsoever the Father has are mine; therefore I said to you, that He will receive of mine and will declare [it] to you.'"

13.From Cyril's letter to John of Antioch: 'In no way do we tolerate the defined faith, that is, the symbol of the faith, being shaken by anyone, [namely] that [symbol] from our holy fathers who assembled in Nicaea in due time, nor indeed do we permit ourselves or others either to change a word of those contained there, or even to transgress one syllable, remembering the one saying: "Do not remove the eternal boundaries, which your fathers have set." For they themselves were not the ones speaking, but the very Spirit of God and Father, who proceeds indeed from Him, but is not foreign to the Son according to the essence.'

14.From the records of Cyril's deposition by John: 'We have made those around Cyril excommunicate, until having come to the awareness of their own wounds, and having genuinely repented and anathematized Cyril's heretical chapters, which coincide with the impiety of Apollinarius and Arius and Eunomius, they recover the faith of the holy fathers who were gathered together in Nicaea.'

15.From Theodoret's letter, of which the beginning is: 'I was greatly grieved, having met with the anathemas, which you sent, commanding us to refute these in writing and to expose their heretical meaning naked to all.'

16.From Theodoret's letter to the [bishop] of Antioch after the reconciliations: 'God, who governs all things wisely and provides for our concord and cares for the salvation of the peoples, has arranged for us to be gathered together at the same place and has shown the opinions of all to be in harmony with each other. For having read in common the Egyptian writings and having examined their meaning accurately, we found the things sent from there to be in accordance with the things said.' Then after a little he says: 'But the things now sent are adorned with evangelical nobility; for in them our Lord Jesus Christ is proclaimed [to be] perfect God and perfect man.' And having listed each [point], he adds, speaking also concerning the things now before [us]: 'And the Holy Spirit [is] not having existence from the Son or through the Son, but proceeding from the Father, [and is] called proper to the Son as being consubstantial. Having beheld this correctness in the writings, we praised the one who healed the stammering tongues and transformed the harsh sound into sweet harmony.'

THE CAUSE OF SCHISM

17.From Cyril's letter to Valerian the bishop: 'For indeed the most reverent bishops in all of Spain, together with my lord the most reverent bishop of the church of Antioch, John, through a written and clear confession, have made it clear to all, that they condemn and anathematize with us Nestorius's profane empty words, and they have never considered them worthy of any discussion, but they follow the evangelical and apostolic dogmas and in no way grieve the confession of the fathers.'

18.And again from the same letter: 'If therefore some, falsely speaking, say that they think some things different from these, let them not be believed, but as deceivers and liars according to their own father the devil, let them be sent away, so that they do not disturb those wishing to rightly divide.'

19.From the letter of Celestine of Rome to Nestorius, of which the beginning is: 'For some days': 'Indeed that simple reverence and reverent simplicity had read [and concluded] that it is necessary rather to fear than to seek the depth of one's own understanding.' And elsewhere: '[That] it is not necessary to seek out deeper things.' And again: 'If anyone should preach and legislate otherwise than what we have preached, let him be anathema.' And again: 'You have brought forth a clear sentence against yourself, wishing to preach concerning the Word of God otherwise than the faith of all holds.' And again: 'Blasphemous words ought not to disturb the purity of the ancient faith.' 'Who ever was not judged worthy of being anathematized either removing anything or adding to the faith? For the things fully and clearly handed down to us by the apostles neither admit addition nor diminution. For we have read in our books, [that it is] necessary neither to add nor to take away; for the greatest punishment is for both the one adding and the one taking away something.' And after a little: 'Therefore know clearly that this is our sentence, that unless you preach these things concerning Christ our God, which both the [church] of Rome and the [church] of Alexandria and the whole catholic church holds, as also the holy church in the great city has most beautifully held until you.' Then he adds: 'Since all ought to know what is being done, whenever the consideration is concerning a common matter.'

20.From the letter of the same Celestine to the clergy and laity of Constantinople, of which the beginning is: 'Being about to speak to these': 'For in this I do not know what hope he will find, who discourses concerning our God otherwise than He [Himself] or the apostles have handed down concerning Him; the impious dialectician was abandoned by the divine Spirit, when he also conceived things contrary to the Holy Spirit Himself.'

i. That what Nestorius says in his own symbol concerning the Spirit is not heretical; and that even if that [statement] receives another explanation, even thus it is against the Latins and for us; in which [is discussed] also concerning the "through" [διά], that in the procession of the Spirit it does not signify a cause.

1.Following the sequence of the preceding [arguments], we say that Nestorius, neither having been condemned nor accused by the council and Cyril because of the article concerning the Spirit, appears nowhere [to have been]. And the truth is thus, that Nestorius held an opinion concerning the Spirit, [that it] does not have its existence from the Son. And he has made this clear in his own symbol, having said "neither considering [the Spirit] Son, nor having received existence through the Son." And the Latins indeed use this against us, as if that symbol was condemned and we agree with Nestorius, if indeed we do not think [that] the Spirit has its existence from the Son, just as he [did]; but all our leaders, as many as have defended themselves against the Latins concerning such matters and concede both that this was Nestorius's opinion

and that this [is what] Nestorius intended in that part of his own symbol, and they accept this as true concerning themselves; for if Nestorius held this opinion thus, they say, concerning the Spirit, and no one accused [him] and that holy council expressly calls only the abominable dogmas of Nestorius which were blasphemed by him concerning the economy thus, but blames him nothing concerning the theology concerning the Spirit, it is clear that Nestorius both thought rightly concerning the Spirit and the council possessed the same opinion as he concerning this and thus this [opinion] is Nestorius's, they say, but he is not the one both slandered and [called] heretical, but this too of his true dogmas happened [to be]; for he did not err in all things, and [it] is an opinion more common to the whole church than to Nestorius. Whence following our leaders and similarly to them I dissolve the chapter concerning Nestorius and say that this is the truest apology.

2.But since it scandalizes the Latins that even Nestorius himself held the truth concerning the Holy Spirit (for they wished as it seems that he was mistaken in all things), it is easy also otherwise to understand that saying of Nestorius, so that Nestorius would appear indeed to be speaking truly and thus concerning the Spirit, for it is not right for us to accuse him concerning what not even the council accused [him of], and yet it would be separated from the question proposed by us and the Latins. For it would become clear, that we do not necessarily have this opinion from Nestorius, if indeed what he says concerning the Spirit in his own symbol, is capable of being understood in another meaning separated from the things now being sought. And to me indeed it would seem necessary to interpret Nestorius thus rather.

3.For considering privately, my conscience suggests, that Nestorius concerning the Spirit's existence held indeed the same opinion, which also the whole church of the East, or rather of all the orthodox, openly professed at that time, and the church of Rome itself [did]. And this is clear, not only from the things concerning which no one contradicted him nor accused [him] in this part, but also from what he says in his own symbol; for he says: "And in the Holy Spirit, being from the essence of God, not Son, but being God by essence as being from that essence, from which also [is] God and Father, from whom by essence it is." For up to this point he agrees with the common opinion of the church and well follows the meaning of the symbol in Constantinople, saying [the Spirit to be] from the Father, not begotten as the Son, but proceeding in some other way than the Son; being from that essence, from which [is] God and Father, from whom by essence it is, just as also the Son of God is of the same essence, who is and is believed to be Son. And up to this point I agree with our leaders and the whole discourse is well; for sufficiently from here both Nestorius is shown to be in agreement with the church of Christ concerning the Spirit, and because of this not even being accused; and the Latins are exposed slandering, when they say we [are] Nestorians because of the Spirit, unless indeed they would wish to call even all that council Nestorian; for rather they themselves ought to call Nestorius orthodox and praise [him] because of the opinion concerning the Spirit than us Nestorians; for he from the church, but not we from him received this [opinion].

4.But what Nestorius adds, that "neither considering [Him] Son nor having received existence through the Son," it seems to me he adds this for this reason, so that he might show the Spirit neither to have come forth from God by the manner of generation as the Son of God, nor by that of creation as the creatures, not so that he might show the Spirit as subsisting from the Father only, and not from the Son; for this is sufficiently shown in that preceding part. For since he said [the Spirit] neither to be Son, and yet [to be] from the essence of God, from which by essence it is in a peculiar way beyond all creation, which we believe to be

from God not by essence, but by the cause of creation, he adds, distinguishing more clearly, that neither is the Spirit Son, nor has [it] received existence through the Son, that is to say neither is [it] Son, nor [is it] a creature, one thing clearly of the things from God through the Son having come to be; for all things have come to be through the Son but this [Spirit] in a peculiar way beyond all creation proceeded from the Father. Therefore [it] does not have existence through the Son. And this seems to me to be rather the best proof that the preposition "διά" [through] does not signify a cause in the [phrase] "the Spirit [proceeds] through the Son." For nothing prevents even from heretics the alliance of the truth to be obtained in another matter, just as [it is possible] to gather roses from thorns; for in the [phrase] "all things having come to be through the Son," this preposition signifying a cause, shows the Son to be the cause and creator of creation. But since the Holy Spirit does not have existence through the Son, that is to say, has not come to be from God through the Son with all [other things], but in a peculiar way beyond creation is from the essence of God and Father, from which also the Son is begotten, in the [phrase] "the Holy Spirit [proceeds] through the Son," this preposition does not signify a cause nor does it ascribe a cause to its substantive.

5.And just as the Latins say, since in the [phrase] "through the Son all things are said to have come to be," this preposition signifies a cause, and we believe the Father and the Son to be one cause of creation, for this reason also in the [phrase] "the Spirit [proceeds] through the Son," it signifies a cause, so also we will say more justly and appropriately, since in the [phrase] "through the Son all things are said to have come to be" the preposition "διά" signifies a cause, and the Son thus is without difference the creator of creation just as also the Father, but the difference of the prepositions shows the distinction of the persons and the order, therefore in the [phrase] "the Spirit [is said] to proceed through the Son" the preposition "διά" does not signify a cause, but with the distinction of the persons also shows their essential connection; for what the preposition "διά" signifies within the Divine [Being] according to the consideration of the divine persons in themselves, when it is said "all things [came to be] from God through the Son," for the cause [relates] only to what is outside, but [διά] signifies the unity in essence in the personal distinction and order, this alone [διά] signifies and nothing more in the [phrase] "the Spirit [is said] to proceed from the Father through the Son," since the very activity [of the Spirit] is toward what is within. And for this reason Theodoret says concerning Cyril, "If indeed he says the Spirit [is] proper to the Son, as having existence from the Son or through the Son, we will reject this as blasphemous and impious; for [it] cannot be from the Son, because the truth itself says this [Spirit] to proceed from the Father, and the apostle says this [Spirit] to be from God, that is to say, to be from the Father distinctly." And [it] cannot have existence through the Son, because thus also the Spirit would risk being suspected [to be] a creature and one of the things having come to be through the Son; for those alone have existence from the Son and through the Son, even if not by essence but by the cause of creation; but the Spirit is from the Father processionally, from whom also the Son [is] generationally. And both Theodoret and Nestorius believed this thus, fully comprehending Athanasius's understanding in themselves, who in the forty-sixth chapter of the [treatise] "Concerning the likeness of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" says thus:

6.Athanasius: "What is God? The beginning of all according to the Apostle saying: 'One God [is] the Father, from whom [are] all things'; for also the Word [is] from Him generationally and the Spirit from Him processionally. Then all creation was established through the Word creatively in [the] Spirit." He says the Spirit [is] processionally from the Father and the Son [is] generationally from the Father, and thus shows the Father

[to be] the principle of both; He distinguishes only by [the terms] "generationally" and "processionally." And separating those processions entirely from the procession of creation, he adds: "then all creation through the Word in [the] Spirit was established creatively," and thus shows the Father [to be] the principle of creation, but through [the] Son in [the] Spirit, so that [it is] no less evident from here [that] the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit [are] one principle of creation. And thus he shows, explaining that apostolic saying, [that] God and Father of all [is] the principle, since also of the Son He is the principle [as] being begotten from Him and of the Spirit [as] proceeding from Him; then of creation He is the principle, but of this [He is the principle] in [the] Spirit through [the] Son, so that the Father and the Son and the Spirit [are] one principle of it; and through the temporal adverb he set forth the essential difference both of the procession of creation and of those divine processions; as also of the things coming to be according to each of these processions; for this procession indeed is later and temporal; but those [processions] [are] both eternal and both [exist] together.

7.Therefore, following Athanasius, both Theodoret and Nestorius and whoever else has this opinion, say [that] the Spirit has existence from the Father just as also the Son, except that this [proceeds] processionally, but creation [is] brought into existence from the Father through [the] Son creatively. And for this reason they do not wish the Spirit to have existence through the Son as from a cause, lest also this be conceived [as] a creature and a work; for it is equally impious, whether one should say this [Spirit] to subsist creatively from the Son alone, as Macedonius babbled, or from [the] Father through [the] Son, as all the other pneumatomachoi [Spirit-fighters] [say], as many as blasphemed this [Spirit] [to be] a creature of the Father and the Son against their own head. And Theodoret indeed did not deny the Spirit [to be] poured out from the Father through [the] Son, nor would he have denied [the Spirit] to proceed eternally from the Father through [the] Son, the cause indeed being removed from the preposition "διά" [through], through which the implication of the creative cause unknowingly enters, this he would have accepted, and according to some other pious interpretations, which we later having received from the holy teachers will set forth.

8.And I think not even Nestorius would have denied these things, since indeed he also thought the Spirit to be of the same essence with the Son, since he believed each of these to have come forth from God and Father essentially; but indeed to say the Son [to be] the cause of the Spirit, either alone or with the Father, they considered [such things] to be brought in for the sake of the triflings of the pneumatomachoi and Macedonians; since clearly the Son with the Father are one cause of creation, likewise also the Spirit according to us orthodox [Christians]; and they rather thought the essential unity of the Spirit to be shown toward the Father and the Son in the [phrase] "this [is] believed to proceed from the Father," from whom also the Son generationally has existence, than in the [phrase] "this [is] believed to have existence through [the] Son"; for the one from the Father alone admittedly belongs to a divine person, at least to the Son, but the one from [the] Father through [the] Son also belongs to creation, even if not to this alone according to those saying [so]. Thus I interpret Nestorius's symbol, where he says the Spirit not to have received existence through the Son; and I do not say this because I think Nestorius to have believed the Spirit to subsist through [the] Son eternally, whether therefore [it subsists] proximately from the Son, as the Latins say.

9.If indeed Nestorius happened to say and confess that the Spirit has existence through the Son, the Latins would not be at all benefited, since they now reject the whole symbol of Nestorius; and for this reason they say that even his opinion concerning the Spirit is heretical just as also [his opinions] concerning the economy. Likewise also if, Nestorius saying [that] the Spirit has existence through the Son, the council did not

contradict [him], the Latins would not make this a great [issue] against us justly, since also we daily exclaim that Nestorius said [the Spirit] not to have existence through the Son, and the council did not contradict [him], and for this reason the Latins call us Nestorians in vain, yet they are deaf and do not consider this to be anything great; with which arguments they themselves hate the [phrase] "the Spirit has existence not from the Son" as being Nestorius's, with these also they would have hated the [phrase] "the Spirit has existence through the Son," and just as toward this the silence of the council seems to make no difference, so also toward that it would justly have seemed to them to make no difference. Not therefore because Nestorius believed the Spirit to have existence through the Son, do I approve this interpretation, but rather for the confirmation that Nestorius and the whole church at that time believed the Spirit to be and subsist from the Father, and the Son not to be the cause of the Spirit, I interpret that part thus; for the [phrase] "the Holy Spirit not to have existence from the Son," also from Nestorius's preceding words clearly appears; but the [phrase] "neither [to be] Son, nor to have existence through the Son," I say [it] has been brought forward for the presentation of [the fact] neither [does the Spirit] come forth from the Father generationally, nor creatively, just as the creatures have come to be from God through the Son. And I gather two [points] rather than one, both that the Spirit is from the Father and not from the Son and that the [phrase] "the Spirit has existence through the Son," so that the Son is the cause of the Spirit, leads the Spirit into the nature of all things, of which the Son is the principle according to the great Gregory, as [being] generated from the Father through Him in [the] Spirit. But if it does not seem [good] to anyone to accept this interpretation, let him not accept [it], but let the interpretation of all prevail; for toward the purpose proposed by us both differ in nothing.

10.I say therefore returning [to the point], that Nestorius neither having been condemned nor even accused because of the article of the Spirit appears nowhere; but [it seems] neither did he err, nor do we side with him, but on the contrary rather Cyril was suspected of thinking that the Spirit has existence from the Son. And Theodoret indeed blames him for this very [reason]; but Cyril defending himself seems to deny thinking this and [seems] to bear Theodoret's attack and slander with difficulty, and Cyril sits before us an unbribable judge of such a matter both in the struggles against Nestorius and in the apologies against Theodoret, preserving the same and one opinion, and neither blaming Nestorius, because he wrote that the Spirit [does] not have existence [as] having received [it] from the Son, nor answering Theodoret as one vying for what he is accused of, but rather as one warding off the suspicion as having arisen on account of some bad [things].

j. From what cause was Cyril suspected of holding unsound doctrine, as the present-day Latins hold unsound doctrine?

1.And Cyril provided those suspicions from this [reason]. For since the utterly wicked Nestorius babbled that our God and Lord worked miracles as using the power of the Spirit as [something] foreign, just as if he were saying these things about some mere man, and blasphemed Christ, not [as] God having assumed flesh, but [as] a man being worked by divine grace, the holy Cyril, with the words of truth, demonstrated [Him] to be perfect God and perfect man, and that all things belonging to the divine nature also belong to the one Christ, as not being God by some participation of divinity, but as being Himself God and personally uniting

the human nature in Himself, no less also thus [while] the properties of each nature are preserved unchangeable and unconfused; whence also the works and sufferings of humanity are said indivisibly and simply concerning Christ and all the theologically befitting and altogether divine [attributes] belong to Him because of the utmost union and are said altogether concerning Him, so that both [He is] God being born and being crucified, even if not according to the Godhead, and again [He is] man working miracles and doing extraordinary things, but not at all according to the humanity. But the same Lord Jesus Christ [is said] both to be crucified and to die and to rise and to ascend through Himself, being both God and man, and the same [is said] to perform each of these indivisibly, as indivisibly also and by personal union the natures [are] united in Him, even if some of the works happen to be appropriate to this nature and others to that.

2.Thus therefore he said Christ, being perfect God, as [being] with His own Spirit and nature, to perform the miracles, but not [with the Spirit] breathing from outside and bestowing the power of working miracles; for what is proper to the Son of God, these [things] also he taught to be proper to Christ as being Himself the Son of God; and [that] the Spirit of God [is] proper to the Son of God, both of the sacred scripture teaching and the Church commonly proclaiming and of the teachers before him thinking [so] he heard and [they were] saying, but rather also he received the whole progress of the discourse from the decrees of the First Council; for that [council] said to the questioning philosopher: 'Accept one Godhead of the Father who begot the Son ineffably and of the Son who was begotten from Him and of the Holy Spirit who proceeds from Him the Father, but [is] proper to the Son, as the divine Apostle says: "If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, this one is not His." For here both the Spirit is called proper to the Son, and it being necessary to bring forward that apostolic [passage] as a testimony, in which the Spirit of the Son is spoken of; for "He sent," he says, "the Spirit of His Son," instead of that saying those divine fathers received [the passage] in which the Spirit of Christ is spoken of, as [it is] equal to say "Spirit of Christ" and "Spirit of [the] Son," since Christ is the Son of God, and [it is] again possible to say both "Spirit of [the] Son" and "proper to [the] Son [is] the Spirit." And the champion of that council, the holy Athanasius, in the discourse on the Holy Spirit [says]: "If they thought rightly," he says, "concerning the Son, they would also think soundly concerning the Spirit, which proceeds from the Father and being proper to the Son, is given by Him to the disciples and to all those believing in Him." And not only [as] proper to the Son did Cyril confidently call the Spirit [such] for these [reasons], but also [as] being from Him and proceeding [from Him] he said [so]; for he heard the First Council also saying this: "For that also," he says, "must be understood, O remaining lover of truth [i.e., philosopher]; the Spirit has been found proceeding indeed from the Father, but [being] proper to the Son and welling up to us from Him; and [it] has been found welling up from the Son, whenever the Lord says: 'If anyone thirsts, let him come to Me and drink; and whoever drinks of the water which I will give him'; and this He said concerning the Spirit, which those believing in Him were about to receive."

3.The authority therefore of those fathers was beginning to persuade Cyril to follow in their footsteps. But it was necessary also that the Second Council thus clearly establishing [the doctrine] should not be disregarded, [namely] the faith of the fathers of the three hundred and eighteen who assembled in Nicaea, but [that it] should remain authoritative. How then could he disregard two ecumenical councils, or how could he bear Nestorius coming so contrary to those councils? And yet for the deception of the simpler [folk] that one said [he] was preserving the faith of the First Council; well did he preserve [it], neither giving to Christ the things befitting the Son of God, nor believing the Spirit [to be] proper to Christ, but [believing it to be]

breathing [into Him] from outside and providing the glory of working miracles. Thus Cyril said nothing of his own, but was a genuine disciple of the First Council, preserving its meaning and words; and indeed he was a follower of the Second, which decreed the things of the First to remain authoritative. Therefore also the Third Council gave heed not more to Cyril than to those holy councils, and rightly confirming the votes of those, for whom Cyril was strongly contending, it judged.

4.The purpose indeed of impiety was in Nestorius (for it is no worse to repeat the same things for greater clarity), [to say] that the Son of God [is] one and the one born from the Virgin [is] another, and for this reason [to say] that our Lord used the power of the Spirit as [something] foreign. And he knew indeed the Spirit [to be] both proceeding and breathed forth and sent from Christ, but he considered this one [Christ] [to be] some servant of the Spirit and [to have] received the grace of the Spirit as some man having arrived at the ultimate [state] of holiness, and being perfected by this, thus through this [grace] to perform the miracles; not denying indeed the Son of God to have the Holy Spirit congenitally eternally, since indeed he did not believe Christ to be Himself the Son of God, but [believed Him to be] some man having partaken of the Son of God and believing the Spirit to belong to Christ through some participation [in Him].

5.But Cyril said Jesus Christ [to be] one and the same both perfect God and perfect man, and the Spirit to be thus of Christ, just as it is of the Son of God, because Christ is Himself the Son of God, having in His own person hypostatically assumed the human nature unconfusedly. Whence Nestorius separating Christ from the Son of God, he thus united [them], so that [it is] no longer [a question of] how is the Spirit of Christ, but how the Son of God has the Spirit and gives [it] and sends [it forth], and [so that Cyril] examines and seeks this and sets forth the true doctrine; and [so that] the discourse [concerns] the economy [of salvation] for him, as this is being blasphemed and endangered, and [concerns] the works which our Lord did by the power of the Spirit; but [so that it] seemed to those wishing to attack him both then and now, that he speaks the things concerning Christ, that is, concerning the Son of God, concerning the eternal existence of the Spirit, how He had [it] and how He breathed [it forth] and how He did the extraordinary things through Him, they draw [these things] toward that eternal existence of the Spirit, concerning which Cyril did not then have [as his] primary object to examine. It is therefore possible for everyone wishing to judge rightly, having the teacher's writings themselves at hand, to see clearly, both that the discourse was concerning the divine economy and for this he fought with the God-hated Nestorius, and concerning Christ and the Son of God he made the same discourse rightly, and he altogether adhered to the words of the First Council, and nowhere did he depart from the common confession and opinion. For in the letter to the emperor Theodosius he says thus:

6.And indeed, saying that a man, who was not yet to come and appear, would baptize in fire and the Holy Spirit, he said [it] not [as] sending a foreign Spirit to those being baptized in a slavish and ministerial manner, but as God according to nature with the authority of the Most High, [sending] what [is] from Himself and proper to Himself, through which also the divine character is signified to us. And again: 'For releasing sins of the man belonging to Himself, He anoints [him] finally with His own Spirit, which He Himself sends forth as the Word from God the Father and springs forth to us from His own nature; but placing [it] as [something] common, like property, for the economy with flesh because of the union, and as man He breathed [it] forth bodily; for He breathed on the holy apostles saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit." And He does not give the Spirit by measure, according to John's voice, but He Himself sends [it] forth from Himself just as indeed also

the Father [does].' And again: 'When therefore the Holy Spirit having come to be in us shows us conformed to God, and proceeds from the Father and the Son, it is very clear that [it] is of the divine essence, essentially in it and from it proceeding.' And again elsewhere: 'Christ is the truth, and the Spirit is poured forth from Him just as indeed also from God and Father.' And again: 'For the Spirit [is] proper to Him just as indeed also [it is] of the Father.' And again: 'For our Lord Jesus Christ sends forth to those being baptized [the Spirit] as the Father's own Spirit.' And again: 'But if He receives and gives the same, [it is] evident that at least according to the accounts of the economy with flesh and insofar as He is by nature and truly God [He does so]. He receives indeed humanly not rather for Himself, but for the nature of men providing it through Himself and in Himself; but He gives divinely from His own nature sending [it] forth to those worthy to receive [it].' And again: 'But behold me again our Lord Jesus Christ receiving the Spirit humanly, but fulfilling the Father's promise divinely by sending forth the Spirit to those believing [in Him].' And saying these and such things Cyril, contends most clearly for the incarnation of Christ, against which Nestorius raved, and shows Christ [to be] a true and natural provider of the Spirit to us, as not receiving it then from outside and giving [it], but [as doing] this congenitally from within and from His eternal nature and existence, because Christ is Himself the Son of God, with whom the Spirit exists eternally and naturally.

7.But [these things] provided suspicion to those around Theodoret, lest perhaps also [Cyril] thinks eternally the Spirit to have existence from the Son, that is to say, to subsist, not from the things [he says] calling the Spirit proper to the Son and springing forth from His own nature thus for then it would be necessary also to suspect the First Council [for] proclaiming these things with the same words and they would seem only to be maliciously and truly and jealously troubling [him], but the adverbs of likeness engendered this suspicion and hearing him saying 'the Spirit [is] poured forth from Him just as from the Father' and [that it is] 'proper to Him just as also [it is] of the Father,' they were disturbed; for it seemed [that] he was leaving no difference remaining, but [was] making the same reference of the Spirit toward both the Son and the Father in every respect.

k. That Theodoret wrongly suspected Cyril; for Cyril's meaning was clear from his subjoined utterances.

1.And yet Cyril's meaning was clear not only from the whole intention of his discourses themselves, but also indeed from the words which he sometimes added, showing what kind of likeness he wishes to signify, that [it is] according to nature, not the cause of existence of course, and how he calls the Spirit proper to Christ, [saying that it is] as being connatural to Him and as not foreign nor alien; for somewhere he says, "The Son, existing [as] a partaker of the Father's natural goods, has the Spirit in the same way in which also the Father would be conceived [to have it], [that is] not acquired nor from without." And somewhere he says: "But He sent us the Paraclete from heaven, through whom and in whom He is with us and dwells in us, not pouring into us [something] alien, but the Spirit of His own essence and of the Father, [which is] proper [to both]." And again: "How then would [the Spirit] be of a different nature from God, [it] being neither divided essentially from Him, nor indeed alien, but proper to Him?" And again: "When therefore the Lord Jesus Christ is one according to Paul's voice, and He calls the Spirit [the Spirit] of the Lord, He knows therefore no difference of nature of the Son and the Spirit, but as naturally existing in Him and from Him, He calls [it] by the name of lordship." And again: "Therefore we do not say that the activity of the Spirit has been given to

Him from without nor [as] something brought in, as also to us ourselves or rather to the holy apostles... Therefore [it is] inherently and from Himself [that] He has His Spirit. And of this a clear proof would be, [that He is] able also to bestow it on others." And again: "And our Lord Jesus Christ, sending forth the Spirit from His own fullness, as also the Father Himself [does], does not give it to those worthy to receive [it] as by measure." Nothing therefore would be difficult from these sayings to divine Cyril's opinion; for clearly here making the discourse concerning the economy [of salvation] and the works through it and the Godhead of Christ and the gifts of the Spirit and His giving [of it] and the natural affinity of the Spirit toward the Son, as he himself says in the letter to Eupotius, being displeased with Theodoret's troublesome attack, as he himself says, and slander; for he adds there: "And yet [what is] difficult or uphill [is] nothing at all, as I think, in the things said by us, nor indeed does [it] have an attack [that is] difficult to achieve."

l. The sayings of Cyril, through which he later, because of the criticisms and molestations from Theodoret, also made his own opinion clearer, and [demonstrated] that all these things are against the Latins and foreign to their current theology.

1.But nevertheless, since it somehow occurred to them to trouble him thus, they demanded a clear and distinct and free from all suspicion theology, judging those previous [statements] to be some stammerings and harsh sounds, then indeed using the method of distinction, he distinguishes and divides very clearly thus, so that no pretext for suspicion or slander is left remaining henceforth to any of those having understanding.

2.For in the interpretation of the divine symbol he says: 'For they said to believe in the Spirit just as in the Father and the Son; for [it is] consubstantial with them, and [it] is poured forth or rather proceeds just as from a source of God and Father, but is bestowed on creation through the Son.' And in the letter to John of Antioch: 'In no way do we tolerate,' he says, 'the defined faith or the symbol of the faith [being] shaken by anyone, [namely] that [symbol] from our holy fathers who assembled in Nicaea in due time, nor indeed do we permit ourselves or others either to change a word of those contained there or even to transgress one syllable, remembering the one saying: "Do not remove the eternal boundaries, which your fathers have set." For they themselves were not the ones speaking, but the Spirit of God and Father, who proceeds indeed from Him, but is not foreign to the Son according to the essence.' And in the apology to Theodoret: 'For the Holy Spirit proceeds from God and Father according to the Savior's voice, but is not foreign to the Son; for He has all things with the Father.' And again: 'Just as the finger is attached to the hand, not being foreign to it, but naturally in it, so also the Holy Spirit by the account of consubstantiality is joined for union to the Son, even if [it] proceeds from God and Father.' And in the fifth [book] of those against Hermias: 'Therefore [there is] one nature, one also [is] the Spirit, and [it] is poured forth as from a source of the Father; but indeed [it] is not foreign to the Son.' And again: 'Understand how as [something] proper [to Himself] He promises to send down to us what [is] from the Father, and calls [it] indeed the Spirit of truth, but designated [it] to proceed from the Father Himself.' And again: 'But emphasizing that more, that [it is] the Spirit of the essence of God and Father and of the Word who has appeared from Him and in Him according to nature, [and] existing, all that is proper to the Godhead, [is] naturally brought about, having indeed [the Father] [as] the source Himself, and [the Spirit] being poured forth as from the Father through the Son and sanctifying creation.' And in the seventh discourse of those against Hermias concerning the Spirit: 'For the Spirit is

signified [to belong] to each, and not as being a part of Him, as we conceive among men; for [it] subsists individually and the Father indeed sends [it] forth from His own nature, and the Son Himself bestows [it] on those worthy [to receive it].' And in the Thesauri, in the chapter concerning the Spirit: 'And [it] will bear rather naturally the dignity of the divine essence, existing from it and being bestowed by it on those worthy through the Son.'

3.And again: 'How will the Spirit not be God, having wholly essentially in Himself the property of God and Father, whose Spirit also [it] is, [and being] bestowed on creation through the Son?' And again: 'Therefore the Spirit is God, who, as in the order of God, dwells in us, and, so to speak, [is] of the highest of all essences, existing in [His] own subsistence and being conceived [as coming] from the Father, but [being] bestowed on creation through the Son.' And in the address to the empresses: 'And we believe likewise also in the Holy Spirit, not reckoning [it] alien from the divine nature; for [it] is indeed naturally from the Father, [and is] poured forth through the Son to creation; for the Holy and worshipful Trinity is thus conceived [as] one and consubstantial and in identity of glory.' And who could enumerate the sayings of the teacher, in which he preserves the same meaning as those set forth and nowhere disagreeing with himself and setting forth contrary [things] appears? I think for the present need even those now cited [are] sufficient.

4.Where therefore does Cyril say the Spirit to have existence from the Son, or from the Father together with the Son, or the Spirit to proceed from the Father and the Son, or the Son to be the principle of the Spirit, or the cause of the Spirit's existence, or simply the cause of the Spirit, so that these indeed [may] be believed to be Cyril's opinions and [the opinions] of the whole Eastern Church, but the opposite to these [to be] Theodoret's opinions and Nestorius's perverted [opinions], as the new sophists say? And who ever divided more clearly, or as this teacher divides? And the things indeed belonging to the cause, he gives to the Father; but the things [belonging] to the consubstantiality and the bestowing of the Spirit, also to the Son, as if the present question [had] a judge sent from God [who], unfolding the evangelical and apostolic mind most excellently, when the all-holy Spirit is said [to be] the Spirit of truth and of the Son and the Spirit of Christ.

m. That if Cyril did not think thus as it has been shown [that he was] thinking, he would be a heretic, so that those ascribing the contrary opinion to him, attach heresy to him and slander him.

1.But to say that if Cyril had said the Spirit to have existence from the Son, he would hardly have escaped the criticisms of John and Theodoret, who called him an Apollinarist and a Macedonian and an Arian at the time of the battle, and because of these [accusations] even attempted to condemn [him], or rather did condemn the un-condemnable; calling him an Apollinarist indeed, because, ὑπερμαχῶν (contending strongly) for the Godhead of Christ [which was] in danger, he seemed to them not to believe Him [to be] perfect man; and an Arian, because he seemed to make the Son of God a creature, since he called the same [person] both Christ and Son of God; for they thought him to be dogmatizing a connection of the uncreated with the created in Christ by a unity of nature, not of hypostasis, and because he seemed to posit more principles in the Divine [Being], if he should say the Spirit also to proceed from the Son, that is to say, to subsist; and a Macedonian and a Eunomian, because he simply said the same [Spirit] to be proper to the Son, not yet clearly distinguishing [it] as pleased them, and he seemed to separate it from the paternal cause and to make it a third

[principle] in dignity and nature, as [being] only caused, and in no way a cause of the Godhead, the Son being superior, because both [attributes] are present in Him.

2.But neither saying these things nor setting forth the opposite to these openly thus, did he escape justly the accusations and appear most esteemed by the whole Church, not only then immediately, but also for many years later; for even the later councils cared for his glory, and with all devices invalidated the criticism clinging to him from those chapters, and they themselves crowned him with many praises, who previously were very much troubled by [him] seeming and being suspected [of] agreeing with those heretics. And as much as Cyril was far from being shown to be of the same mind with Eunomius and those heretics from what he wrote, so much he was eager to agree with those around Theodoret; and what seemed to them [as things] to be avoided, and bringing these [accusations] against him for this reason, they were attributing [to him], these very things he showed [himself] avoiding. If therefore Cyril is not a Nestorian, neither is Theodoret, since because of agreeing with Theodoret, Cyril avoided seeming [to be] a Eunomian; and if Theodoret is not a Eunomian, who suspected such things concerning Cyril rather, neither is Cyril a Eunomian, which things Theodoret would wish, saying these things concerning the Spirit; so that even now those having a faith concerning the Spirit in accordance with Theodoret, neither are Nestorians and agree with Cyril and the whole Church; but those neither agreeing with Theodoret and ascribing to Cyril an opinion which he did not have concerning divine things and which he earnestly strove to shake off, inherit the slanders against Cyril themselves and surpass the criticisms of Eunomius and Arius; and they slander Cyril similarly to Theodoret, whom we sometimes might grant to have become a slanderer or an attacker, since both to the councils and to the [actual] events this seems [to be the case]; but the Latins, even blaspheming [him as] a heretic, do not respect justice; for how could Theodoret have been a heretic in those things, the opposite of which, being attached to Cyril, he seemed to attack and slander? Therefore those who slandered Cyril before he clearly declared his own opinion, perhaps did not greatly wrong [him]; but those now, since he seemed to be free from all suspicion, lying against his wisdom and orthodoxy, very much harm what pertains to themselves; and indeed they harm no one except themselves.

m. Refutation of such slander [is] clear from Maximus's letter to Marinus; in which [is contained] also [a discussion] concerning its authenticity, and a recapitulation of the previously demonstrated [points] as in an epilogue.

1.But Maximus does not slander him [Cyril], but rather both Cyril and the Roman fathers, since they appear to be saying the Spirit to proceed from the Son, as he understands [them] saying [it] through whom [the Spirit] proceeds, and this [they say] in order to present the connection of the essence and the inseparability, not as the Son being the cause of the Spirit; for what Maximus accepts of the defenses of the Romans at that time, it is clear that he himself also thinks likewise. For he says in the letter to Marinus: 'Of the synodical [letters] of the now most holy pope, the [people] of the queen of cities seized not in so many chapters, as you have written, but in only two, of which one indeed exists concerning theology, both that, he says, the Holy Spirit [was] said to proceed also from the Son, and the other concerning the divine incarnation, that indeed [it] was written [that] the Lord [was] not without the ancestral sin as man. And in the first I presented agreeing usages of the Roman fathers, and moreover also of Cyril of Alexandria from the sacred

treatise composed by him on the holy evangelist John, from which they showed themselves not making the Son the cause of the Spirit (for they said [there is] one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the Father, of the one according to generation, of the other according to procession), but [they did so] in order that they might show [the Spirit] proceeding through Him and by this show the connection of the essence and the inseparability,' and the following.

2.But [we] must not be afraid concerning this letter lest perhaps it is not genuine, since it shows no pretext for seeming to be forged. For first indeed it neither supports only our [side], nor only the Latins, so that either [it] has been forged by both, but this [is] impossible, or by neither separately. But that it supports both, is clear from both having used it against the others and by some again being slandered from both sides, each as it at some time suited them according to the intention of their own words and those bringing a judgment concerning it. Then also it agrees with the common presuppositions of the faith and altogether agrees with the type of the Asian teachers' theology and with Maximus's other writings; for nowhere does that one appear saying [that] the Son [is] a principle or cause of the Spirit, or [that] the Spirit has existence from the Son or receives [its] being, or anything such.

3.But that even in the times of the Sixth Council, in which indeed the divine Maximus was present, the criticisms against the Latins by our [people] were stirred up, who is ignorant? And how otherwise was it possible then for the Latins to escape the accusations, if not by fleeing indeed to the Roman fathers and our Cyril, and insisting [that they] understand their usages as our [people] would wish, that is to say, as the laws of theology wish. And otherwise also to slander each other's principles is easy indeed, but thus the search and discovery of the truth will cease; for there will be no discourse henceforth toward each other [for those] destroying each other's principles. Therefore neither must Maximus's letter be slandered, if indeed they wish also the sayings of the European fathers to escape the suspicion of spuriousness; and by so much more would it be fitting to accept it, by how much it itself testifies to the genuineness of those sayings, bringing forward also the support from the other matters, which we have moderately touched upon; so that if not because of this letter, nothing would prevent those usages from being rejected, as having been forged by those who dared the addition; which many of our [people] did, in order to condemn the sayings themselves and disregarding the help coming to us from the letter, since they were able to help the doctrine of truth from many other places.

4.But if Maximus himself somewhere disowns a certain letter addressed to Marinus and says [it] to be [the result] of the folly of some slanderers, but [says that] this is not the one concerning which our discourse is; for of the proofs of that false letter, which Maximus sets forth there, nothing is in this [letter] to be recognized, so that of many other letters to Marinus truly written by Maximus, which he says [he] recognizes as his own, it is likely [that] this also exists from those; since indeed he appears to be disowning one, but this one is clearly different from that one.

5.It appears therefore from all these [things] both that Cyril [had] the same faith concerning the Spirit with Theodoret contending for the common dogma of the Church, and the Fathers after Cyril thus understanding Cyril and transmitting the opinion of the Church which they received always until us; and at the same time [it is clear] that it is truly nonsense, if anyone should say [that] the [opinion] of Nestorius [is] a false opinion, [namely] the [opinion] of not having the Spirit [its] existence from the Son, or [that] some of

the teachers having been deceived followed [it], [which] is clear from the things said, even if [it] can be very much clearer to the one who has well attended to the acts of the Third Council from beginning to end.

AUTHORITY OF ST. AUGUSTINE

2. Part Two: Doctrine and authority of Saint Augustine. General theory of the images of the Trinity in creatures.

† Concerning the blessed Augustine, and in general concerning how we ought to use each of the teachers comparatively; in which also [is contained] a general theory concerning created images.

a. The connection of the preceding [points] with the following, and a preliminary statement of the arguments of comparison concerning Augustine, whom the Latins bring forward for their defense.

1.Those who have altered the Creed by the addition "and from the Son" did so for the reasons mentioned above, and they put the schism into effect. For while we, being of sound mind, neither approve the addition, nor know whence the addition came, nor judge that the Pope alone is able to dissolve the bonds of ecumenical councils, but rightly endure the audacity in the hope that those responsible for the schism will justly take care of peace, and for this reason have done nothing burdensome to them, they, showing that they do everything for strife and contention, have even ordained illegitimate patriarchs, while others hold the thrones, and having appropriated to themselves the authority of the Catholic Church, from there they began to innovate more and, altering every custom of the Church and every mystery, as if from greater authority than before, have finally become estranged from most of us. But we, being persuaded that nothing is more sacred, nothing wiser than the tradition of the Fathers, and adhering to this, hope that this course of the faith will be run well under faithful leaders, and in addition to this, we will achieve the rewards of peace, as it is not from what we ourselves do, but from what others rashly chose to dissolve, against our will and greatly grieving. But concerning the innovations they have made in matters of religion, our discourse is less, and at the same time, the examination of these matters is not of the present need; for it has been proposed to us to consider the addition in the Creed. Since therefore it was necessary for the innovators to use some pretext, which is the custom of all those who err in any way, they used their own teachers for this and put them forward as a shield, as if that addition was contained in their writings in the same words. And now the defenders of the addition offer us the same apology and put forward many sayings of the European teachers, clearly teaching thus that the Spirit proceeds from the Son. But they are more confident than others in Augustine, and rightly so; for he himself seems to contend more than others for this opinion. For this reason we too, making a start from him, will show the truth concerning all those teachers together and what they thought concerning the Spirit. But first we will use the teachers as the Latins themselves have used them; for they distinguish them from the Fathers from Asia and say that they have become discoverers of some newer opinion, and they interpret those sayings not according to the type that prevailed in the Church, not according to the unfolded and distinguished and clear theology of the Asian teachers, but according to what seems right to themselves; which way it would have been impossible for them to be truthful, and they think they have become wiser than the Romans at the time of Maximus and those before them up to those teachers and those after them until the innovation in the Creed; who all, both in words and in what they did, interpreted those sayings thus, as we interpret them. Therefore, since it is posited that Augustine says that the Spirit proceeds thus from the Son, as the Son being a principle and cause of the Spirit just as the Father, and as the Spirit drawing its own hypostasis from the Son as from the Father, how our discourse concerning

Augustine will proceed justly and as it would be pleasing to all the examiners of truth, it must indeed be considered.

b. Concerning Augustine's motives for this opinion, how many they seem to be and what they are.

1.Augustine, having been moved for this opinion, if indeed it was of this opinion, seems to have been altogether four. One indeed and the first, the zeal of Ambrose and Hilary, of whom the one was an ancient teacher and lived in the times of the First Council; and Ambrose became his teacher of the true faith, having instructed the word of truth by some divine lot, as the history concerning him shows; and he was formerly a Greek, and some say a Manichean, and he fought much against the true faith, having advanced thus to the extreme in wisdom and dialectic, so that no one could withstand his boldness, but all withdrew, and fearing this, they avoided his encounter. For they say that in the prayers to the divine, this also was then added by the Christians: "Deliver us, O Lord, from the dialectic of Augustine." But if those who explain [him] earlier [as] being a Manichean say more truly, they did not avoid these prayers fleeing the skill of the man in debating, but avoiding the heresy; for they called all the Manicheans dialecticians, and their heresy, dialectic, from Manes, the leader of the heresy, whose name denotes the dialectician or the vessel in the language of the Babylonians. Therefore Augustine found Hilary in his book on the Trinity and in the discourse on Pentecost saying something like this, and [found] Ambrose [saying the same], that is, that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son; but one would hardly find anything like this in Jerome, although he wrote very much; for he adhered more to the accuracy of the Asians, having used this as a rule with Gregory the Very [one], by whom he is said to have studied and drawn much from there of Greek education. But Hilary and Ambrose, simply saying thus that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, do not contend nor seem to be displeased, if anyone would wish to believe otherwise, nor do they insist on the dogma; but Augustine tries to help the dogma by many methods, since many contradicted him then, as I said before and for the reasons I mentioned.

2.Therefore, since Ambrose and Hilary, having spoken of this earlier, one would not simply call Augustine the leader of this, but [would call him the leader] because he insists that it is so and brings many proofs for this and weaves [it] into all his words as if having become a burdensome lover of it. And with Augustine's opinion having prevailed, everyone henceforth makes him the origin of such words and dogmas, just as indeed of all other things almost, and rightly the Latins themselves shake Augustine at us, and for us fighting against the Latins, there is every necessity to contrive something worthy of the teacher; for it would be burdensome both to him and to those wavering on his [account] to pass over the name in silence, and the matter would seem to be not so much of reverence as of contempt. But concerning Leo and Gregory and Damasus, the patriarchs of Rome, making the same and greater account of them than of Augustine, [they are] inferior to him in holiness indeed by nothing, but in rank and form and the struggles for piety even excelling, we do not very much care for the present need, lest they themselves after the holy Augustine attack us as if wrestling again; for their matter is easy, and we will not need much against them and for those words, not that we see everywhere the later teachers following the opinions of those who have gone before, and whose opinion has prevailed, just as to those from Asia the holy Athanasius and Gregory the Great are instead of a rule and guide everywhere; and this it is likely to have happened to those teachers too with regard

to Augustine, just as he himself seems to pay attention to Ambrose and Hilary, and more to Ambrose, who also led him to the path of the true faith.

3.But that we will easily set them together with the Eastern teachers and those common councils and the presuppositions of the faith, just as Ambrose and Hilary; for all of them almost say the same things, with Augustine having stood apart from the many struggles for this opinion, nor having so much chiseled the procession of the Spirit from the Son as he; and yet we will also connect Augustine himself well with our teachers and the common faith, if only the Latins are not envious.

4.But now, as if preserving a private opinion, we attempt to consider all that is likely, and may Augustine be gracious to us, [considering] this comparison of arguments as being done both by force and [as something] to be healed well again by the counter-argument; for if the Latins did not very much contend, relying on the teacher's words, although simply thus and anciently after Maximus being able to draw Augustine to our opinion, we would use the arguments more easily and it would not be necessary for us conceding what is neither permissible nor true, to consider something else; but since indeed the arguments of the comparison have the truth with them, as at least in comparison, they will be advantageous otherwise in the judgment concerning the teachers to those wishing to pay attention, nor would anyone say that these are spoken of negligently.

5.One indeed and this first of Augustine's motives seems to have been, the following of the teachers before him; for he found them saying the Spirit to proceed from the Father and the Son.

6.Secondly, those parts of the canonical scriptures, which say the Spirit of the Son and of Christ to be the Holy Spirit and power going forth from Him and healing all and being sent by Him and breathed forth, and indeed all such things; for hearing of these testimonies for the word or opinion of Ambrose and Hilary, he gathered this opinion from these.

7.Thirdly, a certain image taken from our [tradition] very much prevailing for the possible understanding of the divine [things] for us; and this is [the image] of the mind and its natural fertility appearing both in thought and will, from which both the intelligible mind arises, [which is] the word of it and the intelligible conception, and the love; and these sprouted from the Aristotelian positions.

8.Fourthly, that position of the Platonists, which says the divine nature, established in the permanence of goodness, to be God first and father of all, whom indeed they call the Good; and [they say] the greatest of all after him to be the mind, eternally generated from the Good, and [it is] the cause of all other [things] and leader, and they name this the second cause, which in many places they also call idea and word; and from this mind they say the soul of the universe proceeded, through which all living things are vitally moved and those that in any way partake of life; and [they say] the Good indeed [is] ungenerated and without need, but the mind to have been generated from the Good alone and to need to remain in it, and the soul to have been brought forth from the mind by the return toward the Good; for every [thing] that has generated, he says, desires [it], and loves this. And such things not only Plato, but also Numenius and Plotinus say, all being of the same heresy.

c. Examination of Augustine's four motives; and the first, [and] the second, and it is shown that in the interpretation of those sayings of scripture, Augustine ought not to be obeyed, if he is altogether discordant with our teachers.

AUTHORITY OF ST. AUGUSTINE

1.We will examine Augustine's first motive later, after having readily available Hilary and Ambrose, and with them also the fathers after Augustine, showing [them as] being unable to resist the common faith and the Asian fathers, through what they say; for being established as was likely, with whom also Augustine surely will be established and will receive the same reverence from us; for we will not willingly ever ascribe to him the cause of the Latin innovation, nor will we let go of anything against a holy and wise man which is better left unsaid; but since he was also moved by the sayings of scripture, which he necessarily thought to bring toward such an opinion, using him as an advocate, we will set him outside of blame thus having been moved, but we will show that it is not very advantageous to us to obey him. For he himself writing to Jerome says thus: "To the canonical books so-called of scripture alone I have learned to give this honor, so as not to believe that anyone of those who wrote them has erred; but I read the others thus, so that even if they profess to have excelled in holiness or teaching, I do not for this reason consider [it] true, because they wrote or thought thus." But indeed also excusing himself everywhere concerning his own writings, he entrusts the judgment concerning them to those about to encounter [them], and advises indeed to abide by what he himself deems [correct] and to honor these, if they appear to fit the rule of truth; but if they seem to disagree, neither to accept these, and to have indulgence for him, as not having wished to distort the truth, but [as having] been able to conjecture thus.

2.But these words being of prudent reverence, someone might say that they ought not to become a pretext for us of irreverence towards him, or indeed it will be possible to distrust all teachers, of whom some indeed similarly to him decline [to assert infallibility], and to some such things indeed it occurred to think concerning what they said, even if they did not openly thus decline [to assert infallibility]; for example, if Paul calls himself a scum and sinful, shall we also place him in the choir of sinners? But what he seems to demand concerning the teachers before him and very rightly, where [is it] just not also for us to demand these things concerning what he himself says, but to give him more reverence than he himself reasonably gave to others? For on the contrary, he would wish us to become imitators of what seemed right to him, and what he knew to be advantageous to himself, these also for us to choose as being profitable to ourselves; for not as being very confident in himself by the test of truth did he think it necessary to bring the [writings] of the other teachers, nor from irreverence towards them did he suppose it permissible for anyone to err even from accuracy. But if he did not posit such a difference in the scriptures of the Spirit and the other teachers, he thought he would both wrong the truth and turn everything upside down, and either dishonor the teaching of the Spirit as being in danger with human errors, or show the hoped-for blessedness to be empty, human knowledge being thus altogether believed to be perfected here, so as to be able in no serious matter to be enslaved to the darkness of natural ignorance.

3.Therefore, persuaded by Augustine, we believe that what the canonical books teach, it is never possible to be false; but we consider Augustine and any other of the teachers to be able to err from the truth in something, even if he has excelled in any holiness or teaching. If therefore also none of the other teachers happened to be interpreting those parts of the holy scriptures, from which Augustine also gathers [the conclusion] that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, that is to say, subsists personally, as the Latins understand this, for it is now posited that Augustine thinks thus, but he alone was the interpreter of such things for us, it would have been possible for us, being persuaded by him, to consider such things after much research, not to

posit [them] to him unexamined, and as holy indeed and a teacher to extol [him], but not for this reason to consider [it] true, because he wrote or thought thus; for the rule of truth is present to us, before which placing the opinions both of Augustine himself and of the other teachers, [it] will be possible both to do nothing discordant with them and for us to live in greater safety. And this [rule] is the holy gospels and the dogmas commonly practiced and prevailing among all Christians until now; and [it is] nothing difficult to bring all the [sayings] of the teachers to this rule, nor if someone indeed brings [them] well, is it likely for him to err from the truth or the fitting before God [as] judge. But now not only Augustine sits before us [as] an interpreter of them, but a swarm of teachers sits before us of these sayings.

4.If therefore it does not seem well [that] Augustine in this part of the scriptures has aimed at the meaning, and the support from the other teachers is also present, who having understanding would say [that] it is necessary to prefer the authority of Augustine to what both the consciousness of truth persuades us from within and [to what] we have very many teachers agreeing [with us]? But we, even despising our own opinion, think [it] necessary to pay attention to the teachers alone; nor would Augustine himself have blamed us, if we place ourselves with more teachers instead of one, and instead of [one] preserving a private opinion with modesty, [we place ourselves] with those following the common opinion and those who have spoken more clearly and distinctly rather than generally and confusedly or indefinitely, and therefore needing an arbiter, whoever would show him in accord with the others, if anyone intends to do this. But it was also fitting for the Latins to do [this] and not for the sake of Augustine to overlook the common faith, favoring [him in ways] which he himself would not even wish; but if even the Latins had some excuse for the passion, but no argument would have accused us having wished ever to share with them a vote concerning the teachers thus very unequal; for neither was the unity of the Church going to force us; for this is not destroyed by what we judge correctly and without error concerning the teachers, but by what the Latins use them badly and recklessly, is destroyed; and for this reason it is necessary for us also to take care of peace, but as it would be advantageous to the teachers and to us and to themselves who dared to shake the peace; and it is surely advantageous, with those who began by wronging [it] changing towards doing what is right, not with us sinning together with them, and with them abolishing whatever peculiarity they once chose and returning to the common and first confession, but not with us accepting these foreign and burdensome [things] and needing much examination.

d. What understanding our teachers had concerning those scriptural sayings; and that if Augustine had a different understanding as the Latins now interpret him, the understanding of all the others is better.

1.But concerning these [things] later. Now it is necessary to consider the [writings] of our teachers, whether [they] are in agreement with Augustine or not, and what ever occurred to all of them together and to each separately concerning those sayings. Therefore the blessed John of Damascus in the discourse on the God-receiving burial of the Lord [says]: "This is what we worship: Father, begetter of the Son, unbegotten; for [He is] not from anything; Son, offspring of the Father, as begotten from Him; Holy Spirit of God and Father, as proceeding from Him, which is also said [to be] of the Son, as being revealed through Him and imparted to creation, but not having existence from Him." And again the same [one says]: "But we do not say [that] the Spirit [is] from the Son, but we name [Him] Spirit of the Son." And the divine Basil in the

eighteenth chapter of those to Amphilochius [says]: " [It] is said [to be] the Spirit of Christ, as being naturally related to Him." And the divine Anastasius in the discourse on the correct dogmas [says]: "The Holy Spirit is said [to be] the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of the Son, the Word showing through all [the scriptures] the natural kinship of the Godhead." And again the same [one says]: " [He] is always with the apostles, being partaken [by them], but with the Savior Christ and our God as consubstantial and co-divine. For this reason [He] is said [to be] the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ." And the First Council [says]: "And [we believe] in the Spirit, who proceeds from the Father Himself, but is proper to the Son, as the Apostle says: 'If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, this one is not His.'" And both Cyril and all [the others] accepted "proper" as consubstantial, as related, as not foreign according to the essence. Therefore [it is] thus also [that the Spirit is] of the Son; and in general none of our teachers, from the fact that the Spirit is said to be of the Son, has ever concluded that the Son is the cause of the Spirit, that is to say, [that] the Spirit subsists from the Son, either uttering the apostolic saying, or taking this up for some need.

2.But what do they say concerning that breathing forth? The blessed John Chrysostom thus says, interpreting that evangelical passage: "Some indeed say that He did not give the Spirit, but prepared them for the reception through the breathing forth; for if Daniel, having seen angels, was amazed, what would not these have suffered receiving that unspeakable grace, if He had not first made them disciples? Nor would anyone err, saying that they then received some authority and spiritual grace, not so as to raise the dead and perform powers, but so as to forgive sins; for the gifts of the Spirit are different. Therefore he also added: 'If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven;' showing what kind of activity He gives; but there after forty days they received the grace and activity of all the signs; therefore he says: 'You will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes upon you, and you will be my witnesses;' and they became witnesses of the signs. And this happens, so that you may learn, that the authority of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit [is] one; for what seems to be particular to the Father, these also appear to be of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

3.And Cyril interpreting this similarly [says]: "But someone perhaps will say, 'Therefore also then did the Savior's disciples receive the grace of the Spirit, when He stood before them after the resurrection, [and] said: "Receive the Holy Spirit," or on Pentecost?' And solving this question he adds: 'For He promised indeed to send down from heaven the Paraclete, when [He] will be with God and the Father; which also He has done, having departed to the Father. But it was necessary [for] the Son also to appear [as] a giver of the Spirit and a co-giver with the Father, and [to show] that He Himself is the one who brought all things from non-being into being and adorned man with the grace of His own Spirit; for He breathed into him a breath of life, as it is written. But since [man] happened to fall from [his] innocence into death and to slip from that ancient honor, God and Father rebuilt him again and renewed [him] into newness of life through the Son, who through [an] evident breathing forth bestows the Spirit and establishes [His] own Spirit [which is] Christ into [man as] an image of God.' And some other ancient teacher says in the interpretations on the blessed John, that [by] Spirit [he] clearly calls the spiritual grace, saying: 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' because [He intended] to make those who hear spiritual, as He Himself said beforehand: 'The words which I have spoken to you are Spirit.' If therefore the words which He spoke are called Spirit, that is to say, spiritual, how much more did He call so great a gift Spirit homonymously? And again Cyril in the Thesauri [says]: 'What the blessed Moses, he says, insisted [that] it was breathed in by God into man, this Christ renewing in us after the resurrection from the dead, breathed into His disciples saying: "Receive the Holy Spirit," so that having been reformed

again into the original image, we may appear conformed to the [One] who made [us] through the participation of the Spirit.'"

4.And the great Basil in the sixteenth of those to Amphilochius [says]: "For the Lord, renewing man, and giving back the grace of the breath of God which he lost, breathing into the face of the disciples, what does He say? 'Receive the Holy Spirit; if you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained.'" And the great [Gregory] the Theologian [says]: "And this, he says, shows the first of the diseases and the cleansing of the spirits, clearly not happening without the Spirit, and the breathing forth after the economy, clearly [being] a more divine inspiration, and the present division of the fiery tongues; but the first indeed, dimly; but the second, more typically; but the present, more perfectly, no longer being present in activity, as before, but essentially, as one might say, becoming together [with them] and co-existing." But what do they say concerning the power? That the power was the activity of healing, which she drew by that faith; for she asked, they say, so that the woman might recognize herself and the power which secretly worked might be made public, and in general the healings of the miracles [which are] powers going forth in Christ and from Christ, our teachers understand [them] as revealing the power of the Godhead in Christ, whose property it was to work miracles with authority, and they say that the wonder-working power itself in Christ goes forth from Him and heals all, not as locally or bodily withdrawing from Him, but as being activated and being recognized in the being activated by those benefited from it, just as the sciences, they say, are both in the one teaching and are transmitted to those learning.

5.Thus indeed the whole series of our teachers has received those usages and sings the upright law as truly, as anyone might suppose somehow partaking of sacred music, not a crooked and distorted one. For all these [teachers] also speak of certain processions from Christ, but [they are] our sanctifications, not of the Spirit Himself [as] subsisting, and they make these signs of the [fact] of the Spirit being acknowledged [as] God, of the Son's Godhead and of Christ again being true God towards those who give the Spirit [as] God. And they say that those processions of the Spirit [are] both temporal and have happened dividedly and have been accomplished by bodily signs for manifestation; but the Holy Spirit, whose [property] especially [He] is the sanctification, although [He is] of the whole divine nature, [is] also congenitally in the Son and moves from Him toward our re-formation, and at the same time also from Himself, as having the same and one nature and will with Him.

6.But [as for] making these signs of the Spirit also eternally subsisting from the Son and [as for saying] that this [is] the fruit of the Son's hypostasis, just as indeed [the Son] and the Spirit are [so to speak] the fruit of the paternal hypostasis, as personally subsisting from it, we would not ever testify to Augustine, but only that he says that that bodily breathing forth [is] a sign of the bodiless Spirit also invisibly proceeding from the Son, and that he says [that] the Spirit being said [to be] of the Son [is] a proof of it also proceeding from the Son, just as the Damascene says, that [He] is said [to be] the Spirit of the Son, as being revealed through Him and imparted to creation. And it is clear that the Latins also say [that there are] certain temporal processions of the divine persons, which they especially themselves call missions, but we [call them] gifts and manifestations and bestowals, and in one word "prokedere" both the eternally proceeding, or rather subsisting, and the temporally proceeding, that is to say, being revealed, they signify, as it will be clear in the following. But if even after this the Latins force [it] and say [that] the holy Augustine understood those

processions of the Spirit and those sayings of scripture in this sense, which they themselves now have, but we will rather pay attention to all the other teachers together than to Augustine alone.

e. That it is not impossible for any teacher to err concerning any question of the faith, and proofs of this from many examples and solutions of the arguments, which some say to the contrary.

1.Since there are some who say that it is impossible for Augustine to be ignorant of anything, so that it would not be possible to say this concerning each of the teachers and concerning the whole Church in common, and they think as if bringing forward something great against us who preserve the common and first confession, and in addition to these they accuse us as grieving and dishonoring the whole Church and doing away with Christianity, if we posit any difference to have arisen among the teachers in the dogmas of the faith, it is necessary for us also, having departed a little from the proposed subject, to help the truth here and to withstand these sophisms well, [which are] very much able to deceive the simpler [ones]. It is necessary to know that not everything which someone says, being both holy and a teacher, is necessarily true, nor is it impossible for even any of the holy teachers to err from accuracy in something. For it is likely indeed that there are some who have erred in nothing of the truth, as [being] more carefully having discussed the matters of the faith and not very much having trusted in their own natural ability, which we have [the right] to say concerning the Damascene, who fully and compactly [presents] the things decided by the ancient teachers and goes through nothing from his own [ideas]; but this has not happened to all. But some, moved by the zeal of piety and the hopes from wisdom, have left almost nothing of the things untouched by others unattempted, just as the holy Augustine [did] the manner of the Spirit's procession, which all the teachers together say [is] unspeakable and incomprehensible itself and [say the same about] its difference from the generation [of the Son], [and Augustine] was led to investigate [it] from some created analogy and to bring [it] before our eyes almost, as far as that similarity extends. But others, having become [more] [concerned] for the times and the need in all [things] than for accuracy, have prematurely said something not necessary [to be said]. But others, although yielding nothing of the truth, nevertheless seemed to suffer this from some peculiarity of the words; for we see the teachers having used different forms of expression in different ways and not having the same manner of speaking in all [things].

2.From such causes therefore it has happened to some of the teachers to be carried away from the common opinion in some dogmas, or at least to seem to have suffered this. Or who is ignorant of the blessed [Gregory] of Nyssa, considering the common restoration of all to the hoped-for blessedness after long periods of time and purifications appropriate to the sins to be one of the most necessary [things], and for this reason helping the opinion with many arguments—a matter referred to that Origen, or rather to Plato first, and well condemned by the common assemblies of the Church? Nor does anyone have [the right] to say that those parts are interpolations of certain heretics who wished to harm the truth and the teacher's opinion; for many other [things] refute this suspicion, and [so does] Maximus the holy, as indeed being aware of the genuineness of those words of the teacher, having treated them with sound interpretations and skillfully channeled the unpleasant and differing from the dogma into the pious opinion of the Church. Or what would have prevented [him], having cast out these [words] as spurious and falsely inscribed of the teacher's words, both to plead for him as having been wronged and himself to undergo no labor?

AUTHORITY OF ST. AUGUSTINE

3.But Dionysius the Great, bishop of Alexandria, was he not also crowned with the crowns of martyrdom and had wisdom sufficiently, so as even to have published many books of no small concern to those in the times of him? But nevertheless he incurred the charge of having been the cause of the nonsense of the Anomoians. And of this [there is] a clear witness the great Basil. For writing to Maximus the philosopher, he adds such things concerning Dionysius: "But the things of Dionysius which you inquire about, have come to us and very many indeed; but the books are not at hand, therefore we have not sent [them]. But we have [formed] an opinion thus: we do not admire everything of the man; and there are some [things] which we completely reject. For almost of this now much-talked-about impiety of the Anomoians, I say, as much as we know, this [man was] the first to provide the seeds to men. And [the] cause, I think, [was] not wickedness of mind, but the very much wishing to oppose Sabellius." And after a little: "We have found something such also having happened concerning this man; for opposing vehemently the impiety of the Libyan, he unknowingly was carried into the opposite evil by excessive ambition, for which it was so much sufficient to show, that the Father and the Son [are] not the same as the subject and to have the victory against the blasphemer; but he, in order that [he] might prevail very clearly and excessively, not only posits a difference of the hypostases, but also a difference of essence and a lessening of power and a change of glory, so that from this it happened not badly indeed for him to have exchanged one evil for another potentially, but to have missed the correctness of the word."

4.But also something such has happened to Gregory the Wonderworker, as the divine Basil himself shows concerning this, writing to [his] brother. For he says concerning him: "Then indeed persuading the Greek, he did not think it necessary to be precise about the words, but sometimes even to yield to the custom of the one being addressed, so that he might not oppose the crucial [points]. Therefore you would find many expressions there which now provide the greatest strength to the heretics, such as 'creature' and 'work' and whatever [is] such. And since Dionysius, the one mentioned a little before, accepted the baptism of the Pepouzians, I wondered, says the great Basil, how this escaped Dionysius, being canonical. For the ancients judged [it proper] to accept that baptism, [which] deviates nothing from the faith." And he adds: "So that even if the great Dionysius overlooked this, yet we must not guard the imitation of the error; for the absurdity [is] obvious from the beginning and clear to all, to whom even a little of reasoning belongs."

5.But concerning Damasus, the chief priest of Rome, the great Gregory says such things writing to Cleonius: "What [is] surprising, if even the words of Vitalis we indeed received for the more pious [interpretation], thus desire persuading [us], but others rage against the meaning of the things written? Which I think also Damasus himself, having been retaught and having turned over the writing of the faith with an anathema, and [having been] displeased with their deceit, which he suffered from simplicity." But also the divine Damascene, Thomas the teacher of the Latins agrees [him] to be holy and uses [him] as such in many places; but in this part he says [him] to have been carried away with the Nestorians and to have fallen from the truth. Nor would he say [him] to have been changed later [and] to have attained the glory in holiness; for he himself does not appear to have taught anything different anywhere, and those who proclaimed him with the greatest honors knew nothing more concerning him. But indeed they say Augustine to have investigated and corrected more than eighty of the sacred questions, having become better [as] a theorist of such things after long experience, nor did he endure to accept blame from others, nor did he consider it shameful to seem to have learned better things later, nor did he make light of the harm to the brethren, if it should happen to

them to miss the truth being persuaded by him. But since he happened to have published very many writings, with all immediately seizing them with the desire of his virtue and wisdom, before attaining a more mature supervision from him, and he once felt [himself] having expressed some of the things contained in them worse than was fitting, those [things] indeed it was no longer possible to alter, but in another writing he brought the correction for them; and now that [writing] being preserved is as it were a common medicine of Augustine's books, composed not by someone else, but by himself who caused the wound. Therefore neither is it impossible for our teachers, being men, for something human to happen, as long as that which happens is not able to keep them from the eternal goods, nor is it surprising, if also to Augustine happened what has happened to many others of the blessed [ones].

6.Therefore, is Augustine a heretic, someone might say? Certainly not, if indeed neither Gregory of Nyssa, nor Damascene, nor Dionysius are heretics, but have been proclaimed holy and teachers of the Church, although saying things which displease others. "But it was not necessary," he says, "for the Church to do thus, but only to honor those with the honors of the blessed ones, to whom it has happened to err in nothing." And what is this to the point? For the accusation is of the Church, but indeed it was not even worthy of accusation, but rather of praise. For Augustine, in whom the Latins almost believe everything, admits that it is possible for some excelling in both holiness and teaching to err from the truth in something; and for this reason it is not necessary to be unquestionably persuaded by all the things they say, but placing their [writings] beside the canonical scriptures, to honor what is in agreement, and to reject what is different.

7.And the councils therefore honoring this judgment of Augustine, [they consider] those excelling in both holiness and teaching, even if they do not wish each one separately to be believed firmly in all [things] which they have said, and [even if they consider that] some of them have understood or written some things not well, yet they do not cast [them] out of the order of the saints; for they correct only those who contentiously cling to their own opinion and confuse the common [teaching] of the Church and openly legislate against the councils; not if someone has preserved a private opinion, no one contradicting or persuading [him] of better things either privately or publicly. But if it is necessary to speak the truth, it is not the councils that have put Augustine's opinion into practice, but he rather agrees with the councils and the [actual state of] affairs, thinking thus concerning the teachers: "For it is possible," he says, "even [for] the one excelling for the most part in holiness and teaching to err in something of the truth." But no one either from himself or from any of those close to him rightly receives the authority of teaching and the glory in holiness, but only from the Church in common, which approves him and finds [him] worthy of such rewards and judges [him].

8.But if the Latins concede [that it is] possible for the teachers to err from the truth in the lighter [matters], but by no means in the greater, but the opposite is true; for either it is necessary for these [teachers] to err nowhere, or, if [they err] in the small [things], it is possible for them to suffer this even in some of the greater [ones]; and if something resists their holiness and wisdom [to err] concerning the greater [things], they will be subject to the same reproaches, even if they err in the lesser [ones]; for from both sides they will incur a fall from the truth; and it makes no difference at all as regards lying and erring from the truth, whether someone suffers this in a greater or in a lesser matter concerning the same science; and yet in our faith, in which there is much difficulty, teaching [things] surpassing the sequence of nature, as he himself says, it would surely bring greater disgrace to incur the error in the lesser [things], in which there is less difficulty; for

what would anyone suffer, trying and aiming with human power at [things] beyond man and some supernatural truth, there being a necessity to do thus, and the desire of the truth hastening towards the things beyond nature and trying to grasp these? But as I said before, not the one preserving a private opinion and divining something concerning this supernatural truth however it happened, [is] a heretic, if he seems to err somewhere; but the one stubborn and not willing to be persuaded even if all men should say the contrary, risking [himself] even in the precipices of pride, this [man] they judge [to be a heretic], even if he seemed to have advanced otherwise in however much holiness and wisdom.

9.But neither does it resist the Church and its true faith, [the fact] that so-and-so or so-and-so of the teachers distinguished in it errs in something of the true opinion; since not each of the teachers in the Church establishes the laws of the faith, but rather the Church in common regulates his [words], and each one ought to direct his own opinion to the common laws. But it would be a great [thing] against the Church, if it, disagreeing with itself, were entangled in contradiction and falsehood; for example, if the councils, bringing forth a vote fighting against the canonical scriptures, were convicted, if they legislated things contrary to each other, none of which has ever happened by the grace of Christ, but [they have remained] to the end harmonious in mind and true, even if some, whoever they may be and of whatever kind, privately or even gathered together, adding something to the common dogmas, have made some confusion or are making [it] or will even make [it]; for both that first council of the faithful followed the canonical scriptures and stood for the true and one meaning of them being in danger, and each of the others from the same meaning then solved the disputes that arose before it, at the same time also having brought forth no dogma discordant or contrary to the one leading in time. – And how, he says, did the fifth council declare: "We follow the holy fathers in all things and the teachers of the Church, Athanasius, Hilary, Basil," so-and-so and so-and-so, in whom they also place Augustine? – Because it does not say all [things] which they wrote; for how [could it], if indeed they did not perhaps even examine all [of them], but what they set forth in the struggles against the heretics for the sake of the truth then being in danger, and from which especially and for which they rightly established the public proclamations.

10.And the fifth council itself makes this clear. For it adds: "And we accept all [things] which they set forth both concerning the orthodox faith and against the refutation of the heretics." But it was very dangerous to declare all [things] simply, so that they might also give license to the audacity of some and rashness and contentiousness, from which some of the teachers have philosophized somewhere privately, mining the depth of the holy scripture, to take occasions for some innovations and heresies; for Thomas also would have defended these things concerning the Damascene; or how also concerning him the equal [things] of the seventh council legislating (for from equal struggles it was just [that he] also obtain equal rewards) Thomas with the Roman church do not deem [it proper] to cherish all his [writings], but there are some which they even rightly think to reject? What great and difficult [thing] is there to understand, as if even the fifth council honoring the teachers said this and wishing us later [to come] to pay attention to them, not agreeing with our wishes, nevertheless gives greater authority to itself and the other councils, and to the canonical scriptures even greater than this? And this the fifth council ought to have made clear, that no one having understanding, because of the testimony which it bestowed on the teachers, will wish to believe any of them and whoever [he may be] against it or the presuppositions of the faith, that is to say, in which [things]

they will seem to be displeasing to the common dogmas, [and will think it proper] to be added rather to them [i.e. the common dogmas].

11.For it is of the greatest folly, surely, because the council said [that it is] necessary to be persuaded by Augustine in those [things] which he set forth against the refutation of the heretics, for this reason to be persuaded by him also if he says something pleasing to no one except himself alone; but also that vote of the council, as it is fitting to understand [it], [is] to place the common presuppositions and the votes of the councils and the things seeming [right] to most of the teachers before Augustine, if [they] have understanding, and not even thus to think Augustine's opinion to be harmed anywhere, because he sought these [things] with good will, and did not contradict any of the councils thus openly nor considered [himself] to contradict. And in addition to these [things], he gave himself over to the judgment of the many, considering [it] just, [that] he himself should have no more than what he himself bestowed on those before him; for he thought [it] necessary neither the canonical scriptures, nor the councils, which have equal power, neither himself nor anyone else to be preferred. And these things it is necessary to judge thus, granting that that vote is truly of the fifth council. But now even this is full of much suspicion; for in the acts of the council these [things] are not found [to be] recorded, except in very few books. But even if that council did not bestow this honor on the teachers, but would have bestowed [it] and is believed [to have] bestowed [it]; yet nothing more will accrue to anyone from this concerning one or another of those claiming [to be] of the teachers, which neither the council ever wished and has much absurdity.

12.But I heard one of those of us added to the Latins opining and saying, that if any of the teachers should disagree with the other teachers in something, this will be a great advantage against us to those claiming the [legacy] of the Greeks and on a shaky [foundation] the [structure] of our faith will be placed. Therefore, it being supposed [that it is] possible for one of the teachers to err from accuracy in something, such a one would have yielded to the Greeks, not being able to solve their argument; but in order that he might not suffer this and give in completely to the perplexity of the Greeks, he disregards Augustine saying [that it is] possible for a teacher to be deceived. It was better therefore for him to pass over Augustine in those [things] which he says contrary to the common opinions and the canonical scriptures, since he himself also advises to disregard him in such [things] and gives himself surely [as] an example.

13.He indeed thus. But I both honor Augustine as he himself wishes to be honored, and I concede [that it is] possible for both Augustine himself and some of the other teachers separately to err somewhere from the truth; and neither do I accuse him himself who suffered this, since [he] did not contentiously oppose his opinion nor against the whole Church persuading the contrary and commanding [it] did he speak against [it], nor do I make this an accusation of the holy Church, since [it] is not subject to Augustine's laws, but rather honors those [things] of the [other] [teachers] more than those of Augustine and advises us to accept those [things] which are evidently in harmony with the dogmas proclaimed by it; for we accept, he says, all [things] which they set forth both concerning the orthodox faith and against the refutation of the heretics, against whom indeed the councils were established from the beginning and publicly brought forth the votes; but concerning the things otherwise having [them], it is satisfied with Augustine's votes, which he himself brought forth concerning the teachers before him and those about to come against him sometime, that is to say, how [it is] proper to pass over them in silence and with good repute, [we] being more persuaded by the canonical scriptures than the [things] appearing not to agree with these. But neither would we give in to those

Hellenizing, either because of this, or because of their other nonsense and slanders against our faith, which those suffer who neither have a method in such [things] nor have knowledge well [established] and not being able to use a sound criterion, since I have [the means] to answer their other nonsense, and to this, if anyone should talk such nonsense and try to refute us from this; for we indeed, bearing [something] by the Spirit and the inspiration from there, do not ascribe all the things seeming [right] to so-and-so a teacher, concerning which it is possible for each one to opine whatever [he pleases], but we confess [them] indeed to be guided by the Spirit in the words, and of these especially those excelling in virtue and using the words with much reverence and attention and saying nothing superfluously concerning the [matters] of the faith; but [we say them] to be men and therefore able by the inclination of the will to be moved to whatever thought not pleasing to the Spirit, just as indeed also in deeds they were not altogether without error, nor would anyone say [that] they proved to be superior to every error both small and likewise great and happening for any cause whatever; for this is not possible for nature, although they were God-beloved and guided by God.

14.Just as therefore they would not be vile, having been angry somewhere out of season and having uttered some word to their neighbor coldly, nor would it be necessary for this reason to undergo even eternal punishments, those who have thus utterly enslaved the senses in the crucial [matters] to the Spirit, so also to opine something beyond the truth, whether being led by some ambition, or having suffered this because of the difficulty of the truth, but not indeed to contend contentiously against the Church, nor to incur the error in the crucial [matters], neither to them nor to the guidance of the Spirit does this resist; nor do we know this anywhere [to have been] promised by the truth to any one of men [the promise] never to err in anything, just as [He] promised to two or three gathered together [that He] will be present in the name of truth and the Spirit came upon the gathered disciples of Christ from the beginning.

15.And Christ establishes the Church upon Peter; but [the promise] not to be overpowered by the gates of Hades, of impiety clearly and of heresies, He gives to the Church, not to Peter. For this reason indeed we ascribe the [quality] of not being able to err in anything as a special privilege to the councils alone, each of which represents the whole Church, which alone we affirm [to be] and [to] stand outside of falsehood for all time, being persuaded of this by many arguments and facts, and we say [that] the councils having been inspired by the Spirit have declared each [thing] and that no human will has operated in them at all, except for the desire of the truth and by this desire to come together into the same [mind]; but the teaching of the truth [was] breathed into them from above, and for this reason all having the same teacher within [them] ran together to one mind, just as a certain sacred choir agreeing with the leader giving the melody. For these reasons therefore we assign the same rank to those councils and to the holy scriptures. And it is clear that even in those councils there is nothing contrary and in the holy scriptures all [things] are in harmony with each other, as has been sufficiently demonstrated by the holy teachers, and those saying the contrary have been refuted.

16.But indeed also to the apostles was given wisdom and grace of speech from above, and the Spirit spoke through them, because indeed from the beginning they were certain private individuals and preached the gospel and much divine inclination was needed, so as to persuade in the unfamiliar [things] and so great help was needed by the faith, without which it was impossible for this to be established in the souls of those hearing. Whence also they spoke with tongues and the grace of the word flourished in them and they prophesied and worked miracles; but [after] the establishment of the Church having taken place and the

struggles and wars of the preaching having ceased, neither is it necessary for the teachers [now] to have these [gifts] as [it was] then for the apostles, and for this reason [they] were not all present, nor would the Church seem reasonably to have suffered some lessening because of this and the faith [to be] less helped now than before by the Spirit; but it was sufficient for the teachers of the faith and is now truly sufficient what the Spirit spoke then in the apostles, [things] both confirmed by the miracles which they performed living and by those [miracles] for which they died willingly very much and joyfully as [being] for true [things] both to keep and to hold [them], and to explain and develop [them] advantageously to the faith and its presuppositions to those believing, but to defend [them] against the opponents of these. But Dionysius therefore does not think [it] necessary to be satisfied with these [things] alone, but nor does he dare to say anything newer beyond these; for he knows these alone utterly free from falsehood and beyond all doubt as being both of God and clearly not without God, and he declares [that it is] necessary to adhere to these alone unquestionably; but the [writings] of those later [are subject] both to the confirmation from time and to being subjected to the judgment of those hearing, not only the [writings] of others, but indeed also his own; for it is necessary to believe the ancient [writings] alone unquestionably, but the other [writings] [we should] accept [only if they are] bringing [them] to the ancient [writings] and understanding [them] to be in harmony with those; but if [it] is otherwise, not even to accept [them].

17.But if we believe all [of them] as authorities, we will be subject to myriad errors and contradictions, as being led to the hunt for truth without any canon; or what is it that distinguishes the orthodox and the heretics? For the heretics were not always [heretics] nor [were they] some vulgar and ignorant [people], but also teachers of the faith and having a great reputation for wisdom they happened to be formerly. For these reasons indeed it was no more just to pay attention to those voting the contrary than to those, nor to Cyril more than to Nestorius, but because they spoke things in harmony with the principles of the faith and thus it seemed to all in common considering [it] with God, but these concluded things discordant; those indeed were proclaimed [orthodox], but these, since they were not willing to be persuaded, they cast out of the catalog of the rightly thinking and subjected [them] to the appropriate punishments. Well therefore and in agreement with Dionysius does Augustine distinguish between the canonical scriptures and the teachers, and we similarly distinguishing [them] do not err.

18.If therefore our faith is founded upon those foundations, which have no contrariety to those truly knowing [how] to judge such [things] and being enlightened by God, but to the teachers we also concede [that it is] possible for some contrariety to be present in what each one has maintained [as] a private opinion, that is to say, in which [things] no council has yet hastened to define the contrary thus clearly; and we believe in one Church, but these [believe] rather in Augustine and Jerome; but the Church is the dogmas and teachings of our Lord and of the holy apostles and those of the councils successively commonly judged, which indeed are evidently from revelation and inspiration and to which alone both the others and Augustine himself testify the agreement and the unquestionable truth and the inspiration from above; but they call their own [opinions] certain conjectures of the truth in those [writings], as many [things] as they say beyond the things expressly said, and they ask forgiveness if they have erred in anything conjecturing [such things], who Hellenizing would dare to bring against us justly the disagreements in the teachers, or who having understanding, that is to say, knowing [the truth], would concede anything else to the teachers which is not allowed? And yet those claiming the [legacy] of the Greeks, [aiming] against the holy scripture, send the arrows of disagreement more

reasonably. But even those are broken by the force of truth assailing [them]; but the Latins bring the dogmas of Augustine and of each of the others separately into the same [level] with the faith and the holy scripture set forth by it to us and say [that] the faith is overturned, if anywhere one of the teachers should be carried away [from the truth]. But it is far from being thus on account of the things said; for it has been said, that neither does the Church lie, [even] if one of the teachers opines something not well concerning something, nor is the one having suffered this deprived of the glory in holiness before the very judges [who are] the teachers themselves and the whole Church in common, or [the Church] which has enrolled many among the blessed, having something such to blame them for, because not contentiously nor from some base cause, and some of them perhaps even for some praiseworthy reason were led to opine something concerning divine [things], which after these [things] did not please those having examined [them].

19.But these things have been said against those saying [that] it is impossible for Augustine, being holy and a teacher, to have thought and said something lacking in accuracy, or any other one of the teachers whoever [he may be], and adding [that], if someone should grant this, he will overturn the whole faith and will attach the reproach to the whole Church. If therefore even this position will be of advantage to us in the course of the argument and will be clearly against those saying [such things] and concerning Augustine himself and each of our teachers separately, all of whom the Latins disregard, honoring Augustine thus, not as he himself would wish, but nevertheless [he] has been refuted justly and well, having nothing necessary and everything contrary or as they themselves say, and fighting against both Augustine and all the teachers and very much harming the dignity of the Church, if indeed [this opinion] is going to prevail. But resuming the proposition, we say, that if Augustine heard those sayings of scripture thus, so as even to think the Son [to be] the beginning of the Spirit and the cause because of those, he did not hear [them] well; for neither did he conceive the opinion quite in accordance with the canonical scriptures, nor pleasing to the other teachers, nor having the appearance of plausibility in itself; and for this reason neither is it fitting for us, disregarding all the other teachers, to be placed with him; just as where [his teaching] is consistent with the common dogmas, and it is very necessary to be placed with him, just as in which [passages] he very well runs down Eunomius and Sabellius and their heresy. For then not we ourselves, but all the teachers and the common vote of the Church against the heresies [do we use] as judges of such words of Augustine.

f. Concerning the images and the presuppositions, by which Augustine seems to be moved towards this opinion; and first concerning the presuppositions, that it is very dangerous to posit them, and that Augustine also in many other [things] is Platonic and disagrees with the other teachers, and an excuse for him.

1.But concerning the presuppositions and those images, which seem to have confirmed this opinion in Augustine, as [him] having received from thence certain conceptions conducive to the matter of the Trinity, I indeed do not wish to respond heavily; but someone else would say, that the triad of Plato and Numenius ought to be kept away from the sacred enclosures, because this [triad] more than all has shaken Origen and Arius and Eusebius, who, having wished to fight for the opinion of the truth from the Hellenic opinions, unknowingly were carried away again towards Hellenism from some contentiousness and fought against the pious dogmas.

AUTHORITY OF ST. AUGUSTINE

2.For since the prudent commentators of the scriptures and genuine disciples of Christ were sorely troubled by the Hellenic trifles being mixed with the purity of the faith, but the others were over-zealous for their own inventions, finally those [arguments] which they used for the advocacy of the truth as indeed foreign and external testimonies, with these as acknowledged dogmas they compounded and have fought against the catholic faith; and as long as it pleased them to be pious, they listened well to our Lord saying, "I and the Father are one," and "I am in the Father and the Father is in me," and "All things whatsoever the Father hath are mine." But since they slipped towards the Platonic nonsense, from thence also they dared to corrupt the evangelical mind and posited three principles of beings differing by nature, but being made alike by will, and they preferred the unbegotten [nature] of the begotten [one], and extending the nonsense, they said the Spirit, which holds all [things] together and gives life, [is] a work of the divine Logos and inferior to him; just as those around Plato called the Good the first cause and by nature God, and the second cause the Intellect, and the work of this the Soul, becoming from its turning towards the Good; but these reasonings brought forth not only Arius and Origen and Eusebius, but also those concerning Eunomius and Macedonius and all the heretics from the right opinion; to all of whom the source of these turbid drinks in succession has become Origen, having helped these absurdities with the skill of [his] writings.

3.If therefore Augustine did not use these Hellenic positions with the same impiety as those heretics, but on the contrary indeed and as a two-edged sword he came against those heresies, still troubling the Church with their own remnants, but there is no small danger from saying the Son [is] the beginning of the Spirit, following those presuppositions; from which Augustine indeed has been rightly acquitted, having used these positions more prudently than those now paying attention to him use [them], and at the same time neither having contentiously claimed these [positions], nor being able to use so many exhortations as we now [use] against the ancient confession, many both councils and teachers fighting together with the first confession of the faith and declaring every innovation [to be] wicked and lawless and unforgivable to those daring this. And indeed the holy Augustine [his] zeal excuses, which he nourished for the faith then, recently having been freed from Hellenic nonsense, and the dialogues against the Hellenists, in which he wished to refute them from the opinions among themselves, reproaching the change of faith; and perhaps also the mystery of the Holy Trinity was received by him with such certain reasonings, not receiving this [mystery] by faith from the beginning and having fixed [it] in himself as we [do] now, but being moved in addition to the provision from the Superior and the guides from the words, with which he was nurtured. And if he was previously a Manichee, as others say, it makes no difference; for also the Manichees were extremely Platonic and having almost nothing in common with our true faith.

4.But us now no argument will excuse, trying to collect the truth from such certain presuppositions and wishing to believe all of them, of which the useful [part] is little and not necessary, but the harmful [part], [is] varied and multifaceted and [can] harm in the greatest [degree], as the experience of events has shown; for all those having denied the truth have suffered the spiritual death from such certain poisons. Then indeed to wish to demonstrate the truth of the faith from external arguments to those contradicting [it], even now will be unexceptionable, such a need sometimes being present; but for the faithful the authority of the divine teaching is sufficient; for we indeed [who are] enlightened from the Church ought not to believe in the true Trinity because of the triad of Plato and Numenius; for we would have thus believed rather in Plato and Plotinus and Numenius than in the One having shown us the faith in the Trinity, and thus it would have been

necessary for us not to be baptized into the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, but into the Good and Intellect and Soul, or rather not even to be baptized at all from the beginning, but to believe into these alone simply, and the Father to be the first cause, and the Son the second cause, and the Spirit to have proceeded from this second cause, and to think such things; for such was the triad among them, having nothing in common with our faith, unless someone would force [it]. For this reason, what I said, such arguments must be considered useful for exercise, when it is necessary to contend against those opposing the faith with much abundance; but of those which the sacred oracles reveal, we must altogether hold fast, as in these alone the necessary truth can be found when we investigate it.

5.But that the holy Augustine, having been nurtured in the Hellenic teachings, and paying more attention than the others to Plato and those around him, has transferred the [things] concerning the second cause and love to the more pious understanding, since he thought these [things] to be conducive to the dogma of the most holy Trinity, no one will deny knowing Plato and Numenius and Plotinus well, and Augustine himself, as also in many [things] he is placed with Plato, harming the faith in nothing; for such [things] do not at all bring [anything] against the first presuppositions of the faith, but speaking discordantly with the other teachers, who wished to pay more attention to the authority of the sacred teaching than to the [things] happening from reason; such as is also to him [the opinion] of all the corporeal [beings] [being] one whole without form and [the opinion] of the creation of this not having preceded in time the formation of this, which is of the Platonic position and does not agree with the common opinion of the Church, as is clear to those well exercised in such [things], and [the opinion] of the stars [being] ensouled, which Jerome indeed more clearly posits as a private opinion, but Augustine seems neither to incline altogether to this, nor to the common opinion of all the teachers and the Church, not having endured in this part to gratify the faith more than the [things] appearing reasonable with which he was nurtured, not thinking this to be very dangerous; but the teachers among us all reject this dogma, casting [it] upon the Greeks and Origen and those concerning Manes.

g. That Augustine himself also testifies that it is not found clearly in the scriptures that the Spirit is called love; and that [while] it is true that the Spirit is love as God; [however,] for this to belong to him hypostatically as the love of the Father and the Son is neither necessary, nor is it confirmed by any of the other teachers; and that other [absurdities] will happen and [namely] that the Father and the Son are two principles, if this dogma should prevail.

1.But that the Holy Spirit was not found clearly by Augustine [in] the holy scripture being called by the name of love, but that from some conjecture he conceived such an opinion in himself, since he thought [that] those reasonings, with which he was previously occupied, could somehow bring [something] towards the truth also among us, is clear from what he says in the fifteenth [book] of the [treatise] On the Trinity, in which he deals with how the Spirit is understood by the name of love. For there he says thus: "But that the divine word may exercise you, not in readily available matters, but in [things] hidden [and] to be investigated and brought forth from the hidden, it has made [them] to be sought with a greater struggle. For the scripture did not say, 'The Holy Spirit is love'; for if it had said this, it would have taken away no small part of this question, but it said, 'God is love.'" Then having constructed [his argument] he adds: "So then these [things] have been understood, and as much as it has been granted to us to see or conjecture in such great matters,

[they] have appeared [to be] true." And again: "But the Word of God, that is to say, the only-begotten Son of God, is clearly said [to be] the wisdom of God by the apostolic name where it says: 'Christ [is] God's power and God's wisdom'; but where ever has the Holy Spirit been said [to be] love, we find [it] if indeed we carefully pay attention to the saying of the apostle John, as having said: 'Beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God,' he consequently joined, 'and everyone who loves has been born of God, and the one not loving has not known God, because God is love.'" From these apostolic sayings therefore; and from what the apostle immediately added: "In this we know that we abide in Him and He in us, because He has given us of His Spirit," he conjectured, as he himself says, the Holy Spirit [to be] specifically love; and he thought [it proper] to bring also that apostolic [saying] to this: "The love has been poured out in our hearts through [the] Holy Spirit having been given to us." But none of the teachers among us seems to have understood [it] thus, as is clear in their interpretations of the epistles.

2.But [as to] that even if [Augustine's] understanding is deeper and the teacher's purpose is sufficiently wise, yet it is neither very necessary and as truly brought forth from some hidden [place], as he himself says, and still remaining in the hidden; for the light of the sacred teaching does not shine around it, just as when the Word of God is called God's power and God's wisdom, I indeed would not say [this] out of reverence towards him; but someone else wishing to demonstrate this, would not be at a loss for words, as it were leaning on the scripture itself and the other teachers. And yet up to this point nothing difficult happens to the argument; for what [is] the danger, if we should grant the Spirit to be love, as the cause of love in us? And yet of the blessed Trinity commonly being called by the name of love, when God is called love, as from the whole Trinity the good of love being implanted in us and the energy of the Spirit being common to the Son and the Spirit. But [as to] also saying from hence [that] the hypostasis of the Spirit proceeds from the Son, that is to say, exists, as being not only the cause of love to us and self-love, but also [the] love of [the] Father and [the] Son, those [two] love each other beyond [measure], proceeding from each towards each, except from the Father indeed, as being given first; but from the Son, as being reciprocated, this [opinion] is both very burdensome and nowhere has the necessity of the truth, except [that] Augustine has said thus. For let it be allowed to us still to use the arguments of opposition, as Augustine having said and understood thus, as the Latins themselves today say [that] he understood and said [it]. For where could one find in the holy books this being said clearly, that the Holy Spirit is a certain mutual love of [the] Father and [the] Son and thus existing from both these [two] and as with this they love each other? Or where hiding in the sacred treasures has this dogma escaped the other teachers, who have thoroughly investigated all [things]? And where also is this reasonable, as much as [can be judged] from the presuppositions of the faith? For as the Father is pre-conceived of the Son, so also would it be necessary [for] the love, or the Son [whom] the Father loves, [and] of the love, [or] the Son [whom] the Father reciprocates [with] love, to be pre-conceived. But the Spirit could never be pre-conceived of himself.

3.But what prevented [them] also to breathe each other with the Spirit, because [it] is Spirit of both, just as they love each other, because love [is] of both [of them]; but if [it] is indeed Spirit of both, as being breathed out from both, but love is of both, as not being loved out from both, but as that with which they love each other, of this who could be a trustworthy guarantor from the sacred oracles, and not from his own conjecture, concerning which no one could insist? But how also from the Spirit being [the] love of [the] Father and [the] Son, will it necessarily follow [that] the Spirit has existence from the Father together with the

Son and exists from both? For they love each other perhaps with the Spirit, as [it] not being enough for them [i.e. the Father and Son] [by] their nature and particularity to produce that bond and that love.

4.But who has ever said [that] this being to the Spirit [is] this very [thing], [namely] that through it those hypostases are reciprocally loved? For neither [is it] necessary and at the same time [it is] impossible; for neither is this the being of the Father and the Son, [namely] to love each other reciprocally; but it would have been necessary, if that were [the case], for this also to be likewise. And in addition to these [things], the Father loves also the Spirit no less than the Son, but He does not love it to Himself; for neither does He exist twice, and at the same time neither did He love the Son to Himself; therefore [He loved Him] to someone else; and if [He loved Him] to the Son, the Son will be [the] Spirit, if indeed love [is] the Spirit, and at the same time the Son will exist twice and will be begotten from the Father alone and will be breathed in another way from [the] Father and [the] Spirit; but if [He loves it] to someone else, [it] will also be another Spirit and person, and this [will go on] to infinity. The same [things] will also happen to the Son loving the Spirit. Further, just as the Father conceiving His own essence brings forth the Word, so willing it He brings forth the Holy Spirit. This too is a supposition of the Latins, and the understanding is the same, [namely] [that] He both understands Himself and His Word and the Spirit, even if He does not precede Himself by this understanding, just as by the same will He both wills Himself and His Word and the Holy Spirit and loves [them], even if He does not precede Himself by this will, nor the Son.

5.Just as therefore that understanding is pre-conceived indeed of the Son's hypostasis by the reason of the principle, and is pre-conceived of the will by the reason of the number and the order; for neither does the understanding precede the will in the Father; so also that procession of the will is pre-conceived of the Spirit's hypostasis by the reason of the principle, even if it is not pre-conceived of the understanding. But neither does the understanding establish the will in the Father, nor is the Son, preceded by understanding, the cause of the Spirit preceded by will, but the Spirit is only of the Son, just as also the will of the Father is [the] will of the Son. But how also will the Father adequately bring forth the Spirit from Himself, if indeed it is a mutual love [between the Father and Son]? For it is necessary for such a love to rise indeed from the Father [as] the principle, and for the same [love] to rise up again from the Son and to be reciprocated; and without this it would not be mutual. It will therefore of necessity be necessary also for the Son to breathe the Spirit, so that the Spirit may be perfectly or [more accurately] previously proceeded; and without this it would not be perfectly brought forth. But this [is] impossible; for the Father is sufficiently and perfectly able to bring this forth and does bring [it] forth; for neither is the fruitfulness of the will, as they themselves say, less than that of the understanding in the Father, nor is the Spirit less referred to the Father than the Son [is] to Him. Since indeed mutual love posits two terms, between which it revolves being given and reciprocated, and it itself at least is divided by reason as extending to different [directions], but the Father and the Son love each other being distinct, they themselves will be two principles of the Spirit, as bringing this forth through each other, and the Spirit will be divided by reason; but if being two, they have a unanimous will, which is in them [as] a principle of projecting; but they themselves being two, will be two principles; but the one will in both will be one principle, the same two principles operate. Nothing therefore differs towards [the conclusion] of not [there] being two principles bringing forth [from the conclusion] of [there] being one principle of bringing forth, as long as those bringing forth are distinct; for not, if indeed there are two principles the Father and the Son, [it is] dangerous; but if [they are] thus, it is not dangerous; but however they are two principles, [it] is

dangerous likewise. Then also in every dyad there is something both unified [and] common to find, but not because of this are the two prevented from being two.

6.Just as also if someone were to say [that there] are three principles of creation the three divine hypostases, would he not also remove every notion of unity from them? For neither could Origen and Arius utterly remove [it], nor were they utterly ignorant of the "I and the Father are one". Thus therefore also if someone were compelled to say [that there] are two principles bringing forth the Spirit, the Father and the Son, as indeed [they are] two hypostases, and should say [that] there is something common and one in them, by which indeed they can be called one principle, he would not avoid positing two principles; for that common [element] will be one principle by the proper manner of the principle, but these hypostases will be two principles by the proper manner of the principle, that is to say, as principles bringing forth, even if there is one principle of bringing forth in them.

7.But it seems absurd to us [that there] are two principles in the divine [beings] bringing forth, whether they bring forth with one power, or with two; and [it is] worse indeed, if [they bring forth] also with two powers; but [it is] still flawed, if [they bring forth] also with one; but to gather there the manners of the principle effectively, although all [things] are effectively there, but nevertheless the [things] of unity and of multitude are preserved unconfused, and again as if repenting to divide and to assign the authority to the principle of bringing forth and thence to make the account of unity and multitude dependent, and to make the hypostases as some superfluous thing, is [the work] of those confounding all [things] and saying nothing clear; such as is also to the Latins the projecting of the Father and the Son, neither insofar as they are one, nor insofar as they are two, but insofar as [they are] two into one, which they refer to a certain Alexander. But indeed neither is it necessary to draw the creative power as an example, of which, although indwelling in three persons, nevertheless they are one principle of creation; for the power itself does not belong to those three as [it belongs] to three, but as [it belongs] to one; for God is the one creating, whom we believe to be divided into a triad indivisibly by certain particularities, and thence the three hypostases are said to create with one power and to be one creator. But here the power of projecting, according to the common and mutual will belonging to them, does not call upon the whole divine nature; for indeed the Holy Spirit does not have such a power; but [it] does not belong to the Father and the Son as to one; for [it] is a will of one mind according to those thus saying and [a] mutual love. But these seek certain distinct hypostases, in which such a communion or unanimity would appear.

h. Concerning the image of God in us according to memory, understanding and will, that even if it is useful for other [purposes], yet for the present inquiry of the Latins it has no necessity and that to believe all [things] by it and the other images and to use [them] for all [purposes] overturns the faith; and that this is how it seems to both Augustine and the other teachers.

1.These [things] therefore will be examined thoroughly later. But now it is enough to say this much, that Augustine both calls the Spirit love and [a] mutual love of [the] Father and [the] Son and a common will and a common love those striving to pay attention to Augustine's words say this, and for this reason they believe [it] to proceed equally from both; so that also having said farewell to all arguments the newer of the teachers among the Latins and having greater reputation for wisdom than those before them, as indeed having

become of deeper mind, from this position alone of Augustine sufficiently consider [themselves] to conclude the problem and everywhere use memory and understanding and will, when they wish to discuss the divine persons and their order and processions. And they would do well, if these were not examples taken from human [things] for the consolation of our mind perplexed about those supernatural matters, but were certain positions of the holy scripture, and this was attached to them, that the [things] in the divine [beings] are similarly disposed to those among us, and for this reason [we] rightly conclude the same concerning both; for thus indeed it would be justly incumbent on us to suppose nothing else concerning the divine persons, except what is agreeable to memory and understanding and will, as [these] are understood to have in us. But since the holy scripture nowhere says God [the] Father [to be] memory and the Son understanding and the Holy Spirit will or love, but Augustine alone for the manifestation of the truth, as much as can be manifested in this riddle, and for the instruction of those demanding some account concerning such great matters, having taken this image from the [things] among us, adapted [it] to the divine [things] and having drawn some of the sacred oracles towards this image with supernatural contrivance, those now working on this image and establishing the entire faith concerning the Trinity upon this, as if nothing of this image [exists], which would not befit the divine matters, do something flawed, and not only are they in danger in the sea of examples, being separated from the harbor of the holy scripture, but also they wrong the divine nature, rashly subjecting this to natural knowledge.

2.For this triad in us is well traced by the natural reason. If therefore the heavenly Trinity and above all being will differ only by the preeminence of nature, but the [things] concerning order and procession and difference, will have altogether similarly to this our triad, what [will] remain for us of that [Trinity] ineffable and inconceivable? For receiving all [things] from this image, and adding only the difference, that the same individual [things] among us are there with greater divinity, as is fitting to an infinite and incorporeal nature, we shall indeed know all [things] concerning the blessed Trinity, not being able to know concerning it as much as we are ignorant concerning our own soul, when we consider it by natural reason, since [we are] not even able to look at it with bodily eyes. But this is false; for no image taken from created things, not to mention for the knowledge of God, but even for the understanding from the scriptures, is sufficient for us, but whatever image you might say, it has something in agreement with the teaching of the scriptures, but possesses much more of the different; which for those not being able to purify and reject [it], the image will end no more for the attainment of the truth than for the falling away [from it]. And what need is there to say this concerning the images, which Augustine or someone else of the teachers used for the manifestation of the divine teaching yielding to the busybodyness of men, where indeed also what the sacred teaching sets before us and for this reason of necessity these [things] are believed and said by us, and it is necessary to hear these very carefully and sparingly and to understand all [things] in a manner befitting God and proper to the principles of the faith? For if even the scripture does not say memory and understanding, but says Father and Son, what image then from the corporeal and temporal [things] shall we take for a moderate understanding of these names, if not human generation, in which first and only the name of fatherhood and sonhood has become clear to us? But except for the similarity according to nature and the cause, nothing else is it allowed for us to receive from human generation for that eternal and incorporeal fatherhood and sonhood.

3.And we hear the scripture teaching [that] the Father [is] greater than the Son; but neither do we understand that greater [thing] there by size, nor at all by quantity, nor by dignity of nature, but by this very

[thing] of being father alone; and yet among men the Father is sometimes greater than the Son by all greatness. But let us leave for now to consider, if they interpret that apostolic saying otherwise, and which of the interpretations is better; but these [things] have become occasions for heresies to those not wishing to hear well, but positing all [things] in the divine [beings] according to the likeness of the [things] here, who wishing indeed to adapt these [things] to the divine altogether, and seeing [them] in most [cases] unsuited or not even being able to understand them at all from the beginning, finally condemn the faith, [saying] that neither from themselves nor from these images are they able to know the divine [things], which Augustine also at the end of the [treatise] On the Trinity censures the latter.

4.For if for the sake of understanding, he says, this image and to see how true these [things] are which are in their mind, and not even thus are they three as to be three persons, but all three are of the man, who is one person, [they] are less worthy, why do they not rather believe concerning the supreme Trinity, which is God, what is found in the holy scriptures, those demanding a most clear account to be given to them? For the human mind, the slow indeed and weak, does not comprehend; but truly having believed unwaveringly the holy scriptures, as most true witnesses, let them believe praying, and seeking and living well let them understand this, as much as it is natural to be seen, let them see with the mind what they hold by faith; for who forbids this? Rather indeed does one not exhort to these [things]? But if on account of this they think it necessary to deny these [things], because they are not strong [enough] with a crippled mind to see, those blind from birth ought also to deny [that there] is a sun." Augustine therefore, although giving these images to those demanding an account of the faith, nevertheless does not at all enjoin [them] to believe them, nor says [that] the image of the Trinity in us ought to be compared thus with the Trinity itself, as to be thought altogether similar, but rather in whatever similarity [he] judges [that there is] also great dissimilarity, and advises those not being able to be benefited from these images to flee to the authority of the scripture and says [that it] is not necessary to insist on such inquiries, to which either the busybodyness of reason and the zeal of our faith provokes us. And this he says in the proem of the ninth book of the [treatise] On the Trinity, and adds: "Concerning the [things] to be believed, let us doubt with no unbelief; but concerning the [things] to be understood, let us insist with no rashness. For in those [things] it is necessary to hold fast to the authority; but in these [things] to seek the truth." And in the proem of the fifth: "But let not the piety of the faithful be indecently kindled against the high and divine and ineffable [things]." And again: "He says [that] the image of the Trinity in us [is] unequal, yet nevertheless [it is] an image." But the teachers among us bring forth a clearer vote against these examples.

5.For the divine Gregory the Theologian in the discourse on the Holy Spirit says: "So I indeed," he says, "having often considered with myself by the busybodyness of reason and examining reason from all sides and seeking some image of so great a matter, have not found with what of the lower [things] it is proper to compare the divine nature; for even if some small similarity is found, the greater [part] flees away, leaving me below with the example." And again: "Nothing stays my mind when considering the imagined in the examples, except if someone taking one thing of the image with goodwill, would cast away the rest." "Finally therefore it seemed to me best to let the images and the shadows go gladly, as deceptive and greatly falling short of the truth; but holding to the more pious conception itself, and standing on a few words, using the Spirit as a guide, both to preserve to the end this illumination which I have received thence, as a genuine companion and interlocutor, and to traverse this age cutting [it] short."

AUTHORITY OF ST. AUGUSTINE

6.Behold also this teacher says [that] the busybodyness of reason in him is the cause of the search for examples, just as Augustine blames the busybodyness of others, who wish the [things] of the faith to be set forth to them by most clear arguments; and these are those from sensible and similar [or corresponding] things; and just as he advises those thus helped and harmed by the examples to rather believe what is found in the scriptures, so also this one says [that] he has chosen this path for himself, which despises the images as being able to deceive, but uses the illumination of the Spirit, that is to say, the declarations of the holy scriptures, [which] conceal the more pious conception in a few words. And again the same teacher says: "Give me another God and nature of God, and I will give you the same triad with the same names and things; but if [there is] one God, one highest nature, whence shall I present to you the likeness? Or do you seek again from the lower [things] and [those] around you? [It is] indeed very shameful, and not only shameful, but also utterly vain to take the conjecture of the higher [things] from the lower [things], and of the immovable [things], from the flowing nature, and what Isaiah says, [that] the living [are] to be sought among the dead." And the divine Basil in the twentieth [letter] to Amphilochius: "O of the terrible insensitivity," he says, "O of the pitiable fearlessness of those saying these [things]; what more shall I lament of them, the ignorance or the blasphemy? Who indeed abuse the dogmas of theology with human examples, and attempt to adapt the custom here having a difference altered from the dignities to the divine and ineffable nature." And Gregory of Nyssa in the [treatise] against Eunomius: "Our Lord Jesus Christ appeared on the earth," he says, "and conversed with men, so that men no longer according to their own opinions might opine concerning the being, making the conjectures happening to them from certain speculations a dogma, but being persuaded that truly God was manifested in flesh, let us believe that only that [is] the true mystery of piety, which was delivered to us through Him, the Word and God, who spoke to the apostles through Himself."

i. Concerning that the Latins use this image and the others beyond measure and the purpose of the teachers; and that if Augustine had used this image altogether, he would have fallen into more heresies, and for this reason not even he himself used it altogether.

1.But the Latins now, what Augustine himself says concerning likening the divine [things] from the human and those among us, make [it] a dogma, and no longer make the faith to be through only our Lord Jesus Christ, but also from men and through men, basing their own faith on certain human conjectures; and thus contending for the unity of the Church they both overturn and dissolve [it], and they believe the images more than the sayings of the Spirit, and not for the manifestation of the confessed truth, but for the demonstration of the truth they have used these [images], and taking certain examples from them, whatever they might wish, they authoritatively declare concerning the divine [things], not what the authority of the scripture transmits; and if they find any of the teachers using some example for the presentation of one certain dogma, seizing from thence, they force [it] towards all [things] that seem [good] to themselves, and if someone objects that the argument is by no means necessary, they shake the teacher who has spoken [it] and are inscribed with recklessness and rashness, it being necessary for them rather to bring this reproach upon themselves as they draw the example beyond the teacher's opinion; for he indeed perhaps used the image for the distinction of the divine hypostases, but they draw the argument towards the [matter] concerning the order; and he indeed wished to establish the unity of the essence, but they also fabricate from hence the cause

and the processions, not even respecting the divine John Chrysostom, who says in the interpretation of the epistle to the Romans: "This [thing] it is necessary to observe everywhere, that the examples it is not necessary to take all universally, but having chosen their useful [part] and [that] for which [it] has been taken, to leave all the rest"; nor imitating Augustine himself, who insists that the image of the blessed Trinity in us is dissimilar in many ways, and especially that memory and understanding and love in us are not of themselves, but of us having them, nor is each a person in each, but [they] are all of one person; for example, I being one according to hypostasis, have both memory and understanding and love, with which I remember and love and understand, and none of these is a hypostasis in me; but in the simplicity of that blessed nature, even if [it] is most especially one God, yet there are three persons, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

2.Thus therefore having chosen what seemed useful to him from the image, he did not accept the superfluous and harmful; for it was necessary, as if he were to posit all [things] happening to this image concerning God, [that he] would differ in nothing from the heretics, but would be brought together with Sabellius indeed, if he believed the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit to be in God only effectively, not hypostatically, as in us understanding and memory and love are effectively, not also personally; and he will be believed to follow Arius, if he concludes the Father to be older than the Logos and the Logos than the Spirit according to the similarity of this image, since also in us memory is now older than understanding according to Plato's position, which Augustine also seems to posit; for otherwise he would not posit memory [as] the beginning, since according to Aristotle rather memory is from understanding, as is clear to those having studied these [things]; but if he were more attached to Aristotle, he would be in danger of positing the divine persons from each other, if he believed all [things] by the image, just as in us according to Aristotle memory indeed [is] from understanding, and understanding becomes from memory; in which way also he speaks concerning the energies and the habits, how indeed the habits sometimes become from the energies, and then from the habits the energies. Lest therefore he be led to conceive any such [things] from such an image or even seem to be conceived by those encountering [them], some [things] indeed he openly rejects from the image [as] having dissimilar [properties] to the blessed Trinity, and some [things] he advises us to guard against, from which he himself has rejected some of the discordant [things], showing by deed, that also the other dissimilarities of this image it is necessary for us likewise to reject.

j. Concerning that not from all the images, which the teachers use, do they gather the truth, but they cling only to those which seem to them to be conducive to their opinion; and what are the other images.

1.Neither respecting these teachers therefore, as I said, do the Latins use the images very rashly and dangerously, and what is worse, they believe all [things] of the images which they wish, so as not to seem to themselves to think anything else concerning the divine [things], except what would also be agreeable to the images, or to think these [things] to be the divine [things], which the images are directly, such as the divine generation indeed [to be] understanding, and the procession [to be] will, and almost nothing else; but of other images they so despise both themselves and those having said them, as not even for what those [teachers] used them, would they ever wish to use [them]; and Augustine's image indeed, although not testified to by the authority of the scripture, they so utterly believe and more than Augustine believed; but hearing above and below the other teachers, who theologize the mind and the Logos and the Holy Spirit from our image, they

do not even wish to use those [things] which those [teachers] selected from this image, although clearly both the Logos and the Spirit are of the sacred discourse, nor is it difficult to think God [the] Father [to be] mind because of the scripture, since this calls the Logos and the Spirit of God both towards God and from God; for even if we understand the uttered word in this image, yet since the inner word is uttered, and what is within the mind, from the uttered word through the intelligible we necessarily ascend by reasoning to the source of the word, which is the mind; and again they liken the divine Trinity to a root and a branch and a fruit, whether having received [it] from some of the teachers, or having found [it] themselves because of its well-ordered connaturality, so that both the Sabellian confusion and the Arian polyarchy may be avoided; for root and branch and fruit are orderly grown together from one principle.

2.But [of] Dionysius saying [that] the Son and the Spirit [are] sprouts or flowers or lights, and the Father [is] a fountain-like divinity because of the connatural ascent towards [His] own cause, they pretend to be deaf; and they liken the blessed Trinity to a chest and an arm and a finger, and again to the sun and a ray and light, being persuaded by certain teachers from the same cause, or also [that] root and branch and fruit it is reasonable to say, very much, and proceeding to their other positions they use the example; but hearing others calling the Son and the Spirit arms and hands of God because of the connatural and on all sides equal ascent towards [His] own cause and the connaturality and co-equality coming down to them thence, and likewise hymning those hypostases [as] twin rays of the Father and a double-flowing river, they do not wish to pay attention to the examples because these are not conducive to them, towards the first and second cause, which they belch forth from home. And it being necessary to honor all these images, and of the teachers having used various images for the need of each time, themselves having considered [it necessary] to need the present need of all the images and having brought all these into the midst, to gather the truth from all, but they having become [attached] to one image alone or two, which they think alone to be conducive to themselves, both despise all the others and those having said them and the truth being manifested through them; and for this reason it has not happened to them to judge well concerning the dogmas, which [is] what those suffer who advocate for the unjust for a fee, because having seized a piece of law, they try to make the unjust stronger with this; but the righteous judges do the opposite of this, they choose the true vote from all the laws, and applying the proposed inquiry to all these as to certain rules, thus they think to judge rightly.

k. Concerning that we use the images better, and how the procession of the all-holy Spirit is ineffable and inconceivable, and for this reason not even is it possible to find an image of it; and what the teachers say concerning the procession and its difference from the generation.

1.And this we also do who do not accept these new [things]; for we use all the images with which each of the teachers of the church separately used for the manifestation of the truth, having succeeded beyond them in this, that we are able to use more guides of the truth; and we use [them] as they have used [them], and standing at their opinion and not being further busybodies about anything. And when it happens to us in the discussions to find some example of the temporal [things] from home, we neither are confident in it for all [things], nor do we use [it] for all [things], nor through it do we believe the principle of the faith, for the sake of which we need the image, nor do we altogether follow what the created and temporal image would suggest, nor without any necessity set before us from the oracles, do we gather from certain human images

what it is necessary for us to believe, as because of this the blessed Trinity exists, because in us there is memory and understanding and love, just as we hear some of those answering those asking why the Spirit also proceeds from the Son and not directly from the Father, thus answering, because also the fruit does not proceed from the root immediately, but through the branch, and fabricating such monstrous [things].

2.We use the examples therefore thus as has been said and we believe the procession of the all-holy Spirit to be ineffable and incomprehensible, so that even if it is possible to find some similarity of the whole blessed Trinity in the created [things], since there are many [things] in nature defined by being arranged in a triad, yet the procession of the all-holy Spirit from the first cause of all [things] we are not able to liken to any of the beings; for neither can the name of procession signify any specific procession in itself, so as to draw the meaning of the name to some similarity among us, but the name of generation indeed signifies a certain specific mode of procession; for which reason we take the human generation, either as man from man, or as word from mind, understanding there the Son of God to proceed from God and the Father, rejecting however matter and flow and passion and the prior and the posterior and the perfect and the imperfect and whatever other [things] accompany human generation, and likewise not receiving the impersonal from the image of mind and word, and whatever discordant [thing] is in these, towards that supernatural and true and infinite mind and word.

3.But procession signifies no specific procession; for how will it signify specifically some procession, which from its own nature is something general rather than towards generation? But nevertheless we understand specifically from this name, which it is not able to signify specifically itself, we understand however in the same unity and simplicity of the Godhead subsisting from God and in God the Holy Spirit in another way than the Son subsists; and thus using the general [meaning] of the name from the scriptural authority as specific, we understand the Spirit to proceed instead of [Him] subsisting homoously and having existence from God and Father, but not generatively as the Son. If therefore not even a specific procession does the power of the name reveal to us, except from the scriptural authority, and that indeed we are taught [that there is] a specific procession, we are able to understand; but how [it is] specific and what kind [it is], neither does the scripture teach, nor is it allowed for us to imagine from home as not even having in any way to be supported by what is signified by the name, much less shall we take some image of this procession from the lower [things], which would reveal to us that ineffable and incomprehensible thing.

4.And if it is not allowed for us to pry into and investigate the generation of the Son, concerning which from the specific meaning of the name we have something to conceive, how shall we be busybodies about the ineffable procession of the Spirit, concerning which we are not able to conjecture even as much as concerning the generation? And for this reason rightly the teachers of the church, when they are carried into the discussion of the difference of those processions from the flow of words, as it were from some fire, they shrink back. For the sacred Dionysius says, "That indeed the Father is a fountain-like divinity; but the Son and the Spirit [are] of the theogonic divinity, if it is necessary to say thus, divinely-generated sprouts and as it were flowers and super-essential lights, we have received [this] from the holy oracles." But how these [things] are, it is neither possible to say, nor to understand; and yet he himself both promises to make the discourses thus concerning the divine nature, and exhorts others, as it, he says, has delivered itself concerning itself in its own oracles. And Gregory the Theologian in the discourses concerning the Spirit: "For tell," he says, "the ingeneracy of the Father, and I will philosophize the generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit,

and we shall both be struck senseless peering into the mysteries of God." And again the same in the discourse to Heron: "But if you seek the manner, what will you leave to those alone knowing each other and being known by each other being testified to?" And again the same: "Do you hear generation? Do not pry into the how. Do you hear [the] Spirit proceeding from the Father? Do not be a busybody about the how." And the great Basil: "It is of a pious disposition," he says, "to be wary of ascribing to the Holy Spirit the [things] kept silent in the holy scriptures." And Cyril: "Let us cease," he says, "badly tracing the procession of the Spirit and seeking to learn what [is] known [only] to the Father and [the] Son and [the] Holy Spirit; let us abide by the limits which we have received," and the following [things]. And the Sixth Council in its acts: "It is proper to the heretics," it says, "to pry into and investigate the manner of the processions of the Word and the Spirit." To all of whom also the divine Damascene following, in the chapter on the Trinity: "That indeed there is," he says, "a difference of generation and procession, we have learned; but what is the manner of the difference, not at all." And again the same in the same chapter: "For even if [we say] the Spirit [is] from the Father, yet we do not say generatively, but processively, this is another mode of existence both ineffable and inexpressible."

5.And Augustine in the twenty-seventh chapter of the fifteenth book: "But since," he says, "in the co-eternal and co-equal and incomparable and ineffable and un-worn and undivided Trinity it is most difficult to distinguish the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit," and the following [things]. And we following these teachers, both say [things] just and true, and holding to the scriptural authority and following the works of the holy councils, and being persuaded also by Augustine saying [that] it is not necessary shamelessly against the high and divine and ineffable [things] to kindle the piety of the faithful, and also using Cyril as an advisor in the epistle to King Theodosius concerning the right faith, saying, that it is not right to dissolve with excessive accuracies the so ancient and from the holy apostles themselves handed down to us tradition of the faith, nor indeed to carry beyond the limits of research the [things] above mind, nor even to bring into the midst as certain definers rashly speaking, as [saying] this indeed [is] rightly, [and] this indeed it was necessary to have otherwise. Being persuaded therefore by all these [things], we do not wish to draw the ineffable and incomprehensible [things] to the lowness of the [things] among us, which [things] we are able both to understand and to say, nor do we believe all [things] by the images, whatever they may suggest to us concerning the divine [things]. And we understand Augustine's [teaching] from our image thus, as he himself wishes to understand and teaches, that is to say, both choosing the useful [part] and casting away all the rest; and when we see the images not very advantageous to us, but standing against in some way the outline from the scriptures and the teachers, leaping away altogether from the images, but arriving as it were at a certain harbor at the [things] found in the scriptures and believing these rather.

l. How the teachers used all the images and for what need; that [it was] against the Sabellian confusion and against the Arian division, not for the sake of the processions; and that from none of these images is it possible to show the Son to be the cause of the Spirit; and a survey by attack against each image.

1.Since also we are aware of the holy teachers, not using these as true images of the most high Trinity, which indeed are not even acknowledged to be triads, but as has been said before, they transmit to us the connatural order of the divine persons, sometimes that handed down in the baptism, which the economy of

the divine names rightly demands, and sometimes that of the caused [beings] towards their own cause, but they do not show any nature itself being a triad. For neither are they able to find such a [one], but from each nature in three properties or parts or powers arranged somehow both towards each other and their own principle, they implant in us a certain conjecture of the composition of the true and eternal Trinity, as where is the triad the chest and the arms; for no nature is defined in these three alone, but only these are three parts of man, in whom besides these there are also other parts; and where is the triad the root and the branch and the fruit; for the whole tree is not divided into root and branch and fruit either alone or always; and if it were divided into these alone, these would not be a triad, but only a triad of parts in the tree; but the divine hypostases are not parts of the Godhead. But let us leave [it] that also all the teachers say [both] the Son and the Spirit [are] fruits of the Father just as [they are] branches and flowers; but of the example of the root and the branch and the fruit none of the teachers, as much as we know, has used [it]; but if there is anyone who has also used this image, he would have used [it] in the manner I have said. And not all the teachers say fountain and river and water, as many as have used such a nature for an example of the connatural well-orderedness in the divine [beings].

2.But the theologian Gregory: "I have conceived," he says, "eye, fountain and river," running back to the more unseen principle, but rejecting the water; for those three were sufficient for him for the purpose set before him. But otherwise it would have been possible to divide [it] into more; for it is possible to say eye and fountain and river and water; and there are times also [to say] from the river also a stream; but these surely are not a triad. But neither does the human soul have memory and understanding alone and will, even if these have differently, nor is each of these simple, but understanding is something varied and multifaceted, and also will. Well therefore has it been said before, that the teachers of the church do not use those images as images of the Trinity, but as it were setting before our eyes the connaturality and the order of the divine hypostases from natural things (since many such [things] are found in the beings, in which several [things] proceed from one principle with some order, and for this reason they both hold each other, and have one principle of existence), they take three indeed from each, even if [there are] more in the thing; for of so many they have need; and by these they show both the [fact] that those three hypostases are grown together, and the [fact] that they hold [each other] and are not confused, just as root and trunk and branch are both grown together with each other and hold each other, even if these indeed are grown together only with their extremities and one after another only for this reason they exist; but the divine persons both hold each other and are in each other supernaturally; and by these images they drive away those imaginations from our mind, with which Arius indeed divided the divine persons both according to nature, and Sabellius did away with the hypostatic distinction and the order, positing these only in conceptions.

3.Therefore neither is anyone able necessarily to conclude from such examples, as that the Holy Spirit has existence from the Son, both because of their own nature having weakness for showing such [things] and because these [things] have been taken by the teachers for another need, and because most of these [things] wish to show the opposite, that the Spirit has existence from the Father alone and directly, just as also the Son, even if [He] is led forth in another way, and what is greater, that the examples which seem to help this opinion, being drawn violently as by bitter masters, thus seem to be established by the opinion; but being justly examined, they show only the Father [to be] the cause of the Spirit; wherefore not even for this need has [it] been taken by the teachers from the beginning, which I said before, nor could they be genuinely

received, such as is that of the sun and the ray and the light or that of the root and the branch and the fruit; for it is clear, that both the branch and the fruit are from the root, but with some order, that after the branch is the fruit, directly of course of the life-giving power being supplied from the root to the branch, and after it and through it also being extended to the fruit.

4.Who therefore would say having mind, that that life-giving power of the fruit [is] as from a cause of the branch, and I do not say first, but a cause altogether productive? For the branch having received the power of producing from the root not cut off, with this produces the fruit as a proximate principle of it, just as it has in all those producing homogeneously; and everything producing naturally thus produces, that is to say, of the power in it of producing, which it has received given from elsewhere, unless first [it is] coming into action, and this not of that having given the power [to be] that, but rather making [it] to be its own work, from which [it] has proceeded or become directly, just as my father has become properly a principle of me by the generative power in him, which having received cut off from the father, he uses as [his] own and as belonging to him alone; and just as he having taught me geometry, having taken in hand that habit which he has received from another, has become to me a proximate and proper and only principle of the science; and I would never say [that] I have learned geometry from him, who put this habit in my teacher; and in general if [things] producing produce homogeneously whether by nature or by art, thus [they] produce; one [thing] gives to another the form of nature or of art, and each [is] a proper and only principle of what becomes after it, and each is properly from the proximate cause, even if simply [it] is a principle of the form, he has become a principle of more by succession, and still more the first; just as Adam [is] a principle of humanity, thus also of me; but of me no longer; for neither is the form of humanity in me, Adam [is] a principle of me, but he having given this form to me has received [it] from another; similarly also he from elsewhere; but the principle of all these has become Adam, from whom first the form began to be given.

5.And Macedonius using this reasoning, said [that] the Spirit proceeds from the Son alone; for he said [that] all the productive power was emptied from God and Father into the Son, and beginning to act from thence has produced the Spirit, adding indeed to the blasphemy, that also creatively, not naturally; nevertheless he said [that] the Son [is] a proximate principle of the Spirit, just as I [am] of the child born from me or of the diagram, which I construct, although the form or the habit [is] given [to me] from elsewhere. But if here indeed the form is given first, and later according to it [it] acts in another, as for example first indeed I have been born, and later I have begotten another and not at the same time; but there indeed both at the same time the productive power of the Spirit is given to the Son and at the same time the Spirit has proceeded from the Son, he said [there is] nothing different, saying well in this, that also we understand the [things] in us happening after time, there without time, seeking only this, if [it is] truly and truly is said concerning the divine [things].

6.Therefore, not according to the similarity of these [things] does the branch produce the fruit, nor is [it] the cause of it, but [it] is only prior to it; and since both are at the same time, [it] itself having participated earlier in the life-giving power, transmits this through itself to the fruit; and just as it is not possible to declare one branch [to be] the cause of another branch, thus [it is not possible to declare] the branch [to be the cause] of the fruit, unless as the branch is a certain part of the tree, which indeed tree is the cause of the fruit, otherwise in no way, but it is necessary to say these [things] [are] only connatural and having order. But in general, if indeed it is necessary to consider concerning these [things] with more precision, the root indeed

[is] the principle of the tree, but as a part; and the trunk likewise and the branch [are] parts of it and what is from these is the tree, just as the head or rather to say the heart and the other parts of the body and what is from these is the animal; and these [parts] increase indeed according to quantity all together, until [it] is deficient of the form, which nature diligently considers, receiving the nourishment from the beginning, the tree indeed from the root, and the animal from the heart, with the pharynx assisting it; but when [it] is completed, the one produces the animal, and the other the fruit, and the animal becomes from the whole animal and the fruit from the whole tree. Therefore [it] is said of the tree, not of the root nor of the branch, and [the] animal likewise is said to become not from the heart or the kidneys, but from the animal.

7.Thus therefore it is necessary [for] the Father rather to be the tree in the divine [beings], and the Son and the Spirit, the fruits, the notion of the part or the parts and the increase or the quantity and the difference according to time being cast out, but only the natural procession being received. For this reason the teachers call the Son and the Spirit sprouts and flowers and fruits of the Father, as indeed of a tree; but they call the Father root in another sense, when they liken the whole Godhead to a certain tree, in which there is root and trunk and branch, when indeed they reject all dissimilarity of the example, but they present the well-ordered connaturality of the three hypostases as much as is possible from this example, that also those [hypostases] are well-orderedly grown together with each other from the principle of the Father, just as branch and trunk and root are grown together with each other as from the principle of the root of the tree. As [it] is also necessary to speak concerning the ray and the light; for the ray does not produce the light in us, but both rather proceed from the sun; and the light extends, so to speak, through the ray, being both present throughout and as if when that is present, this also becomes present, even if the order of the ray towards the light is not so clear, as is that of the branch towards the fruit, because neither are these joined to the extremities as those [are], but from the energy alone the order of these and the distinction is clear; but the difference would have been more evident, if the teachers had received sun and light and heat; but nevertheless they have received sun and ray and light, so that through these three the natural communion may be shown, since the illuminating energy naturally belongs to each of these.

8.But if someone should say [that there] is a certain order both in the parts of natural [things], and in the energies from them, through which one is prior to another and of necessity [is] a cause, just as in the energies of fire the [energy] of heating [is] prior, and the [energy] of drying [is] second, and in the tree the trunk [is] prior to the branch, in all of which the prior [things] seem to be causes of the later [things], and should force [it] to be thus also concerning the divine persons, some order being acknowledged to exist in them, we shall speak later concerning the order in the divine hypostases under the guidance of God, which not the human reason teaches us, but the divinely inspired teaching guides [us]; but concerning the parts or the energies of natural things, even if we are able altogether to deny this, yet since [it] does not harm us at all for the matter in hand, we somehow concede what they claim. For example, we concede the ray to be a cause of the light, but as an energy of the sun, as they say, being placed before another energy; and [we concede] the trunk [to be the cause] of the branch, but as a part; but neither is the divine [being] composed of parts, nor are the Son and the Spirit unhypostatic energies of the Father, so that indeed what happens to the energies and the parts may happen similarly to the divine persons themselves; for on the contrary, lest anything such should be suspected also concerning the divine [things] from these examples, the theologian Gregory rejects the help from these examples, which is provided to him for another need; for he says in the discourse concerning the

Spirit: "Again I conceived sun and ray and light; but also here [there is] fear, first indeed, lest some composition should be conceived of the uncompounded nature, as of the sun and the [things] in the sun; secondly indeed, lest we should make the Father subsist, but should not hypostasize the others; for both the ray and the light are unhypostatic, as indeed [they are] certain energies and qualities."

9.Then also in the natural [things] themselves, even if the part is the cause of the part and the energy [is the cause] of the energy, yet not simply, but only as prior, just as it is also in the artificial [things], that the foundation of the wall [is] prior, and as indeed prior, [is] a cause, because the wall would not come into being without a foundation; thus also the fruit would not come into being without a branch in plants, nor the branch without a trunk, nor would anything dry being hot, unless [it had] first heated. But the foundation is not simply the cause of the wall, but rather the craftsman or the constructive [art] in him, and of something being dried by fire or sun, both the sun and the fire [are the cause], by the heat however; and of the fruit the tree is naturally the cause; for such a cause in the matter at hand we seek, that is to say productive, or if indeed it is necessary to speak generally according to Aristotle, efficient; for the discourse for us is concerning the divine persons, which subsist idiosyncratically, and whatever of them would act within, [it] would act as a hypostasis, that is to say, as a nature and a thing subsisting idiosyncratically.

10.But that the teachers, even if they perceived some reason of cause in the ray towards the light, yet not wishing to show this and [that it] exists in the Son towards the Spirit, have used this and the like examples, is clear; first indeed, from the very proposition of the discourses; for nowhere proposing to show that the Son is the cause and principle of the Holy Spirit, just as the Father [is] of the Son or even in some other way, do they bring forward these examples, but opposing those wishing to confuse the hypostases or to divide the divine nature with the persons, they help with the connaturality of the divine hypostases and the order, from these examples, or rather they help those more dull in mind towards the comprehension of the truth and they refute the opponents; for the great Gregory in the discourse concerning the Spirit, before setting the example of the sun and the ray and the light, sets that of the eye and the fountain and the river, as [it was] also first discovered by others, and he says thus: "I have conceived eye, fountain and river; for indeed others also, [saying] lest the Father indeed, and the Son indeed, and the Holy Spirit should have [these] analogously; for these neither have been separated by time, nor have been broken off from each other by continuity, even if [it] may seem somehow to be divided by three properties." In these [things] is the similarity of the example to the matter in hand; then he sets the dissimilarity and says: "But I was afraid first indeed to admit some flow of the Godhead not having stability, secondly indeed lest what [is] in number should be introduced through this conjecture." Therefore it is clear that he uses this example against Arius and Sabellius; for the similarity of the example to the distinction and the union of the divine persons seemed very much to contribute [to this], against whom the recklessness of those heretics was arrayed; for eye, he says, fountain and river have not been separated by time; therefore much more neither have Father and Son and Spirit been separated by time, as Arius raved, and for this reason also they differ by nature. And again: Eye, fountain and river have not been broken off from each other by continuity, even if [it] may seem somehow to be divided by three properties. Therefore much more have Father and Son and Holy Spirit been grown together with each other and hold each other, and no less are they divided by three properties and are not at all one in number, as Sabellius trifled. And the theologian has made this clear in the proposition of the discourse; for he proposed, as [it] is equal to impiety both to join [them] Sabellianly and to divide [them] Arianly, the one by person, and

the other by natures. Then he brought forward these examples. But those standing for this innovation, neither wishing to perceive the need nor the purpose of the teacher, force these examples towards the processions of the divine persons and the cause; but nothing such is said either by him, nor does [it] follow of necessity, but only the continuity according to essence, or rather the connection of the three, and the distinction of the one according to the properties in itself and the multitude.

11.Besides these [things], if they were going to say the Son [is] the cause of the Spirit following those examples, they would have posited him [as] a material cause or an instrumental [cause]; for [things] not without these are brought under the genus of material cause, as [those] imitating the necessary through the whole are instrumental as co-workers and co-causes; but the Son of God is neither a material cause of the Spirit, nor as material nor [as] co-worker and co-cause, nor at all do these [things] and the like have any place in the divine [beings]. But if it is also true to say [that] the Spirit has not proceeded without the Son from the Father as by the order of [Him] being prior and grown together, but casting out every imagination of some whole thing or as material first, and leaving only the discourse of the order and the connaturality, thus it is necessary to say and to understand this. Therefore also they would not have at all wished to concede the discourse of the cause, with which also the manner would be necessarily introduced, since with the name of the cause also the genus must be conceived together, just as the genus of the efficient cause or productive [cause] is co-introduced in saying the Father [is the] cause of the Son and the Spirit, the other [genera] not similarly being assigned to the divine [beings] and the other things, but similarly in this, that both in the other things the other genera of the cause are separated, to which the discourse of the efficient cause would be assigned; for it is not possible [for] the same [thing] of the same [thing] to be both efficient and material cause and specific; and here if [it is] more true to say the Father [is] a productive cause and principle of the Son and the Spirit, or otherwise to say [it], no place is left to the other modes of the causes; but if indeed it were possible according to the similarity of those examples to say the Son [is] the cause of the Spirit, as [it] would be said [that the Son is] a cause without whom [the Spirit does not proceed], but [this] would not be conducive to the utter and most simple unity of the divine nature and glory, to say the Father [is] the cause of the Son in one way, and the Son of the Spirit in another way; for neither would the Father produce the Spirit and the Son in one way, and at the same time the Son would be inferior to the Father, since also the genus of the productive cause, as without whom [the effect] is not able to be, [is] more honorable and better than [the effect] not without whom [it is], whether [it] would be brought under the genus of the material cause, or under the genus of the instrumental [cause], or even [if] it is itself a genus of cause altogether separated from the others.

12.But if the teachers of the church, just as [they showed] God and Father [to be the principle and cause of the Son], were intending to show the Son [to be] the principle and cause of the Spirit, they would neither have proposed this, so that indeed it would be clear what they intended to say, and [they would] make [it] manifest through the examples, and they would have used examples, from which either in no way is the Son shown to be the cause of the Spirit, or if [He is shown to be the cause], [He is shown to be the cause] not in the same way as the Father, but even inferior in genus, this would have been unworthy of the wisdom and precision of the teachers.

13.Concerning therefore the images from which the blessed Augustine seems to have collected this opinion, let so much be sufficient; for it is clear from what has been said, that neither for all necessities

[should] these images [be used] concerning the divine [beings] nor altogether [should they] prevail. Whence if we should wish to oppose this opinion of the teacher and by no means to concede to it, although knowing him [to be] a teacher and proclaimed together with the other teachers and deemed worthy of the honors from the church, we shall have [means] to say as much and more, as much as the Latins say concerning Damascene, and others say concerning Gregory of Nyssa; and no argument will compel us to pay more respect to Augustine than he himself says it is necessary to pay, and [what] he gives to the others, and the Latins [give] to ours, and we as to some of ours, and the saints among us [give] to each other, as has been previously shown; and at the same time [it has been shown] that with the examples of our teachers, which they used for another need, the Latins use wickedly, and [that they] agree neither with the teachers themselves, nor with the canons of sacred theology, nor with the very things through which they claim [to prove their point]; and as [it is] impossible from such examples, both [for] the Son to be shown [to be] the cause of the Spirit truly and our teachers [to be shown as] thinking thus, has become clear from what has been said.

3. Part Three: Doctrine of the Greek Fathers.

† In which [is] the preliminary statement of the arguments against the objection and the exposition of the sayings of the teachers among us, which confirm our opinion, but refute that of the Latins.

a. Concerning that it is necessary both to draw Augustine and each of the teachers to the common faith; and that it is easy to do this.

1.But it is possible for us, it is indeed possible, to show the blessed Augustine as being in accord with the common faith, if we so desire. And the inability to bring him into agreement will be attributed to our unwillingness to do so. For neither would anyone easily join the divine Damascene with the other teachers, if he intended beforehand to set him apart from them all, in those matters where, according to his understanding, he asserts that the distinction of the divine Persons is a matter of thought, while the others cry out that these are actually distinct, and cast the distinction of thought upon the Libyan Sabellius. But because we desire to hear the teacher well and justly, we easily find the way in which it would be necessary to join him with all the teachers. What else would be fitting before God, when there is such apparent disagreement between him and the others, and not even in a trivial matter, than to suppose that only Damascene is correct in discerning the divine Persons by thought, while the others do not even know what they are saying, and that they and those who believe them are heretics?

2.But even Damascene himself would not wish this. For he insists on following the common opinions of the teachers and on saying nothing of his own invention or pleasing only to himself. Therefore, if anyone should be accused of falsehood and deception, he alone rather than all of them together should be accused, even in his own judgment. But should we say that Damascene holds the views of Sabellius? But this is false and ignorant. He would indeed be afflicted if he did not agree with the others, but dared to say what they clearly reject as belonging to Sabellius. And we too would be afflicted with the same ailment if, believing that the divine Persons are distinguished by thought and not in actuality, and fighting against those who say the opposite and believing them to be in error, we were to put forward Damascene as a shield, and think that he speaks contrary to the others, and hope to be safe by paying attention to Damascene alone. And yet, it is surely of the greatest safety to pay attention to Damascene, and no one would be in danger by paying attention to him. But it is necessary first to show him to be in agreement with the others. But if, supposing him to disagree with all the others, we should desire in our contentiousness to pay attention to him alone, he will indeed be holy and divine and will say things akin to the others in truth, and thus he will be considered sound by those who have understanding, but we will in no way escape being subject to the accusations of the Libyan. But that it is indeed possible for one of the teachers to have an opinion different from the correct one concerning any of the questions of the faith, which has not yet been defined by the Church, but that we should not approach the teachers with such an opinion, but should by all means bring the views of each into the common doctrine of the Church. This is clear from the outset to those who wish to consider with good will. For thus both the respect owed by all to the teachers will be preserved, and the things of the truth will be certain. But if, on the contrary, we easily conceive and confirm in ourselves the suspicion of falsehood and error concerning each of the teachers, and thus desire to judge matters concerning dogmas, nothing of the

kind will be firmly established by us, and our sacred teaching will be full of confusion, since those who are our leaders and guides in it become untrustworthy to us, or trustworthy in some things, but untrustworthy in others, as each one may think fit to use them. And the faith will be no less true even so. For if any of the teachers should say something false, having suffered something human in any way, no stain of corruption will be attached to its certainty by this. But we will be in danger concerning it, thus easily declaring things against the teachers, and accepting some and rejecting others, and at the same time we will constantly tear apart the peace of the Church under the pretext of the teachers. For attaching ourselves to different teachers, and dividing them according to our own opinions, we will wage war against one another with the unchallengeable weight and support of those teachers. And we will all alike think we are winning. But this is impossible. But it will happen that we will be judged enemies of both truth and peace, because we have not rightly desired to judge, but have used one of the teachers for the advocacy of falsehood and this war, of whom each has very much provided for both truth and peace. And we can take examples of this good economy concerning the teachers from the teachers themselves.

3.Or who is unaware that the holy Maximus, by some devices, is treating the doctrines of Nyssa concerning the restoration, not so much for the deception of the simpler ones as for their benefit and for their admonition? For thus he says: "The Church knows of three restorations: one, that of each person according to the principle of virtue, in which he is restored, having fulfilled the principle of virtue in himself; the second, the restoration of the whole nature in the resurrection to incorruption and immortality; and the third, which Gregory of Nyssa has especially used in his discourses, is this: the restoration of the psychic powers, which have fallen through sin, to that which they were created. For just as the whole nature in the resurrection is expected in time to receive the incorruption of the flesh, so also the powers of the soul, having been perverted, are expected in the extension of the ages to receive again those memories of wickedness implanted in it, and having passed through all ages and finding no rest, to turn to God who has no end, and thus by knowledge, not by participation in the good things, to receive the powers and to be restored to the ancient state and to show the Creator blameless of sin."

4.It would be difficult, therefore, to believe that Maximus believed Nyssa in this way, and, moved by such reasons, instilled the dogma in most of his discourses. For there is almost nothing, at least for one who is able to see, that the language of Nyssa has in common with the treatment of Maximus, so clearly, so elaborately, guaranteeing the return to the good and to happiness after a long period of trials to all the intelligent creatures of God. But thus it seemed good to him to do, although it was possible for him to escape the accusations of heresy not only by the simple votes of the Church in his favor, but also very reasonably. For before the dogma was thus clearly defined by the Church, this was what the holy Nyssa thought, nor did he contend against the common mind of the Church and the common faith of all. For it was still in the realm of question, and it was possible for each to maintain his own position concerning it, without being at all disrespectful to those whom he would least like to speak against. And this would have been a defense on behalf of the holy Church, which ranked Nyssa among the blessed. It was also possible for him to say that the doctrines of those men were an addition of some enemies of the truth, who thus wished to injure the reputation of the teacher, or who hoped to have his books as their own advocates and allies. But this Maximus could not easily prove, and at the same time he would not have gained such a reputation for wisdom and virtue from this. For thus it is easy to solve everything. But nevertheless, passing over those things, he

thought it necessary to draw the words of Nyssa to the common faith, teaching us how it is necessary to deal with the teachers, cautiously, of course, and with good will, and as he himself directly says. And the same was pleasing to many other teachers to do. But Maximus is sufficient for us as in the order of an example for the present need.

5.But Thomas, the Latin teacher, does not act thus everywhere, and does not draw the sayings of the teachers to the prevailing doctrine of the Church, transforming them by all means? And yet he draws some with great difficulty and accomplishes this with much sweat, but nevertheless he neither ignores the objections from those sayings, nor does he think it right that the opinion of one teacher should prevail over what has been commonly accepted by all, nor does he say that this or that teacher should be despised as having thought contrary to the common opinion, but having first put forward and clearly demonstrated this, he then, like a good mediator, well reconciles Hilary and Augustine, if they seem to say anything contrary, and by some ingenious devices he brings the difference of expression into a unity of thought.

6.And thus he would have dealt well with the matters concerning the procession of the Spirit, if he had been before the schism, and would have transformed Augustine and Jerome and Hilary into the common doctrine of the Church. But this he does not do now, but rather forces them into the new doctrine of the Roman Church, perhaps acting pardonably, if he has chosen to defend the Church that nurtured him. For to prefer the truth to the provision from the superior would be [a mark of virtue], and in addition to this it was difficult for him to be established as an accurate judge of the question, without having well understood our side, just as we now almost all have been exercised in the arguments of both sides by both zeal and necessity. For there is no saying or argument among the Latins for their doctrine which has not also come to the knowledge of ours.

7.If, therefore, following at least Thomas as a guide, we should draw both Augustine and Damascene and every teacher to the common doctrine of the Church, which we still, by the grace of God, very firmly maintain, by all means, and neither prefer Augustine or Damascene or any of the other teachers to the common and manifest truth, nor easily despise him and attribute to him the opinion of heresy and falsehood, when it is possible to show him in agreement with all. For we have the canon of truth, by which we can judge the words of the teachers, and by honoring them all equally, we will surely be able to live more safely.

8.And this would be the holy Gospels and the doctrines commonly exercised and held by all the Orthodox up to now, and it is not difficult to bring all the words of the teachers to this canon, nor if anyone should bring them well, is it likely that he will err from the truth or from what is fitting before God as judge.

9.Let us thus consider Augustine also, how we may have him in agreement with the other teachers. But first we will set forth what all our teachers say concerning the all-holy Spirit, and what the Church of Christ has commonly believed, so that when both of these are clearly shown and the true doctrine is known, the blessed Augustine may be easily adapted to them, since we consider it necessary and expedient by all means to adapt him. For he himself would rather be pleased by being added to them than by being added to the inventors of newer things, even if the former should happen by force and with difficulty, and the latter should happen to him easily. And the arguments of the objection will proceed with the same truth. For we have not stood together in opposition for the sake of contest and discussion, but very truthfully. As in opposition, at least more pleasantly to us and to those who encounter [our writings], that we will show both Augustine and the other European fathers in agreement with our fathers and leaders of the faith, turning the

whole battle against the Latins, who, by falsely accusing their own teachers, attribute to them the cause of their own innovation.

b. What the Catholic faith holds concerning the procession of the Spirit; and that the Son is the cause of the temporal procession of the Spirit.

1.The Holy Spirit, therefore, the Spirit of truth, the Comforter, who is one of the consubstantial Trinity, is a good, hypostatic, and subsistent being, and the fruit, so to speak, of the divine nature, co-natural and co-eternal, just as the Word is in another manner. For it was necessary that the true God, being intellect (for thus we hymn Him analogically as a living and transcendent paradigm of the supreme good of all beings), should also have a Word and a Spirit, and that this should be, as it were, His form and actuality in a certain way, the hypostatic and transcendent order of those things which proceed from Him, through which the One is also the Trinity worshipped by our pious faithful. Whether, then, one understands the Holy Spirit in God by analogy to the vital motion within us, or as a kind of Hermes of the intellectual will within us, just as we understand the Son by analogy to the inner conception of the word or its expression and proclamation, we always understand and believe that God has a Word and a Spirit, just as we always understand and believe that God exists. For we believe Him to be the true God, both Spirit and Word, and their source, that infinite and unbegotten Intellect.

2.The truth itself becomes our teacher in these matters. For concerning Himself, He says, "Glorify Me, Father, with the glory which I had with You before the world was," that is, eternally and beyond all temporal conception, since He Himself is the beginning of the world and of time. Concerning the Spirit, He says, "Who proceeds from the Father." For He did not say that the Spirit would proceed only when He would be sent, that is, to have being and subsist, but He said that He would send Him later, because He would come after Him and with His approval. And the Spirit itself would come from its own source due to the freedom and dignity of divinity, but it proceeds, as He said, from the Father as eternally proceeding from Him and, by this procession, subsisting and distinguished from its own cause in the utmost and simplest unity of essence. This procession of the Spirit remained hidden from men until the times of the divine economy, being foreshadowed obscurely and typologically in the oracles of the prophets, but in those times it began to be revealed and believed, just as the procession of the Son of God was revealed to the first followers of the truth and through them to all who were enlightened by faith with intellectual eyes. And the manifestation of this procession is called a second and temporal procession, as it pertains to us and for our sake, not because the Spirit moved transitively toward us, but because we were disposed toward the knowledge of His eternal procession from God and our improvement through faithful devotion to the Son of God and His doctrines. It is as if someone blind from birth were to gain sight today; it is true to say that the sun shone for him today, even though the sun has always been shining.

3.Since the Holy Spirit also appeared in the form of a bodily thing for the confirmation of the divine economy, just as it is true to say that the tongues came or descended, so it is true to say that the Spirit descended, manifested through the tongues. Similarly, it is said to have descended in the form of a dove, because the dove, being a symbol of the Spirit, was seen descending sensibly. Moreover, it is said to have been breathed, that is, inspired, because it proceeded from Christ to the disciples under the figure of breath from

the mouth; for the same One who sensibly breathed also invisibly imparted the grace of the Spirit. And it is said to be given, received, and poured out, all these terms referring not to the eternal existence of the Spirit or to His incommunicable hypostasis, but to the gifts of the Spirit, through which human nature was improved, the Son of God distributing them as His own, even though they are spoken of in relation to the incommunicable and infinite nature of the Spirit.

4.The teachers among us recognize the Son of God as the beginning and cause of this temporal procession of the Spirit, manifested in the Incarnation and making the Spirit known through Himself, and at the same time becoming the agent of the gifts of the Spirit no less than the Spirit itself and its eternal Proceeder. And this they have clearly received from the sacred oracles, which declare each of the three hypostases to be both active and effective in that benefit and inspiration. For concerning the Father, the truth itself says, "Whom the Father will send in My name," and, "He will give you another Comforter." And the divine apostle says, "He saved us through the washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit, whom He poured out on us richly through Jesus Christ." The blessed Peter is said to have spoken in the Acts concerning Christ, "Having been exalted to the right hand of God, and having received the promise of the Holy Spirit from the Father, He has poured out this which you now see and hear." Yet they did not see or hear the hypostasis of the Spirit, nor the action of that hypostasis as it then disposed the disciples, nor the habit produced in them by that action, but the grace of the word and miracles shining in the apostles, which was from the Spirit as it came from Him, but was a passion and work of the apostles, as it was accomplished through them. This grace was seen and heard rightly, and it introduced to those who saw and had understanding some notion of the invisible and primary cause of what was done. Concerning the Spirit, the divine Paul says, "All these are activated by one and the same Spirit, distributing to each one individually as He wills." Since, therefore, the Father pours out the Spirit, that is, the gifts of the Spirit, and the Son also pours them out, and the Spirit activates and distributes them as He wills, as a natural and common work for them, harmoniously and unitedly presiding over creation, the teachers rightly proclaim the Son of God as the agent of that second, temporal procession.

5.Yet, even of this [temporal procession], the Father is the beginning without beginning, who poured out the Spirit through Jesus Christ, just as He is also the uncaused and beginningless cause of all things, the Father who created all things through the Son. And just as creation was brought into being in the Spirit, so also our Lord performed those miracles; for He cast out demons by the finger of God. Nevertheless, each hypostasis became the first principle of those good things, just as it was also the first principle of the creation of all things, according to the order which the transcendent hypostases have among themselves and in relation to themselves, even in the act of creating and in the works of the economy. This order is not dependent on creation, so as to divide it, nor on the benefits that have come to us through the divine economy, but while the economy remains unaltered, the unity shines forth no less in them, which is present both in the act of creating and in all essential and common works of those transcendent hypostases.

6.Hence, the holy and great Basil, in his letter to his brother Gregory, says: "In seeking whether the supply of good things, which comes to the worthy, originates from the Holy Spirit alone, we are again guided by divine Scripture to believe that the sole true God is the originator and cause of the supply of good things and of those things which are accomplished in us through the Spirit. For we have been taught by holy Scripture that all things were made through Him and subsist in Him. Therefore, when we ascend to that

concept, we are again taught by the guidance of the divine inspiration that all things are brought from non-being into being by that power, yet not from it without beginning, but there is a power which exists unbegottenly and without beginning, which is the cause of the cause of all things. For from the Father is the Son, through whom all things exist, with whom the Holy Spirit is inseparably conceived." And the blessed Cyril, in the second of his addresses, says: "See here clearly and distinctly our Lord Jesus Christ receiving the Spirit in a human manner because of the economy with the flesh (for though He was rich, He became poor for our sake), and baptizing in the Holy Spirit in a divine manner. For to whom would it be fitting to bestow the grace of the Spirit, except to Him who is by nature and truly God?" And he says that not only is this grace supplied through Him from the Father, but the Son Himself also supplies it, that is, He abundantly bestows His own grace upon the worthy. And in many places, he calls the Son the supplier of the Spirit, just as the divine Basil calls Him the originator of the supply of good things accomplished in us through the Spirit. It will suffice for testimony what he says in his address to the empresses, where he most clearly declares the Son to be the agent of the gifts of the Spirit, and from this concludes that He is true God, as performing the work of God. For he says: "To make partakers of the Holy Spirit would be fitting not to any man, but rather to God by nature. Therefore, the Son has performed the works of God and the Father, giving the Spirit Himself. Therefore, the reception is human, but it is divine and above human to pour out the gift of the Spirit from His own fullness upon another. Therefore, He is God in human form, the Word manifested, and for this reason, He sits with God and the Father." And further, he says in the refutation of the blasphemies of Nestorius: "For He is the giver of the Word as Word, and the supplier of the Spirit, as having it naturally, just as the Father also has it." Therefore, since the temporal procession of the Spirit occurred through the Son in this manner, our teachers say that the Spirit proceeds from the Son and through the Son, especially when they defend the divinity of the Son and His works, or the glory of the all-holy Spirit, against those who wage war against God. Some of these falsely claimed that the Spirit is a creation of the Son of God and in every way inferior to Him, and therefore does not proceed from His essence but is some product of His will, just as the whole created nature came into being from the first cause. Others, separating Christ from the Son of God, said that the Spirit is greater than Christ and inspires and perfects Him from some higher and greater portion, not working from within, and they made Him a minister of the works of the Spirit, not the agent and cause, as the Spirit itself is, as is fitting for those who are naturally and essentially united and of equal honor.

7.Therefore, refuting the nonsense of these God-fighters, they say that the Spirit proceeds essentially from the Son and through the Son, and they declare the Son to be the originator and cause of the supply of good things in the Spirit, just as the Father is, giving this more to the Father, because they preserve the order toward the Son even in such works, as in all the common works of the divine nature. And they say that our renewal and regeneration have come from the Father through the Son in the Spirit, following the divine Paul, just as our first bringing into being and that of all things have. And with this order preserved, they say that the Spirit was sent forth from the Father and the Son for our benefit, yet as inseparably united with them, and no less from Himself, as not being diminished in nature, dignity, or will in any way, and thus they proclaim that our re-creation is the work of the whole divine nature, even though the divine Word alone personally undertook the economy of this re-creation, being united to the assumed nature. And they apply the same reasoning to the Son of God and our Lord Christ, knowing one and the same Son of God and Christ,

contrary to the nonsense of Nestorius. Hence, even in this need for words, they use them indifferently in their purposes, knowing that our salvation is the common work of the whole Trinity, but they more particularly and customarily attribute it to the Son of God by purpose, honoring the order of the divine persons even in the common works, as has been said. Therefore, the holy Cyril says: "Therefore, when the Holy Spirit, having come to be in us, makes us conformed to God, and proceeds from the Father and the Son, it is evident that He is of the divine essence, proceeding essentially in it and from it." For here it is clear that the conclusion concerns the divinity and glory of the Spirit against those who fight against it, while the premise includes the indwelling of the Spirit in us and the transformation that occurs in us from it.

8.And in the first of his addresses to Palladius, the same says: "Was the divine Spirit then the soul of man? And how is it not utterly absurd to think thus? For the soul would have remained immutable, but it is mutable; and the Spirit is not mutable, or if it is subject to change, the blame would fall on the divine nature itself, if it is of the essence of God and the Father and indeed also of the Son, proceeding essentially from both, that is, poured forth from the Father through the Son." From where, then, did Cyril take the expression "poured forth"? From the apostolic sayings which I recently mentioned; therefore, he says "from both," for there both the Father is said to pour out the Spirit and the Son, and for greater clarity he adds, "that is, from the Father through the Son," as the divine apostle says, "whom He poured out upon us through Jesus Christ."

9.He says that the Spirit is poured out essentially, that is, not in the manner of will proceeding from them as creatures do, but as co-natural and, as it were, a fruit of the divine essence. In his Treasures, he speaks more clearly: "Therefore, if it is holy by nature, it does not have its being such from without, but rather it is itself a natural, living, and hypostatic energy of the divine essence, always adding perfection to creation through sanctification and participation in it." And if, looking to the Son, he says that the Spirit is poured out essentially from Him and through Him, he again contributes to the glory of the Son with this statement. For he says that the Spirit is not present in Him by participation, as the folly of the heretics dared to say, giving the sanctification from the Spirit to Christ as if He were one of the mere men, foreign and introduced, but he says that the Spirit is essentially present in Him and co-natural, just as with the Father, and is poured out from them not silently but actively. Just as in the Treasures he concludes the divinity of the Son, so he says: "Therefore, when the Spirit of the Father and the Spirit of the Son are one, how will He not be God by nature, who has essentially the proper and unique attributes of the God and Father who is by nature?" And what he says here as "essentially," elsewhere he calls "naturally," saying about the Spirit that "it bears the dignity of the divine essence more naturally." And in many other places, he says similar things.

10.But just as in the creation of all things, the purpose is not attributed to the Son alone, but is given from the Father, so also in the supply of the Spirit, these prepositions are rightly and truly interchanged, as Cyril says in the aforementioned address: "The life-giving Spirit proceeds through both," although earlier he said, "from the Father through the Son." But there, he did so to show the order of the divine persons even in the supply of the Spirit, through which the Son of God, together with the Father and the Spirit, worked the improvement of our nature. Here, however, he does so to show the indifference of the energy, that both work one and the same energy without difference, a common benefaction to us of the one trihypostatic God. And this interchange of prepositions is true in the supply of the Spirit, just as in the first creation of all things, because our formation and re-formation, as well as the care for our race and the creation and constitution of the universe, belong to the same general principle and genus. For in both cases, the whole

divine nature works according to its all-good will, and each hypostasis works wholly and equally with the others, and all together are one principle of the benefaction that comes to us in both cases. This, however, would not be true concerning the existence of the Spirit. For the existence of the Spirit and our renewal or formation through the Spirit differ essentially in principle and animation, and if there is any stronger distinction of this kind.

11.All these things are also well confirmed by Gregory of Nyssa in his discourse to Ablabius: "For every energy that comes from God upon creation and is named according to various conceptions, proceeds from the Father, goes forth through the Son, and is perfected in the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the name of the energy is not divided according to the multitude of those who act, because the care for each thing is not cut off and peculiar to each, but whatever is done, whether for our providence or for the economy and constitution of the universe, is done through the three, yet the things done are not three." And a little later: "If every good thing and name is connected to the beginningless power and will in the power of the Spirit, and is brought to perfection through the only-begotten God timelessly and without interval, no extension or motion of the divine will is made or understood from the Father through the Son to the Spirit," and so on. In such a case, as I have already said, the holy Cyril and the whole circle of holy teachers say that the Spirit proceeds through the Son and from the Son and through both, and they use the prepositions indifferently, and they understand the Son as the originator and cause of this procession no less than the Father, and they say that one grace comes to us from the supply of the Spirit from the three hypostases. And thus they resolve the oppositions of the heretics, which they raised from the economy to theology by the things said or done in a human and bodily manner concerning the Son and the Spirit due to the necessity of the economy, casting out the divine and fitting conceptions about the divine hypostases.

c. That those who fail to comprehend the purpose of the teachers are refuted, for this reason they claim that the temporal mission and the eternal procession are one and the same.

1.Some, failing to perceive the necessity of these distinctions and not following the intent of the teachers, misinterpret certain passages as referring to the eternal existence of the Spirit—some out of ignorance, others out of deliberate malice. In order to aid those in ignorance and refute the wicked, we have undertaken this discourse. They claim, "The temporal procession and the eternal procession of the Spirit are one and the same." Therefore, they argue that wherever the Spirit proceeds in time, it also proceeds eternally from the same source. Oh, the vanity of such reasoning! How could the temporal and the eternal be identical unless they would also claim that the finite is the same as the infinite, the manifest as the hidden, and the comprehensible as the incomprehensible?

2."But," they say, "since there is only one Spirit, whether proceeding temporally or eternally, it follows that its processions must be one and the same." Not at all! If even the Logos of God, Christ, though one, is believed to have two begettings—utterly distinct from one another, the first being exalted, primary, eternal, and belonging to His divinity, for which it is said that He was "in the beginning with God" and "was God" and "was glorified by the Father before the world existed"; while the second is lowly, secondary, temporal, and pertains to the flesh, occurring by divine economy, for which it is said that "the Word became flesh" and of which Christ Himself speaks, saying to the Father, "You sent Me"—then how could the processions of the

Spirit be considered one simply because the Spirit is one? If they object on the grounds of Christ's dual nature, their argument is irrelevant, for the Spirit was never said to be begotten, either temporally or eternally. It suffices for us that the Spirit is sent, just as the Son was sent, and that it descends, appears, and takes its seat, as it has been manifested bodily—though it has not become in essence what it has appeared to be, just as the Word did not become flesh in essence but only in its economy. Regarding the Spirit's eternal nature and being, none of these temporal expressions apply to it. Moreover, there is no necessity for the Spirit to proceed eternally from the Son simply because it is said to proceed from Him in time. For even the Spirit is said to proceed from itself in this temporal sense, meaning that it comes forth by its own action. However, in the procession by which it possesses eternal being, it does not proceed from itself but is caused and proceeds from the Father alone.

3.Furthermore, Scripture also states that the Son is sent forth by the Spirit in time, but it never says that He is eternally sent. That the Son of God was also sent by the Spirit is attested by the blessed Anastasius in his treatise on the true doctrines of the Church, where he writes: "For we learn that the Son was sent not only by the Father but also by the Holy Spirit, as He Himself declares through Isaiah: 'Now the Lord has sent Me, and His Spirit.'" If, then, this sending is understood in terms of the divine economy, just as the assumption of flesh was arranged for the Word of God, then likewise, the Spirit is said to be sent by the Son according to the divine economy—hence it appeared as a dove and as fire. Thus, Scripture states that the Spirit was sent by the Father and the Son insofar as it was manifested in bodily form, now as a dove at baptism, now as fire. But this is not our claim alone; it is also affirmed by Augustine in the fifth book of On the Trinity.

4.If they seek to intimidate us by invoking the great Basil, let them know that he does not affirm that what proceeds from God does so in time, even if he attributes certain activities to occur within time. They deceive themselves by using Basil's words as a weapon against him, for the great Basil does not deny the temporal manifestations of the divine hypostases. Nor does he claim that the temporal mission is the same as the eternal existence of the divine person. Rather, he opposes the heretics who claim that the Spirit and the Son are created beings simply because they were sent in time and act in time. He refutes those who misinterpret scriptural passages that refer to the Son and the Spirit in temporal terms, using them to diminish the divine persons. For he himself affirms that this temporal mission in no way opposes the eternal procession of the hypostases or the dignity of divinity. Indeed, even this temporal mission of the divine persons is, in a different manner, beyond time, for God is neither within time nor in need of time—not only for His existence but also for His creative acts. He creates time itself, not within time, and likewise, He creates all things beyond time. Even though everything God brings into being exists within time after time itself comes into existence—since they are not co-eternal with God but are bound by the limits of time and transient things—yet the Father sends the Son beyond time, and the Son is sent from the Father beyond time. Likewise, the Spirit proceeds, not only by the eternal will of God regarding His works of goodness but also in the very act of these works. God does all these things beyond time, not because they eternally exist in themselves, but because He does not require time to accomplish them, nor do His actions unfold along the continuity of time. His movement is not measured by time in any way whatsoever. As the great Basil himself says elsewhere concerning the Spirit, He gives Himself to each of the worthy and is wholly present in all, not being divided, though He does not act in all in the same way. He is present in every place and yet exists

everywhere, without being contained by space or limited by location. Therefore, it is said that what proceeds from God, even if it manifests its energy in time, does not proceed from God in time.

5.This is also what we affirm: the Holy Spirit, proceeding from God toward us and being sent forth, manifests His energy in time. For our renewal and re-creation through participation in Him certainly take place in time, since we ourselves exist in time and experience these things within time. However, when He proceeds from God toward us, He does not do so in time, for He has no need of time, just as He does not require time to exist, so too He does not require time to act. The procession of the Spirit toward us, which is common to the whole divinity—bringing and bestowing upon us one grace from the Father through the Son in the Spirit, as the holy Athanasius teaches—should not be confused with the procession of the Spirit from the Father within the divine life itself. Neither the great Basil nor we, nor anyone who cares for true piety, would ever claim that the Spirit's mission toward us is the same as His eternal procession from the Father.

d. That concerning the eternal and hypostatic procession of the Spirit, the teachers speaking, all say that it proceeds distinctly from the Father, and no one from the Son.

1.Therefore, in the context I previously mentioned—when they extol the temporal mission of the Spirit and the benefits that come through it—the teachers speak concerning the Son and the Spirit in the manner we have already explained. However, when they discuss the eternal existence, order, and distinct properties of the divine persons, setting forth the true doctrine of the faith, it was necessary for them at times to pause in their arguments against opponents and to clearly expound the true doctrine concerning the divine to those who love the truth. In such cases, they never say that the eternal existence of the Spirit is from the Son but rather affirm distinctly that it is from the Father. And although some of them may seem to express the Spirit's eternal procession as being "from the Father through the Son," and even to theologize that it eternally proceeds from the Father through the Son, yet when we examine the statements of the teachers where they appear to say that the Spirit proceeds through the Son in its eternal procession, we must carefully determine their true and genuine meaning. But for now, let us examine how the teachers commonly and harmoniously theologize concerning the existence and hypostasis of the Spirit as proceeding from the Father. For regarding the eternal procession of the Spirit, by which it subsists uniquely and personally, and the relationship of the Son to this procession—since this has been revealed to us by the very teachers of the Church as far as it is proper to know—we shall then be able to understand in what way the Spirit is through the Son and to properly consider the intent of those who have spoken in this manner.Thus, Basil the Great, the great teacher of truth, in his letter to his brother, delivering the distinguishing properties of the divine persons, begins with the Spirit and says: "Since, therefore, the Holy Spirit is the source of all goodness for creation, it depends on the Son, with whom it is inseparably conjoined, and it has its being from the causality of the Father, from whom it both exists and proceeds. This constitutes the distinguishing mark of its hypostatic property: that it is known after the Son and together with Him, yet has its subsistence from the Father." And the Son, recognizing the Spirit that proceeds from the Father as being through Himself and with Himself, being Himself the Only-Begotten who has shone forth uniquely from the Unbegotten Light, has no communion in His unique distinguishing characteristics either with the Father or with the Holy Spirit, but is known only by the marks we have mentioned. And God, who is over all, has as the distinctive mark of His hypostasis the

fact that He is the Father, and that He alone subsists from no cause, and by this distinguishing mark, He too is uniquely known.

2.This passage, then, requires no elaboration or unfolding, for it is clear in itself that it distinctly affirms that the hypostasis or existence of the Spirit is from the Father, while at the same time it declares that the Spirit is attached to the Son due to the established order and distinction, being after the Son and known together with Him, inseparably united to Him due to the absolute unity of essence. And lest anyone misrepresent this teaching, observe how Basil reiterates the same things concerning the Spirit: first, laying them down as unquestionable tenets of faith, and then drawing from them an overall conclusion about the distinct property of the Spirit, which sets it apart from the other consubstantial persons. He distinctly states that the Spirit has its subsistence from the Father because it has its being from the causality of the Father—for this is what he meant by saying that it "proceeds from the Father." And that it is after the Son and with Him, because it is attached to the Son, with whom it is inseparably united. He says that it is attached to and inseparably united with the Son so that we may avoid both the confusion of Sabellius and the division of Arius—or rather, so that he might teach us to avoid these errors, as he himself states in this very letter, since we are instructed to formulate our faith in a way that maintains both the proper order and the essential unity of the three persons.

3.In full agreement with this, the holy Gregory speaks in his polemics against Eunomius, when he expounds on the divine persons and the one undivided essence that unites them. He says: "If, then, in the uncreated nature, the wondrous realities and names—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—are understood, how could it be possible for the human mind, which in its curiosity and busyness investigates and comprehends things below by comparing one to another through some temporal interval, to consider that this also applies to the uncreated and eternal essence? In that essence, the Father is conceived as unoriginate and unbegotten, and as eternally being Father, while from Him, immediately and without division, the Only-Begotten Son is co-conceived with the Father. And through Him and with Him—without any void or unsubstantial notion intervening—the Holy Spirit is immediately comprehended, united through the Son. It does not come after the Son in existence, as though the Only-Begotten could be conceived apart from the Spirit. Rather, just as the Only-Begotten derives His being from the God of all, so too does the Spirit, shining forth through the true Light while having its cause of existence from the same source from which the Only-Begotten is Light." And again, in the same discourse: "We must not conceive of a mere ray proceeding from the sun, but of another sun, shining forth together with the first in its very conception of being—one that possesses all things in the same way as the first: beauty, power, brightness, magnitude, radiance, and simply everything that pertains to the sun." And again: "Another such Light exists in the same manner, not severed by any temporal interval from the begotten Light, but shining forth through Him, while having the cause of its hypostasis from the original Light."

4.Behold, this also affirms that the Spirit has its cause from the God of all, just as the Only-Begotten is Light. And again, it is said to have its hypostatic cause from the Father, just as the divine Basil declares that the Spirit derives its being from the Father as cause and subsists from the Father. At the same time, they also ascribe to it its proper order in relation to the Son: the one affirms that it shines forth through Him, while the other affirms that it exists after Him and with Him. For they did not speak merely of its order in relation to the Father, lest they leave room for misinterpretation by those who wish to distort their words—as some

misinterpret that evangelical saying as though it were structured for expansion. Rather, they clearly show that the Spirit subsists from the Father alone to those capable of understanding rightly, so that no further repudiation of "through the Son" is necessary. And who, when the teachers have so clearly expounded both the order and procession of the divine persons with great skill, would dare to follow another, or rather contrary, explanation? Gregory the Theologian, in his discourse against Heron the philosopher, states: "And the Holy Spirit is one, proceeding from the Father, or rather, coming forth." He says "proceeding" in reference to the completeness of the procession, and "coming forth" in reference to its eternity. Yet in that same discourse, he also says that only the Son is the Son—He alone is begotten. For to the Son alone does the Father stand as both begetter and source of procession.

5.And in the discourse concerning Gou: "For this reason," he says, "standing upon our boundaries, we introduce both the unbegotten and the begotten, and that which proceeds from the Father, as God the Word Himself somewhere says." For here, he calls the very proceeding from the Father the boundary of the contemplation concerning the Spirit, and he so far refrains from referring the proceeding of the Spirit to the Son that, lest anyone should think he says this, he adds 'from the Father,' emulating the security of the first council. For that council declares: "Receive one divinity of the Father who begot the Son ineffably, and of the Son who was begotten from Him, and of the Holy Spirit who proceeds from Him, the Father." For even those fathers, it seems, in order that the relational aspect not be reckoned toward the adjacent name, added "the Father" to "from Him"; and if they feared to say that it proceeds from the Son, they would have either said "from them" or, having said "from Him," would have left it undetermined regarding either hypostasis, since no harm would thereby occur, to whichever of the hypostases it might be referred, since it was bound to be true for both. Thus, the great Gregory also says "proceeding from the Father," in order to refute the Latins who say that it proceeds from the Son, and those who, with great recklessness, exceed the definition set forth by the great teacher and our master before him. And in his discourse on order in discussions, he says: "It is necessary to recognize one God the Father, unoriginate and unbegotten, and one Son begotten from the Father, and one Spirit who has existence from God, ascribing unbegottenness to the Father, begetting to the Son, and everything else as coessential, co-enthroned, of the same glory and honor." And these things he says, having received them from the wonderworker Gregory, of whom it is said in his revelation: "The Spirit has existence from God and is manifested to men through the Son," or rather, in agreement with the divine Paul, who, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, says: "The Spirit which is from God," but never "from Christ" or "from the Son," only "the Spirit of the Son" and "the Spirit of Christ." Moreover, what else does it mean to say that all else is coessential with the Son while ascribing begetting only to the Son, except that the Son is not the projector of the Spirit? For he says that begetting alone is assigned to the Son, just as unbegottenness is assigned to the Father. If, however, the Son were the projector of the Spirit, then certainly projection would also be assigned to Him, unless it be that the Spirit is not of the nature to be projected. And in saying these things, he agrees with Basil, who declares that what is common to the Father and the Son is also common to the Spirit, and with the holy Dionysius, who said this before Basil. And Nyssa says that the Spirit proceeds from the paternal hypostasis. And Basil again, in his interpretation of the thirty-second Psalm, says: "As the creative Word established the heavens, so also the Spirit of God, which proceeds from the Father, that is, from His mouth, so that you may not consider it as something external or created, but rather glorify it as having its hypostasis from God." And in his letter to Eustathius, the same Basil says:

"Having been taught that the Spirit of truth proceeds from the Father, we confess that it is from God and uncreated." And again, in the sixteenth discourse to Amphilochius: "Neither is the Word a symbolic representation of air produced through vocal organs, nor is the Spirit the vapor of breath expelled from the respiratory parts, but the Word is He who was in the beginning with God and was God, and the Spirit of the mouth of God is the Spirit of truth, which proceeds from the Father."

6.The great Athanasius, in his discourse, in the form of a dialogue between a Macedonian and an Orthodox, says: "Among humans, Peter, Paul, and Timothy, and others before them, pre-exist. But no one pre-exists Adam, except God Himself. And nothing pre-exists the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; rather, the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Spirit proceeds from the Father." He himself, in his dialogue between a Montanist and an Orthodox, says: "Just as there is nothing between the mind, the word, and the breath, so there is nothing between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; but the Spirit must be understood as perfect in a perfect hypostasis, proceeding from the Father." And Cyril, in his writings against Julian, says: "The Spirit proceeds without beginning from the Father, and through the Son is given to creation." And again, he says: "The Spirit proceeds from the God and Father, and yet it is not alien to the Son according to the essence." And Justin the martyr says: "Just as the Son is from the Father, so the Spirit is from the Father, but they differ in the manner of their existence." And in the writings of the apostles, it is stated clearly that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. To these, let us add the explicit words of Cyril, in which he distinguishes: "The Spirit proceeds from the Father, but it is through the Son that it is given to creation." Some of these statements were presented earlier in this current treatise.

e. That the same is shown also from the synods, and especially of the second and third.

1.Let the canons of the seven councils be added to this. For all of them designated that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, and they did not add anything to it. Regarding the Third Council, the matter should be decided by the vote; the explanation of the Second Council, which fully expounded everything concerning the Spirit, says: "It proceeds from the Father," but also adds that the Spirit is to be worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son. Regarding Macedonius, who alone maintained that the Spirit proceeds from the Son and is created, she herself dismissed this idea as created, affirming that the Spirit is worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son. Moreover, when Macedonius proposed that the Spirit proceed from the Son alone and be created, she dismissed this, saying it is impossible and a falsehood, for no one can assert that the Spirit proceeds naturally and essentially from the Son. But if the council had only opposed the creation of the Spirit, they would have allowed that it proceeds from the Son, as they had removed the error of worshipping the Spirit. However, it would have been more dangerous if the Spirit were said to proceed from the Son, for this was clearly false, as the council had already proclaimed that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. Thus, those who, unlike Macedonius, did not think that the Spirit proceeds only from the Son, but rather that it proceeds from both the Father and the Son, showed the correct understanding of the Council. And if she had thought that the Spirit proceeded from both the Father and the Son but did not add the name of the Son, it would have been a mistake, since the correct belief is that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, not only from the Father. Therefore,

Macedonius' error of asserting that the Spirit only proceeds from the Son was corrected by the Council, as they did not leave out the necessary clarification that the Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son.

2.The Third Council, which deposed Nestorius, upon hearing Nestorius claim that the Holy Spirit does not have existence through the Son, neither condemned him on this account nor declared that it was necessary to add to the Symbol (Creed) as the Second and First Councils had decreed. For it is evident from the facts that, had anyone wished to speak against Nestorius on this matter of the Spirit and to dispute for the sake of doctrine, the Council would have condemned them—just as it condemned Nestorius for his innovations regarding Christ. For those who would dare to speak or write contrary to the Symbol of those Councils, the Third Council judged them to be innovators of another faith, just as it declared Nestorius to be an innovator in what he raved against Christ. This is the interpretation that the Latins present to us, and we accept it as it stands. Therefore, if the Third Council regarded the blasphemy of Nestorius against Christ as a different faith—since it was clearly opposed both to the words of the Symbol and to its meaning—it is evident that Nestorius' opinion regarding the Spirit, which the Council in no way condemned but rather accepted and even welcomed in various ways, is in harmony with the Symbol. Thus, to hold a different understanding of the Spirit than Nestorius did would be to introduce a new faith and to depart from the Symbol. This was known to the Council, and likewise, we, being aware of it, do not err in maintaining this position.

3.If they claim that the later councils followed the Third in what it permitted, particularly regarding the anathemas against the chapters of Theodoret, this is false and impossible. For since those councils affirmed and upheld the authority of the Third Council, as was proper (for otherwise, they would not have been seen as consistent), it would have been impossible for them to regard Theodoret's doctrine concerning the Spirit as erroneous. Indeed, neither Theodoret nor Nestorius were condemned by the Third Council for this matter, and Theodoret persisted in his view to the end, even though he had anathematized Nestorius and was received by the Church. Furthermore, it is unreasonable to think that those councils neglected this issue due to negligence, as if the Council or the blessed Cyril had ignored the Spirit being blasphemed. No one with any sense would believe this, knowing the severity of the struggle against Nestorius, both by Cyril and the entire Church. The reason for the condemnation of those chapters is clear from the very nature of the matter and from the wording of those conciliar decisions, as I have already demonstrated in the earlier part of this work. There is no need to add anything further. However, the Latins, disregarding all of this, claim that the phrase "and from the Son" (Filioque) was added to oppose the Nestorians. Yet the Nestorians were not particularly troubling to them after the Seventh Council; rather, Nestorius and those who followed his teachings were troubling to the Third Council at that time. Thus, they now presume to correct both the Second and Third Councils or even declare them heretical—charging the Second with silence on such an evident truth (as though it did not affirm it simply because it did not think it necessary to say it, for surely no men were better placed than those Fathers to affirm that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, had they believed it to be true), and the Third with failing to rebuke Nestorius for blaspheming against the Spirit. On the contrary, they even claim that the Third Council aligned with Macedonius. If it were true that anyone opposing Nestorius at the time had been accountable to the conciliar decrees, then those same decrees would have applied to Nestorius himself. Yet no one at the Third Council opposed Nestorius on the matter of the

Spirit's existence, and it is they—the Latins—who have first sought to overturn the very decrees of that Council.

f. That this is clear also from the words of Damascene, and brief solutions of the Latin objections.

1.Let the divine John of Damascus be added to those who have spoken on this matter, as he says concerning the Spirit in the eighth discourse of his theological writings: "We say that the Holy Spirit is from the Father and we call it the Spirit of the Father; but we do not say that the Spirit is from the Son, though we call it the Spirit of the Son." Yet some slander this teacher and falsely accuse our entire Church, and even the truth itself, as we have previously demonstrated. Some claim that he holds this belief but does not express it, deceiving both themselves and others with childish sophistries. For if we are to understand that wherever he says 'we do not say,' he actually means 'we do think,' then when the same teacher says, 'We do not say that the Father is from anyone,' we would have to conclude that we secretly believe the Father to be from someone. If they bring forth his words concerning the blessed Virgin, that 'we truly believe her to be Christotokos, but we do not say so'—because the heretic Nestorius misused this term and rejected the name Theotokos—there, at least, the teacher provides the reason why one might refrain from using the term. But in this case, he neither gives such a reason nor does he say that he secretly holds the opposite view. Thus, one should not infer such an understanding. And the teacher himself openly refutes them in the thirteenth chapter of his work, saying: "The Spirit of the Father, as proceeding from the Father, for nothing is set in motion without the Spirit; and it is also the Spirit of the Son, not as proceeding from Him, but as proceeding through Him." Here, he makes it clear that he does not believe the Spirit to proceed from the Son. For when he finds the Holy Spirit called both the Spirit of the Father and the Spirit of the Son in Scripture, he demonstrates that these expressions are not to be understood in the same sense. Rather, the Spirit is called the Spirit of the Father as proceeding from the Father, but it is called the Spirit of the Son not as proceeding from Him. If he had believed that it proceeded from the Son, as they claim, he would not have also said that it does not proceed from Him. For it would be impossible for him to hold both positions at once. But since he does say that the Spirit is of the Son, though not as proceeding from Him, this is indeed his belief. Thus, it follows that he did not believe the Spirit to proceed from the Son.

2.Again, some claim that he attributes the origin of the Spirit to the Father as the first cause, but assigns to the Son a mediating role due to the order the Son has in relation to the Father in bringing forth the Spirit —without, however, denying that the Son is also a cause of the Spirit. But this too is false, for he explicitly states: "The Father alone is the cause." In response, they devise another sophistry, arguing that the Father is alone the cause in the sense of being the first cause, which is what is implied by the term "first cause," indicating that He is the common source of all divinity. But first of all, if the first cause is what is meant, as all the other teachers and John of Damascus himself—the interpreter and synthesizer of them all—understand it, and if for this reason they exclude the Son from being a cause, then one would also have to say that the Son is neither Creator nor God. For just as creating belongs to the Son by virtue of being from the Father, so too the causality of the Spirit, according to the Latins, belongs to the Son from the Father. Yet no one claims that only the Father is Creator or the sole principle of creatures, nor that He alone is cause—nor would it be truthful to state this simply and without qualification. Likewise, they do not claim that the Father

alone is the cause of the Spirit, except insofar as He is the first and only first cause. But since they do not add the qualifier "first," they in effect deny that the Son has any causality at all. Furthermore, if this were a correct argument, then if the Son were also said to be a cause of the Spirit, we would expect the Church's teachers to speak of the Father as the first cause and the Son as a secondary cause of the Spirit, or of divinity itself. But since none of the teachers ever say such things, it is clear that this interpretation arises solely from the Latin mindset, and it has no necessity for us. And that it is also impossible will become evident from what follows, since the teachers say the exact opposite.

3.But above all, it is truly astonishing that they attempt to distort the words of the teacher with such misinterpretations to suit their own will, despite the fact that his words strongly support our position, both in their clarity and in the authority of the one who spoke them. And yet, the same individuals dare to call him a Nestorian and declare that this doctrine is heretical nonsense. For if John of Damascus were in agreement with Theodoret and Nestorius and had fallen into the same error as they did, this alone would be enough to discredit his testimony, and there would be no need to further engage with his words. In that case, we would have to reject all heretics outright and even open the way for their errors, giving them an appearance of legitimacy through some contrived justification. But if his statement is true in some manner, at least as the Latins understand it, then in condemning John of Damascus, they do him a grave injustice by associating him with heretics. And how do they not feel ashamed of themselves, speaking such incoherent things? How is it possible that one and the same person could both agree with heretics and have an orthodox understanding in the very same matter?

4.But perhaps, being aware of these misinterpretations and conscious themselves that this truth is stronger than any distortion, they turn to slandering the teacher. Yet they are caught, having no firm foundation to stand on, as they attempt to mix what cannot be mixed. They themselves claim that he aligns with certain heretics, while at the same time, they interpret his words in an Orthodox manner. From so many words and matters—indeed, from many more than need be cited—it is clearly demonstrated that the common teaching of the Church is that the Spirit does not proceed from the Son. For in the express words of the aforementioned teachers, as well as in similar statements, this ought to have been stated if indeed they held such a belief, particularly in the passages where they discuss the eternal existence and order of the divine persons. Yet they unanimously declare that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, exists from the Father, and derives its being and cause from the Father, while saying nothing of the sort concerning the Son—agreeing as if by an unspoken consensus. Apart from the explicit statements of each teacher, the Second Council stands for us as an unaltered interpreter of truth, as does the one immediately following it, by which it confirmed the previous decrees and, like Nestorius in other matters (except for those touching upon the divine economy), serves as a herald proclaiming that nothing further should be added to the article concerning the Holy Spirit.

g. Examination of the saying of the Gospel in which it is said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, showing that the saying has the same force as if it had said from the Father alone; and a collection again of the synods towards the meaning of this saying.

THE GREEK FATHERS

1.Above all and before all, our Lord, who knows the order of the Spirit in relation to God the Father, declares that it proceeds from the Father, thereby shutting out any excuse for unnecessary speculation. For He did not merely say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, but He affirmed: "When the Paraclete comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of Truth, who proceeds from the Father." Since He also states that the Spirit will be sent by Him, lest it be suspected to be a created being, a mere servant fulfilling a ministerial function, He preemptively dispels such suspicions. "When He comes," He says—that is, when He arrives with divine authority as God and by His own will, descending for your visitation. Yet, even though He comes of His own accord, He will nonetheless also be sent by Me, He says, not only because He comes after Me and because His descent to you is necessary due to My ascension, but also because, with My counsel and through Him completing the entire dispensation, He will come to you, fulfilling what is lacking. And so, He will be among you, known to you more than to all other men—though not yet known even by you as He ought to be, and therefore, not yet appearing to be present. Thus, I will manifest Him to you after Me, not while present, but having first departed from you, strengthening your faith and goodwill through My absence, and thereby making you worthy of receiving an additional measure of grace. Then, showing that this divine will for the Spirit's beneficial work does not belong to the Spirit alone but also to God the Father (for their will is one, just as their nature is one), He affirms: "I will send Him to you from the Father"—implying that the Father also sends with Him, for He is the one who, with Me, possesses by nature and eternally both being and will, and the authority to act in counsel with the Spirit.

2.Since the sending and manifestation of the Spirit to us is both for our sake and a common work of the entire Trinity, while the eternal existence of the Spirit is beyond causation, according to the sacred theologians, and transcends all created things, thoughts, and actions related to the divine economy, He wishes to reveal this mystery to us, saying: "The Spirit of Truth, who proceeds from the Father." He thus affirms that the Spirit belongs to Him, being the Spirit of Truth, eternally coexisting with Him in a manner beyond comprehension, though distinct in hypostasis. Yet He also declares that the Spirit "proceeds from the Father," meaning that He comes forth from the same source as the Son, having His own distinct subsistence. From these words, a marvelous sequence of doctrines is woven together and arranged in harmony. For our Savior and Lord pre-announces to His disciples the gift that proceeds from the Father, demonstrating His authority, revealing Himself as the source of all the benefits to come through the Spirit, proclaiming the first principle of all things, testifying to His own consubstantiality with the Spirit, and affirming the cause of the Spirit's hypostatic existence—that it is from the Father.

3.But do the Latins still act lawlessly concerning these matters? They consider the sending to be the same as the proceeding, and they introduce the Son as a co-cause of the procession from the Father, emboldening themselves with their addition to the Creed. If our Lord had simply said, "whom I will send," without adding "from the Father," they might have argued that He added "who proceeds from the Father" to show that the Father is the cause of the sending, and thus they might have assumed that sending could replace proceeding. They could then conclude from both statements that the Spirit subsists from both, albeit with the distinction they attempt to impose—that the Spirit proceeds from the Father without cause and without beginning, but from the Son through the Father. However, since after saying "I will send," He added "from the Father," He first shows the Father as the primary cause of that sending, and only then attributes to Himself His own proper role, so that the sending is sufficiently accounted for. And since all three hypostases are involved in

this, what need was there to specify that the Spirit "proceeds from the Father," if this were identical to "being sent from the Father"? If that were the case, the phrase "who proceeds from the Father" would have been superfluous and repetitive. But since the sending and the proceeding indicate different realities, no such accusation can stand. Instead, the sending from the Father through the Son must be understood as the grace of God proceeding from the Father through the Son in the Spirit, one divine blessing descending upon mankind—not in a temporal order or with any interval, but in the unity of the gift and the order of the divine persons, as they exist and relate to one another. Meanwhile, the phrase "proceeds from the Father" must be understood as referring to the Spirit's own existence, which He possesses eternally from the Father, beyond all economy, beyond the creation of beings, and beyond any temporal conception—for there was never a time when He did not possess it.

4.Thus, in order to show that the Father is the cause—eternal and uncaused—of both the sending and the manifestation of the Spirit, He did not say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father in the same way as it is sent. For this, He had already made clear when He said, "Whom I will send to you from the Father," thereby including the Father in the common beneficence of the Trinity. But if, when presenting the eternal existence of the Spirit, He stated that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, why then did He not also add Himself, knowing that He is the cause of the Spirit? If indeed He refrained from bearing witness to Himself for the sake of the divine economy, while nevertheless affirming that He would send the Spirit—this being a testimony to His equality in divine power—it follows that even greater testimony against the heretics arises from what is already manifest.

5.If, wishing to refer all things of His own to the Father, He also attributed the sending of the Spirit to the Father, yet He still promised to send the Spirit from the Father. It would have been easy for Him to say, "It proceeds from both Me and the Father," or, "He who proceeds from the Father, proceeds through Me." But if He judged it sufficient to say "proceeds from the Father" to make this truth evident, then it would also have sufficed for Him to say, "Whom the Father will send." However, He added, "in My name." Again, it would have been enough for Him to say, "When the Paraclete comes, whom the Father will send." Yet He rather said, "Whom I will send to you from the Father." Therefore, since He found it insufficient to express these things in any other way, it was likewise necessary to add further clarification if indeed the truth required it. For the Father is not less conceived in the name of the Son due to their relation, nor is God less understood in the name of the Father. Nor was it necessary for the Father to be included when referring to what is clearly common, such as "I will send from the Father," any more than it was necessary to include the Son in what is particular to Him alone. The omission of Himself in the mention of the Spirit's procession from the Father does not indicate that He considered the Father's name sufficient to show that the Son shares in this projection. Rather, He deemed it sufficient for the Spirit to know that He proceeds from the Father, just as the Son knows that He is begotten from Him. It was not out of humility in the flesh that He spoke this way, but rather because He was the unalterable herald of the eternal and divine truth, teaching concerning what belongs to the divine nature. Nor did He diminish what pertained to Himself, out of honor for the Father, but rather He honored Himself truly by affirming that what exists from the Father subsists in Him, as He called it "the Spirit of Truth"—something no mere human could say regarding the divine Spirit. Yet He still assigned to the Father the primal uniqueness which belongs to Him alone within the divine

persons, so that the Father may be seen as the sole principle of the divine persons, just as He is the one principle of all things, through whom all things are in the Spirit—that is, the God who exists in the Trinity.

6.Moved, it seems, by these considerations, the Second Council reflected upon the evangelical statement and, with a slight addition of words, more fully expressed the intent of the Fathers of the First Council, while also refuting the empty talk of Macedonius. This Macedonius, following earlier heretics and adding new errors of his own invention, not only failed to recognize the Spirit as consubstantial with the Father and the Son, as the former Fathers did, but even refused to include Him in the glory of the Trinity at all, instead assigning Him to the rank of angels, calling Him a creation of God, a servant, and a minister, like the angels. To this day, the faction of those who battle against the Spirit—both the followers of Macedonius and the Marathonians—are entirely overthrown by the syllables of the Creed. For if the Spirit is worshiped alongside the Son and is adored together with the Father, then it is clear that He shares the same essence with the Father, existing with Him in the divine essence and glory. If the Spirit is worshiped and glorified together with the Father and the Son, then it necessarily completes the blessed Trinity and genuinely participates in all the prerogatives of divinity with the Father and the Son, being neither a creation of the Son nor of the Father.

7.If the Spirit proceeds from the Father, meaning that He has His subsistence from Him, then it is clear that He does not have His subsistence from the Son. For if He were to proceed from the Son, then He would necessarily also proceed from the Father, since all that the Son has, He has from the Father, and He does nothing nor brings forth anything by Himself. But if He proceeds from the Father, there is no necessity that He must also proceed from the Son—otherwise, everything belonging to the Father would equally belong to the Son. But this is false, for the Son does not possess the property of being unbegotten or unoriginate, nor that of generating, nor, in general, the role of being the principle or cause, as the holy teachers affirm. However, it is not necessary at this point to discuss the issue of principle and causality. It suffices to say that the Son does not share in any of the distinguishing properties of the Father's hypostasis. Moreover, the council that followed the Second Council places upon us, who think rightly, an undeniable necessity: not to believe that the Spirit has His subsistence from the Son, for the reasons stated. The Second Council accepted the evangelical declarations without alteration. But those who are bad hearers of these words—namely, those who have departed from us and introduced foreign innovations—have paid no heed to these councils, nor to the teachers, nor even to the very words of the Lord, and they were quite ready to alter the faith.

h. Exposition of the sayings, in which the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father through the Son; and that some not understanding these well, have yielded to the Latins.

1.With these things thus set forth as proof that the eternal existence of the Spirit is from the Father alone as cause—things which cannot be contradicted nor opposed, being the sacred teaching of the Church and not the reasoning of mortal men—it remains to examine the words of the teachers, in which some seem to affirm that the Spirit is from the Father through the Son. The great Athanasius, in his discourse titled Refutation of the Hypocrisy of Those Concerning Meletius and Eusebius, says: That the Spirit cannot be glorified within the doctrine of the Trinity unless He is first acknowledged as being from God through the Son, but not as having come into being in a creative manner from God, as the heretics say. Likewise, the great

Basil, in his fourth book Against Eunomius, where he wonders why the Spirit is not also called the Son of the Son, says: Because He is not from God through the Son, lest the Trinity be thought an infinite multitude, having sons from sons, as among men some beget children. The divine Maximus, in his interpretation of the golden lampstand, says: Just as the Holy Spirit subsists essentially from God the Father, so too does He subsist essentially from the Son, proceeding ineffably from the Father, through Him who was begotten. The divine Tarasius, in his confession of faith, which was also that of the holy and ecumenical Seventh Council, states: And in the Holy Spirit, which proceeds from the Father through the Son, and is known also to be God. And the blessed John of Damascus, in his thirteenth theological discourse, says: He Himself is the abyss of the Word, the begetter of the Word, and through the Word the projector of the manifesting Spirit. And again, in the same place: The Holy Spirit is the manifesting power of the hidden divinity of the Father, proceeding from the Father through the Son. In these statements, the term "eternally" is not explicitly used, but it seems to be implied by the word "proceed," which appears to be specifically reserved for the eternal existence and hypostatic procession of the Spirit, indicating that the Father is the projector of the Spirit through the Son. Otherwise, the Spirit is shown to be led forth from the Father through the Son in a different manner. And this is made much clearer in the present statement than in others, for in it the acting person is the Father, and the name of the action is given, and it seems impossible that the Son should also be the source of that action, inasmuch as it is the Spirit that is being led forth.

2.This same meaning seems to be conveyed by Gregory of Nyssa in his discourse To Ablabius, where he teaches that the Son is immediately from the First (the Father), and that the Holy Spirit is through the one who is immediately from the First, that is, from the Father through the Son. And it is evident that he speaks concerning the eternal order and distinction of the divine Persons. From these statements, simpler minds have drawn the conclusion that the Spirit is from the Son in some way, and this has become the foundation for the entire union with the Latins for those who wish to be united. They say: The Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father through the Son, as the Eastern teachers affirm. But just as "from" in "from the Father" signifies causality, so too does "through" indicate causality in "through the Son." Thus, they claim it is correct to say that the Spirit subsists from the Son, has His being from the Son, and that the Son is His source and cause, and all such things. In this way, they suppose that they are bringing the Europeans into agreement with our Fathers—provided that "through the Son" is understood in the sense that the Son is the source and cause of the Spirit. Otherwise, they deem it impossible for them to be in agreement.

i. Since it is possible to truly interpret these sayings in relation to temporal procession, yet because they can also be rightly understood concerning the eternal procession, this must be conceded to the Latins: namely, which of the sayings distinctly signify temporal procession, which signify eternal procession, and which are common to both.

1.But we, employing and being aided by the very Spirit of Truth, first say that, even if we primarily understand the eternal existence of the Spirit through the expression "to proceed," the divine Logos has revealed that ineffable procession. However, it is not necessary that in every case this term be taken with that meaning, nor in all the writings of the teachers where it is used must it necessarily be understood as referring to eternity. For in the Holy Gospels, we are indeed compelled to understand it in this way because there the

sending of the Spirit is presented as proceeding from the Father through the Son, in contrast to the eternal procession from the Father, which is emphasized. This has given us a complete understanding of the Spirit's procession, as has been previously explained. Furthermore, when the teachers of the Church say that the Spirit proceeds ineffably from the Father but is granted to creation through the Son, and that it proceeds from the Father but is not foreign to the Son according to essence, and again, that the Son is begotten from the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him—when they say these things, we must understand nothing other than the hypostatic procession of the Spirit, which proceeds from the Father as from a truly natural cause. For the distinction in these statements, when carefully examined, leads us to a specific meaning of the term "to proceed," and we cannot then interpret "procession" in a broader sense. However, when there is no such specification and it is merely said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, then we may understand this statement in relation to temporal procession, interpreting it more broadly. Thus, we commonly use the term "to proceed" in this way. For this reason, we understand the temporal mission of the Spirit in terms of being sent, poured forth, gushing forth, or being made manifest, particularly in passages where the teachers refer to creation, humanity, or something similar. Yet, when such additional context is absent, we sometimes also understand an eternal meaning through these words. For such expressions are not strictly defined as always signifying the Spirit's temporal granting, but rather they metaphorically indicate the procession of the Spirit—whether one means the temporal or the eternal. For example, the terms "pouring forth," "gushing," and "flowing" are properly applied to the nature of water but are metaphorically used for God, since the Holy Spirit is figuratively called "living water" in Scripture, while the Son of God is called a "river" and a "spring" in another sense, as will be shown. Likewise, the terms "shining forth" and "radiating" are properly applied to the luminous and brilliant nature of light, yet they are transferred to God because both the Son and the Spirit are called the light of the Father, according to the Apostle, Dionysius, and the subsequent teachers.

2.Since the Holy Spirit subsists personally in His own being from the Father, but is revealed to men and granted to them through the Son, this is why both His procession from the Father and His bestowal through the Son are exalted with those expressions, or rather, it should be said that through the likeness of these outpourings, an attempt is made to represent that ineffable effusion of the Spirit from His own cause and His boundless and unceasing bestowal upon us. Therefore, these expressions in themselves do not distinguish between the eternal and the temporal, nor do they separate the existence of the Spirit from His transmission. Rather, as general terms, they apply to both. Yet, through the addition of certain adverbs or other specific words, one can distinctly indicate one of the two processions. Hence, whenever we come across such metaphorical expressions in a teacher's writings, we must examine other contextual evidence and the teacher's specific intent to discern whether the term "manifestation" in that passage signifies something temporal or eternal—and likewise for other such terms.

3.Listening to the most holy Gregory, who says: "The Spirit has its existence from God and is manifested to humanity through the Son," we understand "manifested" to mean revealed and shared. And when Cyril says, "The Only-Begotten, showing himself to be true God from true God the Father, has been manifested," we take "manifested" to refer to that eternal generation. Likewise, when this teacher says, "The Spirit is poured forth upon creation through the Son," he indicates the Spirit's bestowal. But when he says, "And it is poured forth, or rather proceeds, as from a fountain—namely, from God the Father—and is bestowed upon

creation through the Son," he himself becomes an interpreter of the eternal procession of the Spirit. Some teachers even prefer to call the eternal procession of the Spirit an "emission" and a "going forth" rather than a "procession," and to say that the Spirit is eternally "sent forth" and "goes forth" rather than "proceeds," taking care to maintain Hellenistic linguistic precision—except when necessity dictates the use of evangelical terms for the sake of demonstrating the truth. For then they do not hesitate to disregard rhetorical conventions. Thus, as I have said, our holy fathers have used these terms and expressions interchangeably without concern, while others employ them with strict definition to signify the Spirit's essential procession, by which it has its personal existence. For them, existence and being—and even subsistence and causal distinction—are explicitly indicated. And for this reason, they never attach to "is" the temporal limitations that pertain to creation, lest they introduce a notion of temporal existence.

4.It would be easy, then, for one to misinterpret the words of those teachers as referring to a temporal procession, as if they had employed the verb "to proceed" in a general and undifferentiated sense. Since neither "eternally" is explicitly stated, nor is anything temporal specifically attached, there is nothing compelling us to interpret "proceed" as signifying "to subsist" in contrast to another form of existence. And it would be unreasonable to assume that these teachers had an unclear theology simply because they say that the Spirit "proceeds from the Father through the Son." For in doing so, they mean that the Spirit both subsists and is bestowed by the Father, but is only bestowed by the Son. Thus, the Spirit's procession is related to both the Father and the Son in distinct ways: to the Father as cause and fountain of divinity, and to the Son as the one who, by virtue of the unity of essence, is the dispenser and steward of the divine gifts that descend through the Spirit to creation from the Father of Lights above.

5.But lest we appear more contentious than necessary in our discussion or seem to be resorting to complex and obscure arguments rather than clear and truthful explanations—something the Latins do against us, using unfounded and ambiguous distinctions to obscure falsehood—let us also consider the fact that not only is it said that the Spirit "proceeds from the Father through the Son," but also that the Spirit "exists from God through the Son." This latter phrase clearly does not refer to procession in general but to the Spirit's very existence. And this meaning is confirmed by the explicit words of many other teachers, who declare that the Spirit eternally proceeds from the Father through the Son. Since they use "through the Son" in an explanatory sense, we also accept and use it in the same way. For there can be no interpreter of the teachers' words more trustworthy than the teachers themselves. Thus, we affirm that the Spirit eternally proceeds from the Father through the Son and exists in this manner, even if "eternally" is not always stated. And we insist that this is a true and necessary teaching: that the procession of the Spirit from the Father must be confessed and glorified as occurring through the Son, and must be understood as such—because it truly is so. However, this does not mean that we consider the Son to be the cause of the Spirit, nor do we accept the conclusions that the Latins draw from this, which they so easily attach to their argument. For it is utterly impossible that the holy teachers ever taught that the Son is the cause of the Spirit. Even if they affirmed that the Spirit eternally proceeds from the Father through the Son, their own words, which we will present afterward, will make this abundantly clear. But first, we must seek to understand what they meant by "through the Son," and refute those who falsely attribute to them a different meaning than the true and genuine one.

j. That the teachers, when they say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, are unfolding the evangelical teaching and demonstrating both the essential unity of the divine persons and their order through this exposition, as well as the distinction of their processions.

1.Sometimes, the holy teachers present the procession of the Spirit from the First Cause in a condensed manner, contenting themselves with the words of the Savior's theology, which declares that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. This is especially the case when they simultaneously mention the generation of the Son, that is, when they say that the Son is begotten of the Father and that the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him. They do the same when they refer to the manifestation of the Spirit as occurring through the Son, adding that the Spirit proceeds from the Father but is given to creation through the Son. For at such times, they do not consider further exposition necessary, since all the divine persons are encompassed within this statement. However, when they specifically address the matter of the Spirit, then they expand upon the evangelical teaching and say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. For our Lord Jesus declared that the Spirit proceeds from the same source from which He Himself was begotten, and this is what it means for the Spirit to proceed from the Father. Therefore, when these teachers express this truth, they say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, meaning from that very person and hypostasis from which the Son receives His existence by generation, and from which the Spirit also receives His hypostatic existence through procession. In this way, they understand the two processions as intimately connected, as if intertwined with one another. Yet they also distinguish them, for they affirm that the Spirit proceeds through the Son but do not say that the Son proceeds through the Spirit. And this very phrase "through the Son" is neither a mere union nor a complete separation; rather, this preposition both distinguishes the processions and unites them again where their union is necessary, that is, according to their nature.

2.Just as our Lord, when He said, "I am in the Father and the Father is in Me," and "I and the Father are one," united the Father with Himself according to essence, but then again distinguished Him through those pronouns and names, so also do the teachers, when they say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. They unite the Spirit with the Son (for it is no longer separate from the Son, since it proceeds through Him and is so proclaimed and believed), yet they also distinguish the Spirit from the Son. For nothing can exist absolutely in which one of the two is conceived apart from the other. That which proceeds through something is necessarily conceived alongside that through which it proceeds. And just as in the first act of creation and in the renewal of our nature, the divine persons are marvelously united in one divine work —so that we say that all things came to be from the Father, through the Son, and in the Spirit—so too in the procession of the Spirit, the Son is not excluded. Even though they distinctly understand that the Spirit has its hypostatic existence from the Father and is a fruit of the Father's fecundity, just as the Son is, they always consider the Son in relation to the Spirit. For they cannot separate what is naturally conjoined, nor those realities that arise and coexist from the same cause. They conceive of the Son prior to the Spirit, understanding one in relation to the other so as to distinguish personally what exists by nature. For if one were not conceived in relation to the other according to hypostasis, there would be only one hypostasis, just as there is one nature. However, they conceive of the Son prior to the Spirit and not the other way around, so

as not to overturn the order of names and the wondrous harmony which divine revelation has established, nor to confuse the meanings of the divine names.

3.In matters concerning divine providence toward creation, the common work of the Trinity is distributed among the divine hypostases according to the order they have in relation to one another. For the distinction between them does not pertain to their creative energy but to the order that each hypostasis possesses in itself. Here, then, the discourse unites the divine hypostases in their essential unity, insofar as it is possible to follow this mystery. However, the work itself is not attributed to the entirety of the divine essence but rather to the First Cause alone. Just as in creation, all things come to be from the Father through the Son in the Spirit as a single act in which the Trinity operates as one, so too in the procession of the Spirit from the Father through the Son, there is a single act in which only the Father operates—namely, by bringing forth another hypostasis from His own nature and establishing it according to the law of procession. Thus, the Father causes both the existence of the Son and the procession of the Spirit from Himself. The Son is necessarily considered in relation to this, for He is neither separated from the Father's act of generation nor from the Spirit's procession. Even if He is not the one who causes their existence together with the Father, He is still united to the Spirit—though in a different manner. Yet the Son is not conceived as prior to His own cause (for how could He be conceived prior to that which gives Him existence?), nor is He considered posterior to the Spirit (for how could He be separated in conception from the One who begets Him?). He is conceived after the Father, as begotten from Him, yet without any intermediary, for He is the Only-Begotten.

4.Otherwise, nothing could have distorted the truth if one, in considering the preeminence of the Spirit, had conceived of God together with the Spirit, and in considering the begetting of the Son, had conceived of the Spirit together with the Son. For just as the preconception of the Son, that is, the mediation of His natural relation to the Father, did not exclude the Spirit—since the Spirit nonetheless proceeds immediately from the Father, even if the Son is pre-conceived—so too, the Spirit's preconception would not separate the Son from His natural relation to the Father. For both are fruits of the divine fecundity, closely related to Him both by nature and by cause, like twin rays of light or two streams flowing from the same source, as the great Gregory has said. However, if the Spirit were to act as mediator, this would confuse the Only-Begotten with the Son, for then the Spirit would be transferred to the rank of the Son by being conceived as proceeding immediately from the Father—that is, as from the Father and as begotten. But the mediation of the Son, while preserving His uniqueness, does not exclude the Spirit from His natural relation to the Father. Therefore, the Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son without any additional qualification, just as it is called the Spirit of the Father. For it is never said that the Spirit is of the Father through the Son, nor is it said that the Spirit is of the Son from the Father. Since such expressions signify the natural kinship of the divinity, which is equally present in the Spirit in relation to both the Father and the Son, there is no need for any further distinction. However, when it is said that the Spirit is from the Father, the phrase expresses its procession from the first cause. It is also said to be from the Father "through the Son" to prevent anyone from believing that the Spirit is begotten from the Father. The mention of the Son, in this case, brings to mind His begetting, by which He alone is the Only-Begotten of the Father, whereas the Spirit must be understood as proceeding from the Father in a different manner. In this sense, one might call God more specifically "begetter" (γεννήτωϱ) rather than merely "Father." For this reason, the teachers of the Church, following the words of the Savior, say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, and they add "through the Son" as a most

commendable clarification. Indeed, by this small addition, they illustrate at once the unity of the divine essence, the distinction of the modes of procession, and the order that flows from this distinction among the divine hypostases. That this is so is attested by the trustworthy witness, Gregory of Nyssa, who is the clearest interpreter of those passages where it is said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son.

k. Supervision of the words of Nyssa, on which the Latins especially rely, showing that these rather support the previously expounded understanding.

1.For in his discourse to Ablabius, having proposed to treat of the natural unity in three persons of God and to show how neither the unity of the divine essence confounds and mingles the distinctions of the hypostases, nor does the plurality of the hypostases divide the divine nature, and having demonstrated these things very well, at the end of the discourse, elaborating on his purpose, he says thus: "But if anyone should slander the argument, as if by not admitting a natural difference it constructs some mixture and confusion of the hypostases, to such a one we will respond to this accusation, that while confessing the unvarying nature, we do not deny the difference according to cause and caused, in which alone we understand the one to be distinguished from the other, by believing the one to be the cause, the other to be from the cause. And of that which is from the cause, we again understand another difference: for the one is directly from the first, the other through that which is directly from the first, so that the only-begotten remains unquestionably for the Son, and that the Spirit is from the Father is not doubted, the mediation of the Son preserving for Himself the only-begottenness and not preventing the Spirit from the natural relation to the Father." Then he adds, concluding: "Since, therefore, in the Holy Trinity, the hypostases are distinguished by the principle of cause, the one being without cause, the other being from the cause, while the divine nature is unvarying and undivided in every conception, therefore properly one divinity and one God and all other divine names are proclaimed in a singular manner."

2.This great teacher, therefore, having found the principal and only cause of the distinction of the divine persons from the sacred Scriptures and delivering it to us very succinctly, says that there is no other cause than the principle of cause, and by this principle the divine persons are distinguished, and by this principle those hypostases are characterized differently as participating in it. For from above, beginning from the Father and passing through the Son to the Spirit, it has made those who partake of it differently to be distinct and separate. For he calls the principle of cause not merely the principle of cause alone, for thus the divine persons would not be distinguished by the principle of cause, but rather all would be one, since the principle of cause would extend equally to all and all would be causes. But neither does he call the principle of cause merely the principle of cause and caused, as if the divine persons were believed to be distinguished only by the cause and the caused, and this distinction alone extended equally through all the persons from each to each. For thus some understood that saying, and therefore they believed the Son to be caused by the Father, and the Spirit to be caused by the Son and the Father, assigning to the Son as a kind of mediator both relations. But he says the principle of cause is the whole notion of cause, necessarily entering together with the unvarying and unified nature and immediately contributing to the distinction, as one might say the principle of nature in general is the whole notion of nature, distinguishing it from the principle of relation or order, as the teacher himself shows this at the end of the first book against Eunomius and in the discourse to

Ablabius, saying thus: "For one would not assign the same principle to cause and nature." Therefore, by the principle of nature, the teacher says that God is one and undivided; but by the principle of cause, he says that the difference is manifold in the divine realities. For immediately the principle of cause recognizes the hypostasis of the Father in two ways: that He is without cause, as the teacher himself says, and that He is the cause of the others. For since it was not possible for the divine to be without offspring, God is naturally the cause; and since He is in every way the cause of all, He is necessarily without cause. Therefore, in God, we believe the cause to be the Father, and not only the cause, but also without cause, and we believe that which is from the cause to be.

3.One mode of distinction, therefore, arises for us from the principle of cause. But if you will, this is also twofold, because the cause has appeared to us as both cause and without cause, while the caused is not without cause. Then a second mode of distinction appears to us from the principle of cause, by which the caused itself is distinguished, that is, those who have partaken of the principle of cause passively. For of that which is from the cause, he says, we again understand another difference, not that former one, namely, according to cause and caused, but that according to the differently caused. For if both these, to whom being from the cause is common, are from the first, and are caused by Him, yet they are from the first differently: for the one is directly from Him, the other through that which is directly from Him. For the one proceeds from the Father by way of generation, so that it is directly—for surely the offspring is directly related to the begetter—while the other proceeds from the Father in some other way, not according to the mode proper to the begetter.

4.Therefore, with the generation of the Son from the Father being pre-conceived and the signification of the Father being referentially attributed to the Son, the Spirit is then understood as proceeding from that paternal hypostasis. For this is what he indicated by adding the cause of this second difference. For this reason, he says, it is so, that the only-begotten may remain unquestionably for the Son, and the Spirit may not be displaced into the order of the Son, since it would also be conceived as proceeding directly from the Father, and that the Spirit is from the Father may not be doubted. For this reason, I said that both are from the first, even though one is directly and the other through that which is directly. For the mediation of the Son, being pre-conceived, preserves the only-begottenness for the Son, but does not exclude the Spirit from the natural relation to the Father. He calls this natural relation the very fact of being from the Father and proceeding naturally, and, to speak more clearly, the distinction within the unity and the reference of these divine persons, not the unity alone, as some have thought.

5.It is clear, therefore, from this statement, that this great teacher believed the Spirit to be from the Father through the Son, not otherwise, but as through that which is directly, and that this is so in order to preserve the only-begottenness for the Son, since the fact that the Spirit is from the Father must also be safeguarded in this way—not because the Spirit cannot proceed from the Father without the fertility within the Father and the Son being shared, as the Latins think. And that the Son is ranked before the Spirit, he also holds, not according to cause, but according to pre-conception, which follows from the principle of causality. This he also shows at the end of the first book against Eunomius, for he says there: "If anyone were to impose a temporal manifestation on the hypostasis of the only-begotten, viewing the Father as prior to the Son only by the principle of cause, our argument concerning the eternity of the Son would reasonably be endangered." Then he adds: "The same argument applies to us concerning the Holy Spirit, having the

difference only in order. For as the Son is united to the Father and, having His being from Him, does not lag behind in existence, so again the Holy Spirit is united to the only-begotten, the hypostasis of the Spirit being pre-conceived only in thought according to the principle of cause, so that, with the principle of cause not being excluded, the Holy Trinity is in no way discordant with itself." Behold, here too he says that the Father is pre-conceived before the Son only by the principle of cause, that is, pre-conceived in thought. And the same argument applies to the Spirit, that is, the Father is also pre-conceived before the Spirit only by the principle of cause. But the difference lies only in the order, for the Son is pre-conceived directly, while the Spirit is not pre-conceived directly, but through the mediating conception of the Son. Hence, the Spirit is understood as being united to the Son. The Son is also pre-conceived before the Spirit according to the principle of cause, reasonably and in no other way. For the fact that the Son subsists uniquely from the common cause leaves no room for anything else to be conceived between Him and the Father, which would be pre-conceived as the Son, being conceived as intermediate.

6.But the Holy Spirit, subsisting from the common cause, is most worthily united to the Father by the principle of nature, yet between Himself and the Father, He has the Word and Son proceeding directly from the Father. The logic of the names admits no intermediary, and for this reason, the Spirit has the Son pre-conceived before Himself by the principle of cause. For the principle of cause does this, because, entering genuinely and naturally into that highest and simplest unity, it immediately divides the one God into cause and caused, and brings the caused into a different order in relation to the common cause, uniting the only-begotten directly to the Father, and necessarily uniting the Spirit to the same cause through the only-begotten. Thus, the Holy Spirit, by nature and dignity, is inseparably united to the Father, just like the only-begotten, but by the principle of cause, it is united to Him through the Son—or rather, the Spirit is united to the Father by the cause, just like the Son, but by the mode of the cause, from which the personal principle of the Son and the Spirit arises, it is united to the Father through the Son. The mode of the cause and the manner of being from the cause are clearly under the principle of cause, as has been said before. And for this reason, the teacher rightly adds that if you remove the principle of cause, the blessed Trinity will in no way be discordant or diverse within itself, that is, if you remove the opposition according to cause and caused, from which we have the distinction of the Father from the Son and the Spirit, and the difference according to the manner of being caused, by which the caused are distinguished—all of which are clearly under the principle of cause—only the principle of nature remains, admitting no difference or distinction whatsoever in the divine.

7.If anyone, therefore, wishes to summarize the teacher's purpose, he will say thus: the principle of cause distinguishes the divine hypostases, in no way touching the principle of nature, and for this reason, though they are many according to the principle of cause, they are nevertheless one according to nature. However, the principle of cause does not distinguish all those hypostases in the same way, but distinguishes the Father from those who are from Him by opposition, and the Son and the Spirit differently. This difference is another and not the same as the first in kind. For the first is of the cause, while this is rather from the cause and because of the cause. The first resembles the opposition of contraries referentially, while this resembles the distinction of different and divided things. The intention of this statement and the purpose of that part of the discourse rightly confirm this. For there he is not examining the divine processions or whence the Spirit has His being, but he rightly opposes Eunomius, who absurdly concludes a natural difference in the divine persons and places the Father before those who are from Him in time, and excludes eternity from the caused

persons, because he thinks that the principle according to cause and the principle according to time are the same, and that the order arising from the principle of cause is the same as that of time and nature, and for this reason, he places the Father before the Son and the Son before the Spirit.

8.Yet nothing prevents it from being, according to its nature, as the teacher says, and as it has always been, that according to the preordained order in them, the Word of the cause operates within them, fittingly for each person, as one might say, in a manner of commerce. According to what has been said and continuing in those words, he adds the distinction of the divine persons, demonstrating this more clearly: "For the Spirit," he says, "is united to the Father according to the uncreated nature, and again, separated from Him in the same way as He is not the Father, while the union with the Son, according to the uncreated nature, stands as a connection with the cause of existence from God, where He remains, again distinguished by the personal property of not being begotten from the Father alone, and being manifested through the Son." For it is evident here that the Spirit is united with the Son, both in the uncreated and in the cause of existence, from which the Son proceeds; but again, it is distinguished by not being begotten from the Father alone, nor being manifested through the Son. The Son did not proceed from the Father as generated, but in another way, and for this reason, He did not proceed directly from the Father, but rather, He is manifested through the Son. This is clearly indicated by the Son's own nature, as he says in the same words, that the distinguishing characteristic of each of the persons is sharply and clearly distinguished from one another.

9.Therefore, the Spirit is manifested through the Son, as being determined into His own person and being clearly known, revealing to us the preordination of the Son that is more clearly seen through the Word of the Spirit. This is the same thing that was previously said about the Spirit, that the Spirit, united to the Son, is understood not to lack existence in relation to the Son, as the Only-Begotten was once thought to be apart from the Spirit. Rather, the Spirit, having the cause of being from God, from whom the Only-Begotten is light, and by the true light, shines forth." And again, He says, "Through Him it shines forth," and the cause of existence is drawn from the primary light." For the light of the Spirit is, as it were, united with the light of the Son, coming forth from the primary cause, yet distinct and not confused, as if one were to say that the warmth of the sun is revealed through its rays, although both are clearly joined, without confusion or separation. Even though these illustrations fail to capture the full truth, they still give some understanding.

10.That the Holy Spirit is through the Son, as being assigned with the Son, both by the preordination of the Son and by the different manner of the same cause, the great Basil of Nyssa testifies, as was evident in the previously stated, where he says, "This is the recognizable sign of the distinction of the persons in the Spirit: that with the Son and with Him, it is known and remains from the Father." And he continues, "The Son, knowing the Spirit proceeding from the Father through Himself and with Himself, alone shines forth from the unbegotten light, having no communion in the distinct nature with the Father or the Holy Spirit, but is known through the aforementioned signs." For Gregory also says, "The Father is unoriginated, unborn, and always the Father; from Him, the Only-Begotten Son is eternally begotten and always thought of; through Him, the Holy Spirit is united, but not separately or separately distinguished, but rather the Spirit of life and truth is shown, as He is the life and the truth."

11.The Spirit with the Son, as Gregory the Theologian affirms, does not proceed from the Son as if it were something lacking in being, but in the order of numbers, it is secondary and is counted together with the Father and the Son, as a procession through the Son, as previously stated by Basil. According to the

theologians' refined theology, in the case of the Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son, the Word does not mean a causal order, but more likely refers to the causes, and nothing more than this, since the Spirit is always understood to be united with the Son by nature, even if it follows the personal order, for which the teachers say, immediately and with Him. And when they say through Himself, they immediately introduce the concept of with Him."

l. That the phrase "through the Son" does not only mean "after the Son," but is equal to "with the Son" and "in the Son."

1.From this it is clear that it is not entirely the same to say "through the Son" and "after the Son." For if these were completely identical, the teachers would use them interchangeably, but this is impossible. Nor is it sufficient to say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father "with the Son." For to say this only indicates the co-eternity and equality of the processions, but does not reveal the order of the divine persons. At the same time, the sophists attack us with this interpretation: "If you understand," they say, "the Spirit as proceeding from the Father with the Son, then the Son is a mediator, which you deny. But if it proceeds after the Son, then the Son is also a problem." But just as the Son is not begotten after the Spirit, so neither does the Spirit proceed after the Son. But, O sophist, understand "with the Son" as "being begotten" or "having been begotten," and the argument will have no suspicion. For what is wrong with saying that the Spirit proceeds from the Father with the Son being begotten, so that the connection and non-posteriority in the existence from the Father may be testified to both processions and persons? But as has been said, we must not give occasion to the sophists. At the same time, it is insufficient to say this, for the order is not shown from this. But it is better to say "through the Son," as meaning "after the Son" and "with Him," so that the preposition "through" may be shown to have order and union, not one of these alone separately. And from this, as the divine Basil said, it is shown that the Holy Spirit has a sequential order, but a conjoined nature with the Son. But if some of the teachers add "after the Son" to "through the Son," there is no need to be surprised. For they seem to use the preposition "through" more for the purpose of indicating the order, and for this reason they add "after the Son," just as when they say "after the Son," they immediately add "with Him." And they seem to have emphasized "through the Son" rather than "after the Son" or "with the Son." But other teachers, in the phrase "through the Son," while considering the sequence of the persons and also the connection according to essence, since it is presupposed that all things concerning the divine persons are said co-eternally and consubstantially, when they say "through the Son," add nothing more, just as even the one from Nyssa says, "He says that the Spirit exists neither monogenetically nor appears through the Son," and the Seventh Ecumenical Council said that it proceeds from the Father through the Son, adding nothing further. So, whatever both prepositions signify, both "with," which governs the accusative case, and "with," that is, "through" alone signifies. And as much as it is possible to say "after the Son" and "with the Son," so much it is possible to say "through the Son," that is, order of persons and unity of nature.

m. That if someone wishes to give a clearer explanation of "through the Son," he will say "not without the Son," removing the other properties that belong to all those not without them, because of the union and pre-existence.

1.And if anyone in any discourse should wish to explain "through the Son" more clearly, according to the intention of the holy teachers, so as to also represent the pre-existence of the Son, and again His natural connection to the Spirit, he would not inappropriately change "through the Son" to "not without the Son," so that the Spirit is understood as proceeding from God not without the Word, but both together with Him and after Him. For we are accustomed to use "not without something" for things that are pre-conceived, just as we say that God and Father is the cause not without being uncaused, as it is presupposed that He is unbegotten and uncaused, so that He may not be understood according to the other causes, as also having some cause preceding Himself. But it is clear that in God and Father the uncaused is pre-conceived of the cause, as the self-existent of the relative, and as the most peculiarly inherent, of what is somehow common to others. And also in the corporeal things, those which contribute nothing to the generation of something, but necessarily follow the productive causes, as not without them they act, as time and place have, are pre-conceived of the things that are generated, but are neither causes in themselves, except by accident, nor are from the essence of the things generated; and yet something is said to be generated through them, just as we say that someone has done this through time, because not without time, and through much time, because not without much time, which is the same as saying in much time. And those things that have the nature of matter are pre-conceived of those generated from some productive cause, and the things generated are said to be generated through them and not without them, just as we say that light shines upon us from the sun through the transparent, and not without the transparent, because just as the whole transparent is subjected to the light, and the naturally mediating things in the heterogeneous and quantitatively increasing things are prior to the last parts, and as they themselves are dependent on the first and original part both in cause and position, so also the last are dependent on them in position; and for this reason we say that the last are generated and exist through them and not without them, as for example, the fruit is nourished from the root through the branch, and the finger is moved from the heart through the hand, or is nourished, as long as it would be nourished. And many such things could one find in the things generated by nature, in all of which, even if the concept of mediation exists differently, nevertheless through these mediators somehow, as not without them, since they are presupposed in some way, we say that those who make do, and the things that are generated are generated; but of these, some are even causes like matter, and others in some other way; but nothing is a cause as the first mover, although some reduce all these, in which "not without them" is verified, to the genus of material cause as somehow similar to what is necessary through matter.

2.But in the case of divine things, to say "through the Son" and "not without Him" would not necessarily introduce the Son as a cause. For from there, as both the matter and the concept and manner of matter, so also the cause according to it is completely banished, and it would still be necessary for the Son to be a proactive cause of the Spirit, if He were at all a cause, and therefore "not without Him" according to the pre-conception only is it fitting to understand this alone from those corporeal things, having taken and used only this, and having rejected all the other things because of their non-manifesting and dissimilar nature, just as also the externality of time and place and the encompassing or the heterogenous nature of the transparent to both the sun and the light or of the branch the other things and the connection to the last things. Indeed, no one in their right mind would dare to apply any of these or similar things to divine matters. But to pre-conceive the Son of the Spirit is both true and absolutely necessary; and this too is similar both in the

aforementioned and in all those not without them. Therefore, using "not without Him" only according to the pre-conception, we will not inappropriately say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, and that the Father is the projector of the Spirit through the Son, as clearly not without the Son. For the subsistence of the Word of the person of the Spirit is pre-conceived, thus the Scripture teaches, so that also the conception of the Word is of the procession of the Spirit, and no less at the same time, that is, co-eternally and conjointly and closely, they are both from the first cause, which belongs to none of the created things.

n. That even if the Son is placed before the Spirit as being pre-conceived by Him, nevertheless He is truly distinguished from Him, and not only in thought; and that the Latins, not accepting such an order of pre-conception, become inconsistent with themselves.

1.But if some think that we distinguish the Son from the Spirit in thought by saying these things, they are deceived. For we say nothing of our own, but what the teachers say. But they prepose the Son to the Spirit in thought and in thought alone. And they are the ones who everywhere censure the Sabellian confusion and truly distinguish the Son from the Spirit, so that the Son being pre-beheld by the Spirit in thought alone does not negate their being truly distinguished, unless the teachers were ignorant of themselves. But that both these things happen very well, both to be truly distinguished and to be pre-beheld in thought, is clear. For the concept of cause distinguishes the superessential persons as those, the Father from those from Him antithetically, and these from each other, not antithetically, but only differently, as has been shown. But it suffices that they are brought forth differently from their own cause for them to be truly distinguished, as the teachers also say, and many of the wise men among the Latins show this, not agreeing with those who distinguish them otherwise. Therefore, just as the concept of cause distinguishes the Father from the Son truly, being considered in them according to the manner of antithesis, but nevertheless the Father is preposed to the Son in thought alone according to Gregory of Nyssa, so also the concept of cause truly distinguishes the Son and the Spirit, being considered in them according to the different manner of existence, but nevertheless the Son is preposed to the Spirit in thought alone. For the property being considered in each of the persons clearly and purely distinguishes the one from the other, as Gregory of Nyssa said. And the property of the Father is unbegottenness and being the cause of those from Him, of the Son, generation, of the Spirit, procession or emanation, as the theologian Gregory said.

2.Therefore, with the persons distinguished from such properties, the concept of order has immediately entered. For it is necessary for these to be ordered, and to be ordered consequently to the concept of cause, by which they are also distinguished, as the cause to be preposed to those from it, and the only-begotten being from the Father to be preposed to the person proceeding in another way from the Father, because the appellation of Father and Son admits nothing in between. Therefore, the distinction of the Son and the Spirit is not from the Son being preposed in thought, so that it would happen from this that these are distinguished only in thought, but these are distinguished by existing differently from the first cause; and as they are truly distinguished from it, so indeed are they also from each other; but the order follows the nature of both the names and the things, not transgressing the nature, but being established only in the number of the distinguished ones and showing their natural sequence.

3.Therefore, whether someone says that the order of the divine persons is real, as arising not only from our position, but from the sequence of things, or whether he says that this is of the thought, so that he may not seem to be of nature or dignity or time or any such things, it makes no difference. This only must be guarded, lest through this order we imagine something else concerning the divine things, which is not allowed; which those suffer who think that the same foundation of pre-conception is in the Son and the Spirit, which is also towards the Son to the Father; for they think that these also are distinguished antithetically by the concept of cause, and thus that the Father is preposed to the Son in the same way entirely, and the Son is preposed to the Spirit. And as the order is equally through all the divine persons, and no more or less, this is true; for these are preposed and follow each other according to the concept of cause, and in no way otherwise; but the concept of cause does not comprehend all in the same way, but as has been said before, some indeed according to causal antithesis, but others according to the different manner of being from a cause. But those who confuse everything make the same foundation entirely of personal order in the divine things and also take the cosmic order for the support of the opinion; and just as in the nature of beings some are, they say, proximate causes of others, and thus from the highest causes to the lowest the order of the cause is seen extending, so also they say that the Father is the cause of the Son, and the Son is the cause of the Spirit. Then, since this example of the cosmic order is not suitable for them (for there the inherently productive do not bring forth the same things in the same way; but of those which it would bring forth similarly, the higher are not inherently causes of the things brought forth, but only the proximate ones), for this reason, having again despised that image, they attempt from the unity of the divine essence, and say that the Father and the Son are one principle of the Spirit. And neither do they stand on this position again, but say that it proceeds αρχικως (originally) from the Father and κυριως (principally), and they innovate such things, standing on no reasoning, but establish these falsehoods by the voices of certain teachers, as the word of truth with the Theology of our teachers will stand well proceeding. And that it is impossible for such an order to exist in the divine persons, which they posit, and that it has many absurdities, will be clear as the argument proceeds.

o. Further confirmation through sayings with examination of the aforementioned concerning the order.

1.Now, we shall bring forward our teachers to affirm for us what has been said concerning the preeminence of the Son and, in general, concerning the order according to preeminence in the divine things, through which especially the Holy Spirit is said to be from the Father through the Son and to proceed. For the divine Basil, in his letter on the Canons, says: "The Holy Spirit is numbered together with the Father and the Son, and therefore He is above creation. He is ordered, as we have been taught in the Gospel by the Lord, who said, 'Go, baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.' But whoever places the Son before or says that He is older than the Father, such a one resists the teaching of God and is alien to the sound faith, not preserving the manner of glorification which he received, but inventing for himself a new expression to please men. For if He is above God, He is not from God; for it is written, 'The Spirit is from God.' But if He is from God, how is He older than the One from whom He is? And what madness is it, when there is only one Unbegotten, to say that something else is above the Unbegotten? But neither is He before the Only-Begotten; for there is no middle term between the Son and the Father. But if He is not from

God, but is through Christ, then He does not exist at all; so that the innovation concerning the order implies a denial of His existence and is a rejection of the whole faith." Here it is clear that the Holy Spirit is not said to be before the Father, because He is from God, nor before the Son, not because He is from Him, but because these names, the Father and the Son, admit no middle term in their reference to each other and in their order, so that it was rightly said to us before that, with the Son being preeminent and, as it were, mediating because there is no middle term between Him and the Father, the Spirit is believed to be third, not because the Spirit is from the Son, nor because He has the same order of causality toward the Son as the Son has toward the Father.

2.But if the great Basil knew that the Spirit is referred to the Son in this way, he would have used the same reason for not placing Him before the Son and would have said that He is not before the Only-Begotten, because He could not be older than the One from whom He is, and he would not have needed to seek another reason, leaving aside the principal and greater one. He also refutes the opinion of Macedonius very succinctly: "For if He is not from God, but is through Christ, as Macedonius said, then He does not exist at all; for nothing can exist through Christ unless it is from God, since even Christ is from God, and everything that is in Christ and through Christ must necessarily be from God the Father." Therefore, Macedonius did not say that the Spirit is through the Son in the way that the preposition 'through' differs from 'from,' suggesting an order of causes; for thus he would have been pious, at least according to the Latins, who say that the Spirit subsists from God through the Son, understanding the Father as the primary and uncaused cause, and the Son as the secondary and caused cause. And otherwise, it would have been impossible for him to understand 'through the Son' in this way, saying that it is from the Son alone, but he said 'through the Son' as if from the Son, using the prepositions indifferently, and insofar as 'through' is equivalent to 'from,' as in the case of the creation of things, since he also thought that the Spirit is a creation of the Son, and through this he said that it is not from God. Or, when Macedonius says 'from the Son,' the divine Basil says 'through the Son,' so that by the change of preposition, the power of refutation might be more clearly shown to us, that even if the expression of Macedonius were changed to a more favorable one so as to admit some color of truth, yet his position is entirely refuted; for 'from the Son,' he says, one could never concede, but 'through the Son' the Spirit is both said and is true in a certain way.

3.But even if it is true to say it thus, yet with the addition of Macedonius, it is false and impossible, that is, that it is through Christ and not from God; for there is no way, not only that the Holy Spirit, but not even anything at all, can exist through the Son unless it is from God; so that according to the position of Macedonius, the Spirit does not exist, if indeed He is not from God. But since he himself confesses that the Spirit exists, the same thing will both be and not be, and thus Macedonius is justly and rightly refuted, and at the same time he is shown to be the worst of the heretics, casting the Holy Spirit into complete non-existence by that negative addition; for he seems to exclude the Spirit only from the natural relation to the Father, but in fact he entirely abolishes the existence of the Spirit. Where, then, in this discourse has the teacher shown such a kind of order as the Latins say? But as we say, and as he very well indicated, for it is not necessary, he says, that the Spirit be placed before the Son, because thus there would be a middle term between the Father and the Son, and thus the Spirit would be the Son, and the Son would not be the Only-Begotten. But the Latins do not see this, and brandishing the saying of the teacher, they frighten the simpler among us. Hear, he

says, how the innovation concerning the order is a denial of the faith? Therefore, you innovate concerning the order, so that you also deny the faith.

4.But it is false, O good ones, that we innovate concerning the order; for we number and understand the Spirit as third from the Father, and we preserve the manner of glorification which we have received, according to the great Basil, and at the same time we thus firmly maintain the properties of the hypostases and supremely uphold the unity of essence in them. But you, saying that the Spirit is caused by the Son and that the Son is His beginning and cause, innovate concerning the order; for you neither clearly bring forward the support of the teachers, nor have probability on your side, nor do you show that it is necessary by all means to arrive at this opinion from the fact that the Spirit is numbered and understood as third. And in addition to this, you do a most daring thing; for it is not permitted for you to seize the name of order from the teachers and to invent the manner of order from your own home. Therefore, the charge of innovation belongs to you, who have clearly innovated both in word and in thought; but to us, where does this belong, who confess the order and do not trouble ourselves about the manner of the order, but follow solely the guidance of the teachers, hearing and believing that to innovate something concerning the order of the faith is a denial?

5.And these things are from the saying of the great Basil. But Gregory of Nyssa in the sixth book against Eunomius says: "For if Eunomius was looking at the dogma of truth and considered the difference only in order according to the sequence of the things believed in the Holy Trinity, making this co-natural order, as he says, the judgment of the persons unconfused, so as to think that they both share in the essence and are divided according to the concept of person, he would not have been entirely placed in the opposite things, saying those things which we also oppose." And again the same one: "But neither have we yet heard of this wisdom, that the second and the third, being spoken of from some sequence, are thrust into the order of the inferior and subordinate, which this one wishes, making it clear to show the sequence of the tradition of the persons, constructing superiorities and inferiorities of dignities and natures." And Cyril in the seventh book against Hermias concerning the Spirit says thus: "Therefore, because of the sameness of the essence, the calling of the Spirit is fitted to God and Father, although being brought forth by us as third according to the composition of the names alone; but it is fitted to the Son." And indeed in the books against Eunomius the divine Basil, having divided the order into natural and artificial or technical, and thus having responded to Eunomius, who thought that every order needs someone prior to the one ordering, gives the first meaning of order to the divine persons, and says: "How is it reasonable to deny the order in those in whom there is first and second, not according to our position, but from the sequence existing in them by nature?" Then he adds: "But we say that according to the relation of the causes to those from them, the Father is preposed to the Son; but according to the difference of nature, no longer."

6.Therefore, he does not add here that the Son is also preposed to the Spirit according to the same relation, not because the purpose of the discourse was now concerning the Father and the Son, but because it was not even true to say so thus. For even if this was far from the purpose, it would nevertheless have been fitting to be said; nor would it have needed many words, but having said "we say that the Father is preposed to the Son," he would have added "and the Son to the Spirit." But that according to the different relation and reference of the caused to their own cause, one of the caused is preposed to the other, he has been silent about this, as being well shown together with the things said. For if the order of the Father to the Son is

from the sequence existing by nature, because the cause is pre-conceived by the reasoning of the caused, and the Son is indivisibly with the Father, not even admitting the separation of the sequence of names, much less of the nature of things, it is clear that the order of the Son to the Spirit is also from the sequence of nature. For with the Son being naturally and truly joined and closely and indivisibly ordered to the Father, the Spirit is the last, as proceeding in another way from God, and is numbered after the Son, even if He Himself also arises naturally and closely from the same cause; and therefore He is no less with the Son. And this the great teacher sufficiently showed in other places, saying that the Holy Spirit is known after the Son and with Him, but exists from the Father. And Gregory of Nyssa testified, saying that there is another difference of the Son to the Spirit, and not that according to cause and caused, and asserting that the Only-begotten is preserved to the Son by the mediation of the Son, and that the Spirit is not excluded from the natural relation to the Father. For neither does that one say that the Spirit is from the Son, but after the Son and with Him, nor did this one say that the difference is the same, or that through the mediation of the Son the dignity of the cause also passes to Him from the Father, but he only said that the Only-begotten is preserved to Him and that the Spirit is not excluded from the natural relation to the Father, that is, even with the Son mediating, He nevertheless proceeds immediately and closely from the Father.

7.Therefore, the teachers say that the Spirit is third only according to the composition of the names, and because nothing can be between the Father and the Son, nor is the order of the Only-begotten turned aside to another divine person, and because of the sequence of the tradition of the divine persons; for the Son follows the Father according to the name and the property of the name, and is neither prior (for it is impossible for Him to be pre-conceived of His own cause), nor does He yield the second place to another; for He alone is the Son. And the teachers say such things up and down concerning the order of the divine persons, saying simple and known and clear things having the necessity.

p. That the Latins pre-ordaining the Son of the Spirit as [the] cause of him, say nothing necessary, but try to show this from certain cosmic examples, which are shown [as] dissimilar to the proposed [one]; and that the Son is not of necessity middle in the divine persons.

1.But the Latins say that the order of the divine persons is not from the sequence of the names and the property existing in them, but because of the dignity of the cause, for the cause is always preposed to the caused. Hence they say that the Spirit is the last, who is in no way partaker of the dignity of the cause within the Godhead, and they place the Son in the middle as not having the property of the cause unmixed, and they prepose the Father as purely cause. For the Father, they say, is only cause, and the Spirit is only caused, but the Son is both cause and caused at the same time, the same one, looking, on the one hand, to the Father, and, on the other hand, to the Spirit. And confirming this position with examples, just as in perfect syllogisms, they say, one of the extremes is predicated, and the other is the subject; but in the middle term both the properties of each of the extremes exist, and the same is predicated and is the subject; or just as Seth was begotten from Adam, and he himself begot Enos; or just as Eve was somehow begotten from Adam, and she brought forth Seth. But all these are impossible to fit the divine things, not because of the matter and the composition and the time, without which the divine is (for these are also present in all the examples taken from created things, but we nevertheless use them for the manifestation of the truth,

accepting some things through which it is received, and rejecting others), but for this very reason through which it seems fitting to be received, it is especially unfitting, that is, because of the order of the middle term, having altogether unsimilarly in themselves and the things proposed, as, for example, immediately in the syllogism the middle term is a union and the cause of the syllogism being, and for this reason it has greater power than the extremes. But it would have been necessary for the Son also to be the cause of the blessed Trinity, as indeed a certain bond of both extremes and the maker of the unity in the three; but on the contrary is the great in theology Gregory; for in the synoptic discourse he says: "But the nature is one in the three; but the Father is the union, from whom and to whom the following are led, not as being mixed together, but as having." And again in the discourse on theology and the deposition of bishops: "But it would be kept, as my word says, one God to be referred to one cause of the Son and the Spirit." Therefore, if it were necessary to compare one of the divine persons to the middle term of the syllogism, insofar as it is a union of both extremes and the cause of the syllogism being, it would be necessary to compare the paternal person to it, except that it does not share in the properties of each of the extremes, just as the middle term there; but how is it possible to say that the Son is thus a medium, who is not a union of the persons thus, and has not partaken of the properties of each? For He is neither unbegotten, nor is He brought forth, and rightly so; for the properties of the divine persons are unmixed and unshared according to the hypotheses of the holy teachers. But that to be subject and to be predicated has nothing in common with the processions of the divine persons, and that greater and less has no place in the divine, to which the extremes of syllogisms are called, and to examine and show the other dissimilarities of the example would be superfluous, since no one is ignorant of these things.

2.But Seth was begotten from Adam, but she who was begotten did not beget Enos, but she brought the generative power in herself into action; nor did it contribute to Enos being begotten that that power happened to be born in Seth from Adam with nature; whence also Adam is the cause of Enos by accident, but Seth by himself and primarily. But in the matter at hand it is the opposite; for "one person and the same is of the Father, from whom both the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds," Gregory of Nyssa said. And Augustine says that the Spirit properly proceeds from the Father. But neither does the Son bring forth the Spirit in the same way, as He Himself has come forth from the Father; for He does not beget this. But Enos has come forth from Seth in the same way that he had previously come forth from Adam. But indeed Eve also brings forth Seth with Adam, although she herself also has come forth from Adam, but both do not bring forth according to the same concept of cause; I do not say that one closely, and the other through Eve and closely, but that one is the productive cause of Seth, and the other the material. Therefore Seth is also composite, having received the matter from the mother, and the form from the father.

3.But the Latins say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son in the same way, and they say that there is one energy in form and in number of the Father and the Son in bringing forth the Spirit. Therefore, none of such mediations as in the concept of example can fit the mediation of the Son to the divine persons, so that through them we may be persuaded to think of the Son as partly cause and partly caused; and thus it is clear that the Son does not share in the cause of the Father, but only shares in the property of being caused with the Spirit, so to speak. And the words of the teachers confirm this well; for they all say that the Spirit and the Son are caused, and having said "from a cause" together of the Son and the Spirit, they again subdivide by the manner; but they nowhere say that the Son is a cause, nor that the Father

and the Son are one cause, nor two causes. For Gregory of Nyssa divides immediately into cause and caused; then he does not subdivide the cause, which he would have subdivided, if the Son also partook of this in any way; but he subdivides the caused, which is the Son and the Spirit, by the manner of being caused; for he says: "And again we conceive another difference of that which is from a cause." And again the same one: "Therefore we also rightly say that the one cause with his caused ones is one God." And the great Gregory says of the Son and the Spirit being referred to one cause; and the holy Theodore the Studite: "Assigning," he says, "unbegottenness and being the cause of those from Him to the Father, generation to the Son, and procession to the Spirit." But that they also deny the Son to be a cause and say that the Father alone is the cause, we will show later; but now it is clear from the things said, that neither because He shares in the property of the other divine persons is the Son a medium, nor because He is a medium is He both caused and cause at the same time. For those things through which the Latins try to persuade us of these things by both words and images, do not appear to have any necessity. And this would become clear from here; for it is clear that the Son is not a medium in every respect, nor is it true to say, having defined it, that the Son is only a medium in the divine persons, but the Father also is a medium as a certain union and collection of the divine persons proceeding from Him in being referred to Him, as the great Gregory teaches, as has been said recently, and the Spirit is conceived as a medium of the Son and the Father somehow, as this same great Gregory says and the divine Damascene, saying that He is a medium of the unbegotten and the begotten. And the Latins themselves wish the Spirit to be a medium; for they call Him love and mutual desire of the Father and the Son, having taken this from the image in us, as has often been said before; but love is a certain uniting power according to the holy Dionysius. And we do not deny that the Holy Spirit is as it were a certain bond of the divine persons as indeed a common spirit; for if the Father and the Son are joined to all the common things, just as they are divided by the incommunicable and peculiar things, they will much more be joined to the Spirit, which is nothing else than the divine nature itself with the personal property, and is common to both, being the Spirit of the Father and the Son. Therefore, even if the Father is theologized to be a medium and the Spirit is defined to be a medium, the Son would no longer be necessarily a medium. Therefore, neither would He be necessarily a cause because He is a medium; for if He is not necessarily a medium, how is He necessarily a cause, if indeed to be a medium follows to be a cause? But now this is not even true; for the Spirit also is somehow a medium, but the Son is not from Him; and the Father is a medium in another way, but He is not caused by the Son, nor does He share in the property of either of the extremes.

q. On the whole matter of mediation in the divine Persons; and how the Father is a medium, and how the Son, and how the Holy Spirit.

1.But so that the discourse concerning mediation in the divine Persons may be rendered to us as truly as possible, all mediation of time or place or dignity is excluded from the divine Persons. For they are outside of all temporal and local extension and of superiority and inferiority according to dignity, nor is it possible to place there anything first or second, or above and below, or greater and less. But indeed, what is medium in morals has no place there; for this is the best and the good according to the circumstances in moral actions or habits. But the divine nature is most simple and best, and therefore the best and the good are equally in all the Persons, and just as it is not possible to find a medium of the one God, so neither of the three Persons. For

the three are one, and the one is three, in whom is the Godhead, or, to speak more accurately, who is the Godhead, the great Gregory said. But neither according to some mixture of opposites is the mediacy there; for there is no opposition there nor composition nor corruption nor are the more and the less.

2.But since the personal concept distinguishes those divine Persons in the extremely simple unity of the essence, with the divine Gregory theologizing in the discourse on the Spirit, as "that the not being begotten and the being begotten and the proceeding, designated the one as Father, and the other as Son, and the third as what is called the Holy Spirit," so that the unconfusedness of the three Persons may be preserved in the one nature and dignity of the Godhead," since therefore this is so, the teachers of the Church, preserving the unconfusedness of the Persons, make much discourse concerning the order in them, and gather this order from the names themselves and the properties. Whence it has also happened to them to define the order of those Persons in various ways, but to be true through all, that they number and arrange the divine Persons differently with respect to different perspectives, and that however they may arrange them, the real distinction of the divine Persons is very much opposed, to which the good of order contributes beforehand, and as being preserved uncorrupted, it will make no difference to arrange and number these, however one might wish. And they keep that order, which the divine Word has handed down, unshaken, both in baptism and in all confessions; and from it they draw and to it they refer whatever may be conceived and said by them concerning the order for the need that arises from time to time. For the nature and property of the names becomes the best teacher of order, and it is not possible for one preserving it to produce any wandering notion or incompatible one.

3.Immediately, therefore, when they look to the concept of cause and of the principle, from which the being and the Godhead and all the good things of the principle belong congenitally and equally to the divine Persons proceeding from it, and therefore there is one God, both this first principle of all and those proceeding from it congenitally and equally, just as they imagine the Father as a certain medium, being placed indeed because of the equality of nature and the cohesive of the things proceeding from Him, when indeed they compare Him to a breast, and those to an arm; but surpassing because of the dignity of the principle, when indeed they call Him a spring, and those a double-flowing river; and Him the sun, and those a twin ray; and Him a root, and those branches and flowers and fruits of that root. But when they look to the concepts of the Persons, they call the Spirit the medium, according to a certain similarity of those media in created things, which are defined by the negation of the extremes; for the Spirit is neither begotten as the Son, nor unbegotten as the Father. But if someone should wish also that mediation, which many of those added to the Latins assign to the Son, saying that He partakes of the property of the extremes according to cause and caused, to apply this to the Spirit more justly in another way, the Spirit would be the medium of the Father and the Son, as indeed partaking of the properties of each of the extremes; for as not being unbegotten, He shares in the Father, not being begotten indeed; and as not being unbegotten, that is, uncaused, He shares in the Son, being begotten indeed; and as a common spirit and bond, as the Latins say, the concept of mediacy would rightly belong to Him. But nevertheless, He Himself has not appeared as the cause nor the collector to the unity in the divine Persons; for there is one principle of the divine Persons, and cause, and it itself is the cause also of the unity in them; but the Spirit is only caused, and is in no way cause.

r. What is the nature of the Son's mediation.

1.But when they look to the pre-existence of the divine Persons, which follows them from the personal concepts, and again the co-naturalness and unity in this pre-existence itself, they conceive the Son as a medium of the Father and the Spirit. For not by having all things of the Father alone (for these also belong to the Spirit except for the peculiar things), nor by being sufficiently from the Father alone (for the Spirit also sufficiently subsists from the fruitfulness in the Father), and generally through none of such things does the Son mediate. For the Spirit would be inferior to Him if the Son were preposed to Him for any of such things. But the Father is preposed as principle, and the Son is immediately co-conceived, not according to nature, but according to the personal property, which is opposed referentially to the Father. And since the Spirit also must be arranged in the same unity of nature, if we move in thought under some imagination of breadth to the person of the Spirit, as it is in all the divided things, the Spirit will be conceived as somehow separated from the Son, as if someone would divide under man the Ethiopian and the Scythian perhaps not at all related, or as if someone would conceive two men born from one man. But this is true indeed in the comparison to their principle, from which they equally differ and have an equal but not similar reference to it; but in the comparison to each other it is not true. For the Son and the Spirit are indeed separated from each other by the manner of existence, but not by existence itself, but they both proceed together and just as they are in the Father, so also they are in each other, even if they are believed to be distinguished from Him and from each other. For they proceed from Him unproceedingly and indivisibly, and they are inseparably distinguished from each other. And if they are distinguished, it is necessary for one to be conceived as proceeding through the other.

2.And thus we say that the Spirit proceeds through the Son, as through the Son's nature, so to speak, being completed and defined in His own person, and this is necessarily so because of the extreme unity and infinity of the divine nature. For for these reasons it is necessary for them not to be joined only to their own principle, but also to each other. For if two and three proceed from one, being infinite and in one nature, as indeed all would be one, the two and the three will differ from each other. But since they are infinite and in essence, the three will be through the two, and will be placed alongside the procession of the two, but in being self-subsistent, it will stand having proceeded through it, if indeed it is to be both joined to the two and distinguished from it, and thus it will be close to the one and both, as indeed being from it, but they will be thus united and thus distinguished from each other because of the concept of infinity and unity. And the procession of the three from the one will be subsistent and giving being, but that through the two will be only distinguishing. And in the same way, if a certain arrangement is reproduced by us in those processions because of our dimness of sight and the height and magnitude of the matter, the Spirit is extended along with the Son in this way, and passes through Him and remains in Him, and nevertheless is defined separately into His own property. For since the Son is in the whole Father, and the Father is in the whole Son, and they are thus united by nature, but are conceived closely to each other because of the referential opposition, being in itself and immediate, it is absolutely necessary for that proceeding from the Father to pass, so to speak, through the Son's nature, and through Him to be defined distinctly into His own person, subsisting from there whence it has moved the beginning, and of whose fruitfulness it is a co-natural and close fruit in every concept and way, except for not being begotten. But just as the Son is what the Father is, but is not the Father, so also of the divine essence passing from the Father into the Spirit through the Son, and thus, so to

speak, the Spirit is united to the Son and distinguished and is thus through Him, but is not as from a cause of Him. For neither because of the infinity and the extreme unity of the divine essence in the three persons, from which these things happen, will either the paternal dignity and property be transferred to the Son, or the reference of the Spirit to the common and first cause will be walled off; for this would be to mix the hypotheses of the faith.

s. Confirmation from authoritative statements of what has been said concerning the Son's mediation.

1.But that the Son's mediation is such as we believe, that is, signifying an order of the caused to the common cause and to themselves, not an order of causes to that from them, is clear both from the previously mentioned authoritative statements of the teachers and indeed would be evident also from these. For Gregory of Nyssa in the sixth book against Eunomius says: "For to learn," he says, "that He is the truly Being, with whom the Son's greatness is shown together through the relative concept, is the most perfect teaching of piety, with the Son, as has been said, showing the Spirit of life and truth connectedly with Himself, since He Himself is both life and truth." For here he said both that the Son is shown together with the Father through the relative concept and that the Son shows the Spirit connectedly with Himself, just as Basil said that the Son makes the Spirit known through Himself and with Himself. And Anastasius in the book on the correct dogmas of the Church says: "For there is no word without Spirit," he says, "just as neither is there mind without word; but we say that the father of the word is mind; mind in which is the Word, with whom is the Holy Spirit, being called the spirit of the mouth of God; for the Son is the mouth of the Father."

2.And Basil in the letters to Amphilochius says: "Of whom also the Holy Spirit," he says, "being joined through the one Son to the one Father," not as the Son being the cause of the connection, but as the Son intervening in thought in the Spirit's reference to the Father, who is shown together with the Father through the relative concept. For it is necessary to co-conceive both the Son and the Spirit as consubstantial, but to pre-conceive one of them as distinguished by proceeding differently from the same principle; but it is more necessary to co-conceive the Son with the Father than the Spirit because of the immediate relation of the Only-begotten to the one who begot Him. And the great in theology Gregory says: "Anarchic and principle and that with the principle is one God," saying something more fitting if he were aware of this word being true.

3.And Maximus in the letter to Marinus says: "That they may show," he says, "His proceeding through Him, and by this may present the connection and unalikeness of the essence." And Nyssa says in the book against the Macedonians: "In whom the energy according to the good has no diminution or change, how is it reasonable to think that the order according to number is a sign of some diminution and of the change according to nature? Just as if someone, seeing the flame divided in three lamps, and we would suppose the cause of the third light to be the first flame, having kindled the extreme through the middle by transmission, would then construct that the heat in the first flame is increasing," and the following. Behold, he also says that the order is according to number, as Cyril said according to the composition of the names alone; and he has taken the three lamps as an example of the equality of the three, of which the former is also the cause of the third, kindling it through the middle one as if by some transmission. Therefore, even if this image is deficient

for showing the divine processions and the difference of the persons, or rather is altogether unsuitable, yet the image itself sufficiently presents the equality of the divine persons, even if they are distinguished personally and are arranged. And for this reason of the second he has taken it, this divine Gregory, not for the sake of the former. And the divine Basil in the letters to Amphilochius says: "The path of the knowledge of God is from the one Spirit through the one Son to the one Father, and conversely the natural goodness and the natural sanctification and the royal dignity extend from the Father through the Only-begotten to the Spirit. Thus also the persons are confessed and the pious dogma of the monarchy is not broken." And in this saying it is clearer that the preposition "through" in the Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son does not signify cause, but only a supernatural mediation fitting to the divine persons, that is, from which both the personal distinction and the essential connection are well known. For the path of the knowledge of God, he says, begins indeed from the one Spirit, but ends through the one Son to the one Father, because in the Spirit we behold the Son, and in the Son the Father, as the great Athanasius has said; and again the royal dignity extends from the Father through the Only-begotten to the Spirit, because it is given by the Father and both, both at the same time and co-eternally, but with a certain supernatural order, of which we receive a faint notion from the sequence of the names, but we are unable to have any knowledge, since neither are we able to know those processions and their difference, but these things are preserved altogether unspeakable and inconceivable, as the teachers were shown before saying. And it is clear from many other places that the teachers of the Church, in saying that the Spirit proceeds through the Son from the Father, wish to present the order and the continuity of the divine persons, and, as one might say, succession, and they conceive the Son's mediation according to the pre-existence alone because of the different manner of procession. For this reason they compare the Trinity to a spring and a river and water, and again ascending to the more unseen principle, to an eye and a spring and a river, and to the sun and a ray and light, or to three suns joined to each other; and these things are said by the same ones who also say that the Son and the Spirit are a double-flowing river and a twin ray. And lest anyone should think that through these latter examples they are presenting their essential union to the first principle of all, but through the former they are showing the order of the cause extending from the Father through the Son to the Spirit, for this reason they deny the Son to be a cause, and they say that the Father alone is the cause. But concerning these things later.

THE LATINS ARGUMENTS

4. Part Four: The arguments of the Latins.

† Solutions of the objections which the Latins bring from certain examples and sayings for the confirmation of the order posited by them and of the Son to be [the] cause of the Spirit.

a. And first concerning the example of the energies of the fire.

1.But the Latins again make an objection, saying that the order of the Son to the Spirit is such as that of the Father to the Son, bringing forward that of Athanasius, who says in the letter to Serapion, "that the Spirit has such an order and nature to the Son, as the Son has to the Father," and that of the holy Basil in the letters to Eunomius: "As the Son has to the Father," he says, "so the Spirit to the Son according to the composition of the word handed down in baptism." And at the same time, they give a certain example from worldly things; for they say that of two active powers existing in fire, that of heating and that of drying, as also of two analogous energies, that of heating precedes that of drying; for that which heats first dries, but that which dries does not heat, and hence the heat is the cause of dryness, just as also the fire itself which produces the heat. And thus it is also in the matter at hand, they say; if not, the order of the processions and the persons would be only in thought, not real.

2.But that we believe that this order of pre-existence in the Father and the Son is real, we have both said before and now say. For the foundation of such pre-existence is real; and this is the distinction of the Son and the Spirit according to the different manner of existence belonging to them. But the example of the energies of fire, even if it seems to contribute something to the manifestation of the pre-conceiving of the Son's generation of the Spirit's procession, both happening at the same time, yet we think it has no power to show that the Son is also the cause of the Spirit. For first, to heat and to dry are energies of fire, acting on something else, but the Son and the Spirit are rather an energy which God works within Himself, but not which He works, if indeed it is necessary to call the work of nature or the person somehow an energy. And if heat is the cause of dryness, it does not have this as an energy, but because of the acting subject underlying it; for it itself is the one acting, and it acts by heat. Therefore, heat would be said to be the cause of dryness metaphorically, not properly; but the Son, if He is the cause of the Spirit, would be as an underlying agent.

3.And besides these things, fire both heats and dries the same thing, but the Father does not beget and bring forth the same thing. And moreover, fire, when it heats something and consequently dries it, having received that heat, would not be able to dry unless by heating; for in it also the order of those energies or powers must be preserved as in the first. But it is impossible for the Son to bring forth, begetting. But what is greater is, fire is more by heat than by dryness; but the Father is no more a begetter than a bringer-forth, but equally both the generative power and energy and the bringing-forth is in Him. For this is the Father, the fountain-like Godhead, the divine Dionysius said, and this is the Father, begetter and bringer-forth, the divine Gregory said. But what the Father is, not one of them must be more in the Father, and the other less, nor one to precede by nature, and the other to follow, nor one to be incommunicable, and the other communicable. Therefore, He is both begetter and bringer-forth at the same time and equally and by one fruitfulness, conceived both comprehensively and uniformly, when it is conceived in Him in the manner of the first actuality; but when they are conceived in the manner of the second actuality, He acts in two ways and

arranged towards each other, as one being pre-conceived by the comparison to the other. Wherefore also in the things being brought forth, one of the rest is pre-conceived; or rather because the Son is pre-conceived of the Spirit, for the reasons said, we also pre-conceive the procession, which He has proceeded. For from the divine persons being known to us somehow and their names, we also consequently weave something concerning their processions, we say, not the opposite. But if there is also another cause of the generation of the other procession being pre-conceived and not the opposite, no one would be able to know; how indeed, if we are not even able to know the manner of the procession, unspeakable and incomprehensible as it has been shown in the previous words to be guarded? Therefore, of these and many other dissimilarities existing in the example of fire to the matter at hand, for which no one would easily believe these things, this is what seems most incongruous, that the energies of fire are without subsistence, but the Son and the Spirit are subsistences, for which reason also the example of the sun and the ray and the light the great Gregory rightly rejects, saying: "I have conceived of the sun and the ray and the light; but even here there is a fear, first lest some composition should be conceived of the uncompounded nature as of the sun and the things in the sun; secondly, lest we should make the Father subsist, but not make the others subsist." And this fear we also, fearing concerning the energies of fire, and much more reasonably, would not be unreasonably afraid. Then, in the other examples, it is possible to find even the teachers having used them, even if not altogether commensurately with the need; but no one seems to have used this one.

b. Concerning the saying of the great Basil saying: "As the Son has towards the Father, thus also the Spirit towards the Son."

1.But the saying of the great Basil, being thus cut off, would somehow seem to support the calumniators of the teachers; but if someone would look at the whole intention of the teacher, in addition to not helping them at all, it also proves them to be calumniators. For of those around Eunomius saying that the Holy Spirit is numbered under the Son of God, not numbered with Him, this teacher very naturally rejects the name of numbering under. But how indeed to conceive even the numbering with as pious, he shows in many ways. For having first asked them whether they also say that the Son is numbered under the Father and the Spirit under the Son, or only define the numbering under as remaining with the Spirit, and having shown that if they number the Son under, they are brought to the impiety of the Anomoeans and blaspheme against the Son, then he adds these very words: "But if they think that numbering under belongs to the Spirit alone, let them learn that the Spirit is spoken of together with the Lord in the same way as the Son with the Father; for the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit is similarly handed down. Therefore, as the Son has to the Father, so the Spirit to the Son according to the composition handed down in baptism; but if the Spirit is arranged with the Son, and the Son with the Father, the Spirit also is clearly with the Father. What place then is there to say that one is numbered with, and the other is numbered under, of the names arranged in one and the same series?" Where then here has there been any discourse by the teacher concerning the divine processions and some order in them, or concerning the order in the divine persons according to the cause? Or how are they not clearly calumniators, who hide the teacher's purpose and the intention of the words, but taking this piece, weave thus the fallacy of bad doctrine: "As," he says, "the Son has to the Father, so also the Spirit to the Son; but the Son has to the Father as caused to His own cause; and the Spirit therefore has thus to the Son?" Thus

also they interpret the European fathers, as it seems, and transform their conclusions to their own opinion. For how would one not condemn them, if, when Basil concludes that the Spirit therefore is arranged and numbered with the Son and through Him with the Father, not being numbered under, they conclude that the Spirit therefore is caused by the Son, concerning which there was yet no intention at all by the teacher? And yet if the saying were altogether thus as they use it having collected it, they would not be able to conclude that the Son is the cause of the Spirit; for the adverb of similarity ought not to be drawn to all similarity; for then it would be necessary to think also the Spirit to be a begotten of the Son, as the Son Himself has to the Father; but this would be a lie. Therefore, they ought to have taken this similarity concerning the true and acknowledged things, not concerning all things which they might wish at their discretion.

c. Concerning the saying of Athanasius saying, that the Spirit has such an order and nature towards the Son, which the Son [has] towards the Father.

1.And it is right to understand the saying of Athanasius thus. For having shown the well-ordered co-naturalness of the Son to the Father, and saying that the same is also of the Spirit to the Son, he added, concluding: "Since the Spirit has such an order and nature to the Son, as the Son has to the Father, how will he who calls Him a creature not necessarily think the same concerning the Son?" And indeed he has shown by testimonies from the Scriptures that the Spirit is arranged with the Son and altogether co-natured as consubstantial, in which he nowhere seems to say that the Son is the cause of the Spirit or that the Spirit proceeds from the Son. On the contrary, indeed, he also distinguishes well; for he says: "Just as the Son is a begotten Only-begotten, so also the Spirit, being given and sent by the Son, is also one and not many." He did not say therefore "proceeding" or "bringing forth" or "subsisting," opportunely saying so, if indeed he thought this, and would have thought it, if he found the Scripture saying this, since he also called the Son a begotten Only-begotten of the Father, having taken it from the Holy Scripture; but he said "given by the Son and sent." For these things it says. So that by saying "co-natured" and "orderly united," he shows that the Son and the Spirit are not a creature, because the Son also has thus to the Father. But in saying "such an order," he does not give to understand every similarity, but that which both the hypotheses of the faith wish and which he himself showed beforehand by scriptural testimonies. All these show the sameness, or rather unity, of nature, orderly extending from the Father through the Son to the Spirit, not also the one being pre-eminent or subsisting from the other in the bringing forth.

2.Therefore, just as because one person is arranged after another according to number, there is no difference of nature in them of necessity, as the heretics concluded, the great Basil saying in that passage: "But the all-wandering one of all, being numbered sometime out of his own nature?" so neither will the antithetical order of the cause be believed to comprehend the divine persons of necessity ever, but they will have a well-ordered co-naturalness. But the discourse of the order will either be honored by silence from us, or will be conceived piously and as is fitting to the common hypotheses of the faith. For in the same chapter this great teacher says: "But O wisest ones, let the unattainable things especially be above number, as the ancient reverence of the Hebrews engraved the unspeakable name of God with their own signs, and from these showing His supremacy over all. But if indeed it is necessary to number, let us not also in this maltreat the truth; either let silence honor the unutterable things, or let the holy things be numbered piously." Thus

therefore we also say that the divine is especially above order; but if indeed it is necessary to believe some order of them, let us not also in this maltreat the truth, either let the unutterable things be honored by silence, or let the order of the divine be conceived piously, and as it pleases our spirit-enlightened teachers. And it pleases all, as has been said, to preserve the order as we have been handed down, and to pre-conceive the Father of the Son as the cause of that from Him, and to pre-conceive Him also of the Spirit thus, but with some difference, that of the Son being close and of no other intervening in between, but of the Spirit with the intervening concept of the Son mediating. Whence also the Son's order to the Spirit arises well, being co-naturally produced by the different reference to the common cause. For just as they are through the Father and are in and with Him, so also their order to each other is through the order to Him, and there is one order through all and under one concept of the cause, as Gregory of Nyssa said. Because as they are one in nature, so also they are three by the concept of the cause, which indwells in them partly antithetically, and partly differently, as has been said before.

d. On the saying of Nyssa in which it is said that the Spirit is said to be of the Son, but the Son is not said to be of the Spirit, nor does the relative sequence itself reverse; in which also is about the relation of the divine persons to each other, and the refutation of what the Latins are sophistical about the relation and which they interpret wickedly this saying.

1.Since they trouble us with that saying of Gregory of Nyssa and attempt to provide some support for their sophistical arguments concerning their order, in which he says: "The Son is neither of the Spirit, nor is He said to be, nor does this relational sequence reverse," we will not bother to expound on how they, using this saying as if it were an advocate, deceive themselves by taking up such propositions as that the order of those persons is natural, necessary, and unchangeable. Instead, we will make clear the teacher's intention, which is on our side and has nothing in common with the Latins, and thus we will lay open the path by which such attempts of theirs may be resolved. First, however, it is necessary to set forth the saying of the teacher himself. For when interpreting the phrase "Your kingdom come" in his homilies on the Lord's Prayer, having already demonstrated that the Father and the Son are of the same nature, he transitions appropriately to a discourse concerning the Spirit, so that if, as he says, the Son is united to the Father according to nature, and the Spirit is shown to be not alien to the nature of God through the identity of their operations, the one nature of the Holy Trinity is accordingly demonstrated, without confusion in each of the hypostases, as the distinctive property of each remains observed in them, nor are the characteristics exchanged among them. Thus, the mark of the paternal hypostasis is not transferred to the Son or the Spirit, nor is that of the Son applied to the others, nor is the property of the Spirit manifested in the Father or the Son. But in the commonality of nature, the distinction of the distinctive properties is observed without confusion. It is proper to the Father to be without cause; this is not proper to the Son and the Spirit. For the Son proceeds from the Father, as Scripture says, and the Spirit proceeds from God and from the Father. But just as being without cause, which belongs to the Father alone, cannot be applied to the Son and the Spirit, so too the opposite—being from a cause, which is proper to the Son and the Spirit—cannot be observed in the Father. And though the Son and the Spirit share in being without cause, lest any confusion be thought to arise concerning the subject, again the distinction in their properties is found unmixed, so that both the

commonality is preserved and the distinctive property is not confused. For the only-begotten Son is named from the Father by Holy Scripture, and thus His distinctive property is established by this word. But the Holy Spirit is said to be from the Father and is also testified to be of the Son. For if anyone, he says, does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to Him. Therefore, the Spirit is from God and is the Spirit of Christ; but the Son, being from God, is neither of the Spirit nor said to be, nor does this relational sequence reverse, as if the statement could be equally reversed by analysis, and just as the Spirit is said to be of Christ, so too Christ could be named as of the Spirit. Thus, this property clearly and without confusion distinguishes one from the other, while the identity in operation testifies to the commonality of nature. From both sides, the pious understanding concerning the divine is strengthened, so that the Trinity is numbered by the hypostases and is not divided into heterogenous parts. What madness, then, is this of those who fight against the Spirit? And so on.

2.Here, then, the intention is clear: it concerns the divinity of the Spirit against those who contend against it. But as if incidentally, he also weaves in a discourse concerning unity and distinction. And the progression of the argument is evident: from the identity in operation, he concludes the unity of essence and equality of honor, while from the distinctive properties observed in each hypostasis, he concludes the Trinity and the plurality. The teacher's reverence for the divine doctrines is also clear, for he, like the other teachers, takes the Holy Scripture as the rule and boundary of discourse about God, following Dionysius absolutely, who says that it is not permissible to say or think anything beyond what has been divinely revealed to us in the sacred oracles. And agreeing with the golden-mouthed one, he says that we must not think beyond what is written. For Holy Scripture says that the Son is from the Father, but it does not in any way attribute this to the Spirit. But it says that the Holy Spirit is from the Father and testifies that He is also of the Son. Therefore, we too must adhere only to what is said in Holy Scripture and make this the rule and boundary of our belief concerning divine matters. It might seem to some, he says, that since the Son and the Spirit are of the same nature, both should be characterized by the same properties, and just as it follows that the Spirit is from God and is the Spirit of Christ, so too it should follow that the Son, being from God, is also of the Spirit. But this is not so. For the Spirit is both from God and is the Spirit of Christ, but the Son, being from God, is neither of the Spirit nor said to be, nor does this relational sequence reverse—that is, it does not follow that because the Spirit is of Christ, the Son is also of the Spirit. Just as, obviously, it follows that the Son is of the Father and the Father is of the Son, as is the case with other relational terms. And this argument is not that the Son is generative of the Spirit, and therefore the terms of divine generation do not reverse among themselves. For the Father is generative of the Son, but this relational sequence does reverse in their case. For as the Son is of the Father, so the Father is said to be of the Son, but because of the meaning of the names, it does not reverse.

3.For the Spirit is not only relational but is also spoken of absolutely, as when God is called Spirit. And when it is spoken of relationally, it does not always have the cause of existence accompanying it, as when the Holy Spirit is said to be of the Son. For the Spirit is breathed from the Son, just as He Himself breathes where He wills, according to the divine Apostle, and He is a gift not only of the Father and the Son to creation but also of Himself, according to Augustine, since the Spirit is not only the hypostasis of the Spirit but also His operation and grace, according to the divine Chrysostom. And the Son has the Spirit co-eternally and consubstantially, no less than the Father, as a good of the divine nature, which He has received from the

Father, but He does not hypostasize it in His own being. For He who gives the Son His nature and thus hypostasizes Him personally also hypostasizes the Spirit. Therefore, the divine Apostle calls the Holy Spirit the Spirit of God because of the relation and natural kinship of the divinity, but He also says that it is from God because of its existence from God. And He calls it the Spirit of Christ because of the relation, but He does not say it is from Him because it does not have its existence from Him. Thus, the Spirit is said to be of the Son, for nothing prevents this from being understood as kinship according to nature and as being breathed from Him in some way, as has been said. But the Son would never rightly be said to be of the Spirit, for the name of the Son primarily implies opposition to the Father and consequently presents the natural likeness, as all the teachers say. And if anyone were to say that He is of the Spirit, it would necessarily imply that the Spirit is the Father. Just as if Socrates were said to be the son of Sophroniscus, it would be necessary to understand Sophroniscus as the father of Socrates.

4.If, then, the Son were said to be of the Spirit, it would imply that the Spirit is His Father, and the relationship according to natural kinship, hidden by the meaning of the name, would appear nowhere, and the truth would be hidden under falsehood. Therefore, the Spirit is said to be of God, without any harm to the meaning of the Son, because of the relation of likeness (for it implies the Father to Himself), while the natural kinship of the Spirit to the Son alone is indicated by the word. For, as has been said, this is allowed by the designation of the Spirit. But the Son is not said to be of the Spirit, lest the paternal property be transferred to the Spirit through the reciprocity of the Son to it. This is also the view of Augustine, for in the twelfth book of his work on the Trinity, he says: "We say the Holy Spirit is of the Father, but we do not conversely say the Father is of the Holy Spirit, lest the Holy Spirit be thought to be the Son. And again, we say the Holy Spirit is of the Son, but we do not say the Son is of the Holy Spirit, lest the Holy Spirit be thought to be the Father." That the Spirit is said to be of the Son because of the natural relation and kinship to the Son, we have already demonstrated with the sayings of the holy teachers.

5.But the Latins, despising this explanation—or, to speak more fittingly, not understanding it—say that the relation of cause is the reason for the non-reversal, and from this they conclude that the Spirit is from the Son or has His hypostasis from Him. For they say: "The Son is not said to be of the Spirit because He is not from the Spirit. Therefore, the Spirit is said to be of the Son because He is from the Son." What, then, will they say about the Father, when someone asks them why He is not called the Father of the Spirit? Will they say it is because the Father is not from the Spirit? And yet the name of the Father has an active meaning, and no one hearing "Father of the Spirit" would understand it to mean that He is from the Spirit. Therefore, the Father would also have to be the Father of the Spirit and be called such, for the Spirit is from Him and proceeds from Him, just as the Son is begotten from Him. But it is clear that because the Father is the Father of the Son, and the Spirit is not the Son, therefore He is not called the Father of the Spirit, just as the Spirit is called the Spirit of the Father. And no one understands this to mean that the Spirit is the Son, both because of the breadth of the meaning of "spirit," as has been said, and because the Son is presupposed before the Spirit, being conceived together with the Father. And this has been explained earlier. Therefore, in the same way, the Son is not said to be of the Spirit, because the Son is of the Father, and the Spirit cannot be the Father, not because the Spirit is caused by Him, and the terms of divine generation do not reverse. For if the Spirit is caused by the Son, this is not yet clear to us and the Latins alike, so that given this, they wish to interpret the saying of Nyssa in this way, and therefore there is no necessity in this explanation of the Latins.

THE LATINS ARGUMENTS

6.If, then, these divine names signified only the natural relationship and did not indicate the cause or the manner of the cause, nothing would prevent us from calling the Father the Father of the Spirit and the Son the Son of the Spirit, due to the affinity of nature. But now, the implication of "begetting" underlying the name "Father" and the implication of "being begotten" associated with the name "Son" prevent this. Where the meaning of the names does not present any obstacle, when a preposition is added, the reversal does not occur; but without the preposition, it can indeed occur. For example, the Spirit is from the one who sends forth, but the one who sends forth is not from the Spirit; the Spirit is the product of the one who sends forth, and the one who sends forth is the sender of the product. Similarly, the Son is from the Father, but the Father is not from the Son; the Son is indeed of the Father, and the Father is of the Son, and this is both true and said. But concerning the Spirit in relation to the Son, it is not the same, for the Spirit is not said to be from the Son, and the Son is certainly not from the Spirit in any way. The Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son, but the Son is never called the Son of the Spirit. Thus, these distinctions arise from the meaning of the names, not because of the divine generation, which, according to the holy Dionysius, proceeds from one to another without reversal.

7.Therefore, we agree entirely with the Latins that the reason the Son is not said to be from the Spirit is that the Son is not caused by the Spirit. However, we would never be persuaded by them to say that the Spirit is from the Son due to His existence from Him. Rather, we follow the teachings of the faith and the holy fathers. For they say that the Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son as being naturally united to Him, presupposing that this is said of God, as proceeding from God. The Son of God calls the Spirit the Spirit of truth, that is, His own Spirit, but He clearly states that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. And the divine apostle again affirms that the Spirit is of God and from God, but nowhere says it is from the Son, only calling it the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of the Son. The Latins, however, interpret everything with such authority that they first distort the teacher's statement, adding that the Spirit is also from the Son, not considering that the charge of falsification will immediately confront them. For the teacher immediately adds the testimony, calling it the Spirit of Christ, that is, of the Son. And as if repeating, he says, "Therefore, the Spirit that is from God is also the Spirit of Christ." Their hopes were dashed, as most of the books escaped their corruption and preserved the true Scripture. Then, as if recoiling from their own falsification and hating this deceit, they attempt to argue from the non-reversibility of relations, saying things that have already been refuted by us and can easily be refuted in many other ways, having no necessity.

8.But even when they distinguish relations, in whatever categories they are found and however they are described, whether in terms of equality, superiority, inferiority, or suchlike, they think they demonstrate well the causal relationship of the Son to the Spirit. But such things are far from being true and valid in divine matters. For if we define our faith according to such technicalities, we will erase many of the things we confess, which do not at all agree with human contrivance. Rather, we must pay attention to Gregory himself, who makes the non-reversibility of that relational sequence a sign of their personal distinction but remains silent on the cause of the non-reversibility, perhaps considering it bold to elaborate on those relations and preferring to adhere solely to the authority of Scripture, which calls the Spirit the Spirit of the Son but does not call the Son the Son of the Spirit, due to the meaning of the name, as it seems, by which it is neither possible to say nor to be that the Son is of the Spirit. For it is not difficult to conjecture this far, and we must also agree with Damascene, who knows well the teachings of Gregory and says concerning the Son and the

Spirit: "We do not say that the Spirit is from the Son, but we name the Spirit the Spirit of the Son; and we do not say that the Son is of the Spirit or from the Spirit," and he dogmatizes that the Father alone is the cause and that the Spirit does not have His existence from the Son.

9.If, then, the Nyssen distinguishes by the non-reversibility of the relation but does not clearly explain the reason for the relation, considering it ineffable, and if the theologian Gregory says that how the divine persons relate to one another in terms of relation and order is known only to the Trinity itself, and if all those after him, including John of Damascus, attribute the affinity and kinship of essence, not a causal opposition, to the Son in relation to the Spirit, following the Scriptures, shall we then pay attention to the Latins, who divide relations for us into equalities, superiorities, and inferiorities and introduce the necessity of their own opinion from such petty arguments? And shall we join them in seeking what it is not permitted or granted to seek or investigate? Surely, we will not seem to listen well to Gregory, who says in his discourse to Hero: "It is better to labor in reasoning with the guidance of the Spirit than to rashly blaspheme while pursuing ease." Spit out for me the objections, the oppositions, the new piety, and the petty wisdom, and spit them out more than the threads of spiders, which hold flies but are broken by wasps—I do not yet say by fingers or any other heavier bodies. Teach only to fear dissolving the faith in sophistries. It is not terrible to be defeated in argument, for not all is argument; but it is terrible to lose divinity, for all hope is in it. Therefore, we will not ponder the relations among the divine persons, but as if closing our spiritual senses, we will pass over these things without examination? And hearing a relational sequence, will we not ask what it might be, or will we say that the teacher uttered some meaningless sound? We do not say this, but we advise ourselves and all our brothers to remain within the bounds of theology, to seek and understand these things thus, and not to overstep them. For the divine is one in nature and is without relation, but it is supernaturally distinguished in the persons, and it has some relation within itself. It is distinguished by not being begotten, being begotten, and proceeding. For the very fact of not being begotten, being begotten, and proceeding, says the great Gregory, designates the Father, the Son, and what is called the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the divine persons have a relation to one another, as indicated by these names. For example, the Son, begotten from the Father, is both from the Father as cause and is consubstantial with Him, and both of these are revealed together in this relational title of the Son. For the aforementioned teacher says: "Not because the Son is a son according to some higher relation, since we could not otherwise indicate that He is from God and consubstantial, should we now think it necessary to transfer all the lower names and our kinships to the divine." Therefore, the name "Son" well indicates both the cause and the consubstantiality. For He is from the begetter and is of the same essence as Him. For this is also the case in lower generation, that what is begotten receives the essence and nature of the begetter from Him. Similarly, the name "Spirit," understood in a godly manner, sufficiently indicates the unity of essence. For just as the spiritual spirit in man, permeating his entire nature, becomes the cause of motion and life, so also the Holy Spirit is understood as a kind of impulse and inner motion of that supernatural essence, sometimes pouring forth even outwardly through the Son of God, whether as through word or through mouth. But we must understand all these things in a godly manner, rejecting the imagination of body, matter, and motion, not only from the Spirit but also from the divine essence altogether, which is utterly simple and incorporeal.

10.Therefore, this Spirit, when it is called the Spirit of God, is hymned as consubstantial with God. For first, it is not possible for anything of God to be cut off from the divine nature. And second, the holy

THE LATINS ARGUMENTS

Athanasius, in his discourse on the Incarnation, speaking about the Holy Spirit, says: "Similarly, Paul also says concerning the Spirit: 'But God has revealed it to us through His Spirit. For the Spirit searches all things, even the depths of God. For who among men knows the things of a man except the spirit of the man which is in him? Even so, no one knows the things of God except the Spirit of God.' Just as the spirit of man is not separated from his humanity and essence, so also the Spirit of God is not alien to His divinity and essence." Scripture not only shows that the Spirit is consubstantial with God by calling it the Spirit of God, but it also says that it is from God, just as the Word is, so that we may not believe in more unoriginate beings or more origins of beings.

11.Therefore, the same relationship exists between both the Son to the Father and the Spirit; for the Spirit naturally proceeds from Him just as the Son does, differing only in the mode of their existence from that source. And this relationship, being one, is signified by two terms: on one hand, it is said to be "from God" because of its existence from Him, and on the other hand "Spirit of God," because of its genuine and inseparable nature of essence, as the holy Athanasius says in the previously mentioned discourse. The Spirit's relationship to the Son is also one - namely the unity of essence along with the distinctiveness according to hypostasis. The hypostatic distinctiveness of the Spirit, in relation to the Father, is established by its proceeding from the Father himself, and in relation to the Son, by its distinct mode of subsisting from the same source. Scripture has adequately expressed this relationship in one phrase, calling it "Spirit of the Son" and "Spirit of Christ" - for all these terms are one, having the same mode of signification. It shows the hypostatic distinctiveness in the differentiation of names, through which the different mode of existence is revealed, by which the divine persons are distinguished: for to the Son belongs generation, while to the Spirit belongs procession, by which the Son and Spirit subsist with their own properties. The unity of nature is presented in such a bond of language, for this term joins the Spirit to the Son just as they are joined in nature. For it is not said to be a possession or part of the Son, but as something bound ineffably to the Son of God in identity and unity of essence, being itself the Spirit of God, just as He is the Word of God, just as elsewhere Scripture indicates the super-unified nature through the communion of names, and calls the Spirit "Christ," which clearly has more power in expressing identity than calling it "Spirit of Christ" - for thus it is shown to be consubstantial with the Son of God and wholly present in the whole of Him.

12.For Cyril says in his Thesaurus, in his discourse about the Spirit: "Accept from me again right thoughts about the Holy Spirit, so that you may learn that it belongs to the Savior's essence and is not foreign to the one divinity. For having called it the Spirit of God, he immediately also calls it the Spirit of Christ, showing that all things proper to the Father naturally pass to the Son begotten from Him. And again he immediately calls the Spirit 'Christ,' saying 'if Christ is in us,' showing it is not foreign to the Word's nature, but so united, even though it subsists with its own properties, that it exists in the Son and the Son in it through the identity of essence." Such is the relationship of the Spirit to the Son that the foundations of faith and the words of the teachers instruct us about, which is the same relationship it has with the Father except for subsisting from Him. For as it is united to the Father by nature and distinguished personally, so also it is distinguished from the Son hypostatically but united by nature. And this is the Spirit's nature and order in relation to the Son, which the teachers say is the same as that of the Son to the Father, and the similarity extends to these things. But if it had everything similarly, such that the Son would also be cause of the Spirit,

there would need to be similarity in the mode of procession as well. But it is clear that when the incompatible things are removed, the similarity of relationship and order is preserved only in fitting and true aspects.

13.But it is not necessary that relationship in the divine persons exist only according to the opposition of cause, but indeed proceeding from the same cause according to the same form of nature with certain properties creates a relationship between those so produced, as with brothers. The only difference is that two brothers proceeding from the same father receive both the same form of nature and in the same way, being distinguished only by properties of matter or quantity. But the Son of God and the Holy Spirit receive the same nature, though not by the same mode of procession, and this is supernatural in divine things. For this is true of nothing except them, but all things proceeding from the same principle proceed both synonymously and according to the same form of nature, and according to the same unchangeable mode from that source. Therefore, just as with humans there is one relationship of father to son, and another of two sons to each other, and both relationships have similarity of nature and distinction of hypostases, but the cause of distinction is not the same in both - in one it is the opposition of cause, in the other it is receiving the same nature with different properties - so too with the divine persons. There is one relationship of the Father to those from Him, and another of the Son to the Spirit, and both relationships have identity of nature and distinction of hypostases, which constitute the principle of natural relationship. However, the cause of distinction is not the same in both, but in one it is the opposition of cause (namely that of the Father to those from Him), and in the other it is the hypostatic distinctiveness, which follows from their different mode of existence.

14.Therefore, as long as things naturally proceeding from the same cause with certain properties have some relationship to each other, which the Latins themselves would say is one of equality, no argument will compel us to understand in the Son towards the Spirit the opposition of cause according to relation, which they say is of superiority and inferiority, nor will they trouble us about matter, as long as in brothers the difference according to matter and its properties distinguishes them, while in the divine persons the different mode of procession can properly distinguish those proceeding. The reason this relationship, though being one of equality, is not reciprocal is due to the meaning of the names. For if the Son were reciprocated to the Spirit, the Spirit would be Father. But neither the Son nor the Spirit can be Father, as long as they are Son and Spirit, for there is one and only Father in divine things. Since when reciprocation is properly made it will surely reverse properly - for example, since all the teachers call it "Spirit of the Son" as being naturally appropriated to the Son, as being related according to divinity and consubstantial, let this sequence be transferred to what is clearer, and according to the holy teachers let the Spirit be called consubstantial with the Son, and therefore the Son will be consubstantial with the Spirit and naturally appropriated to it, but surely will not be son of the Spirit for the reason stated. If someone thinks the meaning of the name is not sufficient reason for the Son not being reciprocal to the Spirit, but seeks some more substantial reason, as the discussion proceeds such a reason will be provided. But for now it is sufficient to have shown that the blessed Gregory of Nyssa is both with us and consistent with himself, and provides no clear or just basis for the Latin interpretation. That the Spirit and Son naturally proceed from the same cause, though not by the same mode of procession - this creates both their union and distinction and generally their relationship to each other. But that the Son is also cause of the Spirit - no argument necessitates this from such relationship or order, nor because there is relationship and order in them will it be permitted for those who wish to attribute

whatever relationship and order they might desire, even if some might seem appropriate from appearance. For nothing is appropriate in divine things for those who approach them reverently unless it harmonizes with the words of the Spirit, and this also seems right to the great Basil in his second book against Eunomius when he says: "For one educated in divine fear should not readily leap at whatever might appear from the sequence of words, but should be content remaining with the names laid down in Scripture, through these fulfilling doxology in a manner befitting God." With the same reverence, if not equal, one must surely approach both the sacred words and the words of the teachers.

e. On Athanasius's statement saying that the Holy Spirit is the energy of the Son; wherein also concerning why the relative sequence is not reciprocal.

1.We must also examine Athanasius's statement, which the Latins, hearing it superficially, think they can justly use against us. For he says in his letter to Serapion about the Holy Spirit thus: "Since the Son is one living Word, there must also be one perfect and complete sanctifying and illuminating life, being His energy and gift, which is said to proceed from the Father, since it shines forth from the Word who is confessedly from Him, and is sent and given." Therefore, taking from this that the Spirit is the energy of the Son, and having from other teachers that the Son is the energy of the Father, they fallaciously conclude that the Son is cause of the Spirit, just as the Father is of the Son. One must therefore know that our theology takes the name of energy in many ways: For the perfection of nature is thus called, just as wisdom, goodness, and strength are called energy; and thus Scripture calls such perfections of God energies. These are contemplated in God only existentially, not hypostatically or personally, nor are they referred to cause, but are spoken of absolutely. Therefore there is one and the same wisdom, power, goodness, life, and generally energy of the three hypostases, except when wisdom is particularly attributed to the Word, power to the Father, and goodness to the Spirit - for then it has equal force to say Word of the Father and Wisdom of the Father, and similarly for the others. But let the explanation of this be left for now, as it isn't relevant to our present need. Furthermore, procession is called energy by the teachers, which is in some way a principle toward what is produced, but has power as its own principle, just as generation and projection are called energy of the Father. Moreover, they call the relationship between the one acting and what is acted upon energy. But according to the meaning of relationship, the great Basil says the Son of God is not energy, and adds the reason, that energy is different from both the one acting and what is acted upon itself, and is also non-hypostatic - for all energy is non-hypostatic. And Gregory of Nyssa in his discourse to Ablabius says, "God indicates the one acting, divinity indicates energy, but none of the three is energy," speaking here of energies as natural perfections, which other teachers call conceptions about the essence.

2.Thus neither the Word of God nor the Holy Spirit is energy of the Father, nor can one separate them and say the Son of God is energy of the Father or the Spirit is. For neither of these is understood absolutely, nor as only existing in God or proceeding from Him, but also as subsisting. Being hypostases and subsisting with their own properties in that supreme and most simple unity of the divine essence, the Son and Spirit cannot be energy. But although this is firmly proclaimed thus by all the teachers, nevertheless the Son and Spirit are called energy of the Father by very many teachers, but subsisting and living and enhypostatic energy, the term indicating that the Son and Spirit are indeed hypostases, and in this are distinguished from energy;

but by the mode of energy they are understood as persons subsisting from elsewhere, and therefore each of them is called living and subsisting and enhypostatic energy, which cannot be said about the Father, but He is only hypostasis, as not being understood in any way by the mode of energy. For He is neither energized from anyone, being uncaused, nor does He energize any other person through Himself as through natural and enhypostatic energy, but rather as through cause, because He has from Himself the energizing of anything along with being. For this reason the Son can do nothing unless He sees the Father doing it, and for this reason the Son of God is said to do and complete the Father's work.

3.Therefore the Son of God can be called energy of the Father in two ways: first as begotten from Him, in the way that what proceeds from something can be called its energy (for thus we call fruit the energy of the plant and word the energy of the mind, and similarly for other things), and simply as the energy which God energizes in Himself, that is, brings forth. For according to divine Damascene, every energized thing is also energy of the one who energized it. But according to this understanding they do not fully predicate the name of energy of the hypostasis of the Son and Spirit, but rather they say the Son is energy of the Father as that by which the Father energizes in external things. For through the Son He produces beings and reforms them and turns them toward Himself as through His natural and enhypostatic power or energy, says divine Damascene.

4.Likewise, they say the Spirit is an energy of God, as the Father works in external things. For in the Spirit, He gives life to those partaking of life, perfects all things that exist in any way, and illuminates and sanctifies the intellectual and rational creatures capable of participating in Him. Just as the Son of God is the Creator, the Spirit is the Life-giver. For each of these is a hypostasis and true God - the Son creates through Himself no less than the Spirit gives life, purifies, and illuminates creation through Himself. For the works of divinity toward creation are common to the divine persons and indivisible, and "there is one grace and gift given from the Father through the Son in the Spirit," as the great Athanasius said. Indeed, sacred discourse, exalting the first cause of all as unbegotten and uncaused and as never manifested in body or bodily form, rightly and piously praises the hypostases from it by the name of energy, adding "living and enhypostatic" and rejecting any diminishment from energy to the essence from which it comes, and through them and in them thus theologizes that God the Father works.

5.That the teachers call the Son and Spirit the Father's energy as hypostases possessing the whole energy of the Father - and understand energy then as how the divine works externally, using itself with a certain order - is clear to those who examine the teachers' works well. For blessed Cyril in the first book of Treasures says, "The Son is the living and essential energy and power and wisdom of the Father." And concerning the Holy Spirit in the same book of Treasures he says: "For the Holy Spirit is essence and sanctifying nature and, so to speak, a quality of God the Father's divinity, just as the sweetness of honey or fragrance from a flower. Therefore if it is holy by nature, it does not have this quality from outside, but rather itself, being a natural and living and enhypostatic energy of the divine essence, always adds perfection to creation through sanctification and participation in itself." This same teacher also wishes the Spirit to be the energy of the Son. For explaining "And the Word was God," he says thus: "Therefore He who has the same energy as the perfect Father is not lesser, having the Spirit of the one who begat Him as the good of His own nature, living and enhypostatic just as the Father indeed, that is, not acquired nor from outside" - for thus he explains himself by adding "just as the Father" elsewhere.

6.Thus also holy Athanasius calls the Spirit the energy of the Son, and not only energy but also gift. Although it is essence and perfect and full life, it is energy as sanctifying and illuminating, because through it as through some energy the Son of God both sanctifies creation and illuminates. For it exists naturally in the Son, even though it subsists with its own hypostasis. And whatever the Son as God energizes, He energizes through the Spirit - no less than the Spirit itself energizing these things through itself due to the one energy and power of divinity. And the teacher adds that such energy shines forth and is sent and given from the Word. Since the Word is confessed to be from the Father, therefore it is said to proceed from the Father, that is, to subsist. For what is manifested through the Son must subsist from the Father. For the Son has nothing from Himself such that He could manifest what did not first subsist from the Father, from whom He also has His being.

7.The divine Apostle also testifies to these words, saying the Spirit is both from God and of God, but calling it only of Christ and the Son, not from Christ. For he did not wish the Spirit to be such an energy of the Son as it is of the Father once and for all, that is, as energized and brought forth from there, but only as consubstantial and bearing in itself all the energy of the Son, even though in the Gospels the Son of God says He casts out demons by the finger of God and in the Spirit, clearly as energizing by the Spirit and in the Spirit. But this differs from bringing it forth and energizing it or into it. Rather, He says it proceeds from the Father, whereby He shows the Father not only energizing in the Spirit as He Himself does, but also bringing forth the Spirit itself and giving it subsistence. But setting aside all else, what Cyril says in the Treasures concerning the all-holy Spirit should be taken as a most clear explanation of Athanasius's statement: "When therefore the Holy Spirit," he says, "fulfills both the presence of the Father and likewise that of the Son, how is it not clear that it is not separated from the divine essence, but being naturally sent forth from it, has the whole energy of the Father and Son?" And again: "The Spirit therefore is God, naturally existing in the Son from the Father and having His whole energy." Therefore the Spirit is the energy of the Son, as having the whole energy of the Son; and it is the image of the Son, as signifying very well in its own nature the one whose image it is, as the same Cyril said. And he did not say "from whom it is" - for he makes his statement about the Spirit very concisely, considering its existence, not its progression and movement toward our benefit. And therefore he rightly refers himself to the apostolic word, in which the Spirit is said to be of the Son, not from the Son. And according to holy Athanasius, the Spirit receives all things from the Son because whatever it gives to us and teaches, these are also gifts and words of the Son. Both receive these things from the Father as from a source. And it is the breath of the Son according to the same Athanasius, as being breathed forth by Him and breathed, that is, being given and participated in ineffably under the type of this bodily breath.

8.For this reason it is called the Spirit of the Son, but the Son is not called of the Spirit, because the Son gave us the Spirit, but the Spirit did not give us the Son, except insofar as by participating in the Spirit we participate in the Son, as Athanasius says, and insofar as the Word first became flesh, when He is said to be born of the Holy Spirit and sent by the Spirit. But under the aspect of energy, the Son was never given to us from the Spirit as the Spirit was given by the Son. Although the Holy Spirit is a hypostasis just like the Word, it is manifested and given and participated in under the aspect of energy. And this is true, even if we can neither comprehend nor dare to trace out the cause, and from this that relative sequence according to Gregory of Nyssa does not reverse, since neither can the subject reverse to the energy, just as the energy is

said to be of the subject. Therefore the Spirit is not an energy but a hypostasis, nor is it an energy of the Son as a hypostasis brought forth from there. And yet it is called energy of the Son, as having the whole energy of the Son, and in the manner of energy it is ineffably manifested and participated in, and therefore even if the meaning of the name did not prevent the reversal, as was said before, it would follow that it was prevented from the aspect of energy.

f. Concerning the saying of the same Athanasius saying the Son to be greater than the Spirit.

1.Therefore, the holy Athanasius says that the Son is greater than the Spirit and equal, equal in nature and the worth of divinity, but greater due to the gifts and graces of the Spirit, which He, having their source inherently and not acquired, distributes and grants to those who genuinely believe. Thus, even if the Spirit is one and utterly simple, it could still be called and understood to be greater than itself, being established in that unapproachable and communicative worth, and lesser due to its energies, through which it leads us into its own communion. By descending to us and condescending, it thereby works our ascent. Thus, it descends in the form of a dove and tongues of fire, just as the Son of God descends like rain upon the fleece and reaches the extremity of our nature and empties Himself, while the divine nature undergoes no suffering, turning towards our providence and touching the divine rays upon it and through them nurturing and reviving and improving it in every way, thus drawing it to itself and lifting it up, this is called the kenosis of that unchangeable nature, condescension, humility, and economy. Therefore, the same Athanasius, in the third book against the Arians, citing the saying of John: "By this we know that we abide in Him and He in us, because He has given us of His Spirit," says that through the grace given to us of the Spirit, we become in Him and He in us. And the divine Basil, in the fourth book against Eunomius, says concerning the Spirit that it is the source of the aforementioned goods; but it springs from God, having hypostasis; and those which spring from it are its energies. Therefore, in considering its energies and gifts, through which we are united with its source, the Spirit, and through it, we are united with the Son and through Him with the Father. Thus, in considering these, the Son is greater than the Spirit, just as the Spirit is greater than these, if indeed the hypostasis is greater than the energy. Therefore, the Son is greater than the energies of the Spirit but equal to its nature and hypostasis. And Athanasius, the only one who said that the Son is greater than the Spirit, confirms our interpretation, for he says thus: Showing the disciples the divinity and majesty of Himself, indicating that He is not lesser than the Spirit but greater and equal, He gave the Spirit and said, "I send it, and it will glorify Me, and it will speak whatever it hears." Just as here the Son is the giver of the Spirit, He does not hesitate to say that in the Spirit He casts out demons as a man, and being the giver of the Spirit, He did not refrain from saying, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because He has anointed me," because He became flesh, as John said, to show that in both ways we are those who need the grace of the Spirit to be sanctified and cannot cast out demons without the power of the Spirit. Therefore, as the giver of the Spirit, He is greater than it. And the giving of the Spirit and the receiving of being is not the same, nor is the giving of the Spirit already subsisting and its subsistence the same, since the one is always, and the other temporarily. Then immediately he adds: By whom and from whom was it necessary for the Spirit to be given if not by the Son, whose Spirit it is? And he did not say from whom it is, as he also said that it is given by Him. In giving, the purposes are taken indifferently, as we have said earlier; but in being, adhering to the scriptural authority,

he said it is from the Son, knowing that this differs greatly from being from the Son. The Latins, taking from this usage that the Son is greater than the Spirit and receiving that it is said to be greater as to the cause, think they conclude that the Son is the cause of the Spirit and that Athanasius himself holds this view. Far from it is this true; for if not even the Father is greater than the Son because of the cause, and certainly, the Son will not be believed to be the cause of the Spirit because He is greater than the Spirit due to the incarnation and the flesh. The Latins are led to believe that the Father is greater than the Son as the cause, as some teachers say, striving abundantly against the heretics, who, conceding to them the greatness even in divinity, assign the cause as the reason for this greatness, which does not at all harm the equality of nature. But being outside such conflicts and examining the mind of Scripture, all the teachers dogmatically say that our Lord said this because of the flesh and the economy, that the Father is greater than He.

2.The holy Athanasius, in his discourse on the incarnation and against the Arians, says, "And when He says that the Father who sent me is greater than I, since He became a man, He declares the Father greater than Himself; but as the Word of the Father, He is equal to Him. For I and the Father are one, and whoever has seen me has seen the Father." And in Thesaurus, the blessed Cyril says, "Economically, He speaks of the Father as greater than Himself, as He became a man, conceding to the nature of divinity to surpass those born." And again, "Being equal to the Father, the Son attributes the lesser to Himself economically, as has been shown." And in the Apology, the divine Basil, having discussed the greater in many ways and dismissed all the implications of the Father, concludes, "Not as cause, for He is equally the cause of both Himself and us." And the golden-mouthed John says, "If He says, 'The Father who sent me is greater than I,' do not be disturbed; for He does not speak of divinity to divinity, but that divinity is greater than humanity." And the blessed Amphilochius says, "When you consider the lower generation, say the Father is greater than the man; but when you consider the higher, understand the equality." Isidore of Pelusium says, "Why did He say, 'My Father is greater than I'? It was not for teaching, but for the comfort of the apostles, who were dying of fear, knowing they were about to be seized, and seeing Him go to one they considered greater; He did not say this at any other time but on the night He was betrayed." This Isidore says, having received it from Chrysostom; for he says, "They thought the Father was greater. He said, 'If you are afraid for me as insufficient by myself, and do not believe that I will see you again after the cross, hearing that I go to my Father, you should rejoice that I go to the greater, who can solve all evils.'" The Latins thus base their argument on a weak foundation; for the teachers say the Father is greater than the Son economically, and not as the Word, but as the Word became man. If the Son is greater than the Spirit similarly, as the one sent and appearing in bodily form, after our Lord's ascension to heaven, He would be considered greater, just as the Father and the Spirit, sending the Son, as Isaiah says, "And now the Lord has sent me and His Spirit," would also be considered greater. The Son says one thing, calling the Father greater than Himself; another, there is nothing to prevent concluding similarly. Thus, the Son of God, as He was about to leave the earth and send the Paraclete, showed Himself greater than the Spirit, saying that He would send the Spirit to the disciples. Since the Spirit would thus appear lesser, as accepting bodily presence for the benefit of humans.

3.But these things have been said to address the foundation of the Latin argument and to show that the greatness is not necessarily according to the cause, as they say. The purpose of the phrase is revealed by the teacher himself and confirmed later by the great Basil, as if on purpose. For he says that the Son of God gave the Spirit and said, "I will send it," to show His own divinity and greatness. Since the divinity and

greatness of the divine Spirit were preconceived by the Jews, and thus their blasphemy against it was shown to be unforgivable according to their own assumptions, as they sinned against the divine nature, He said that He would send the Spirit to also show Himself as God. For if He sends God the Paraclete, how could He not necessarily also be God, from whom God is sent? This is what the great Basil says about the Spirit in his discourse on faith, that it is sent economically but acts independently. Not wanting to show the Spirit as lesser than Himself, our Lord said He would send it; for how could that which would act independently and with equal authority be lesser? But showing His own divinity and greatness from the understanding of the Spirit, it was so far from Him being lesser than the divine Spirit, just as a mere man is acted upon by the Spirit, that He would justly be considered greater, saying that He would send it, weaving the argument economically.

4.Hence, the divine Athanasius, rightly understanding the intent of our Lord in those words, strikes a fatal blow to the heretics from it, just as He then struck the Jews. For the Arians, against whom this discourse is, saying the Son is lesser than the Spirit because He does everything in the Spirit, He shows from many other things the greatness and equality. Even though those signs are of equality, if it were possible for one hypostasis to think itself greater than another, one would not only conclude equality from those signs but also superiority, and this much more than inferiority. Many things said and done by our Lord economically would seem simply to testify to superiority over the Holy Spirit, so far from justly considering the Spirit lesser because He does everything in the Spirit. And it is clear that the great Athanasius has this understanding in those words to those who do not follow the argument negligently. But if the Father is greater than the Son and the Son greater than the Spirit in cause, the Spirit would be at a greater distance from the Father than the Son, and the Father would be the greatest, the Spirit the least, and the Son both small and great, as both caused and cause, and such things would follow, which are not even decent to enumerate and refute. Let others speak of them.

g. Concerning the saying of the same Athanasius, in which the Son is said [to be] the source of the Spirit.

1.But once again, the Latins bring up the same Athanasius in his discourse on the Incarnate Economy, saying: "He knows that the Son, being with God the Father, is the source of the Holy Spirit." See, they say, the teacher calls the Son the source of the Spirit; and source, beginning, and cause are the same thing; thus, the Son is also the beginning and cause of the Holy Spirit, with only this difference being conceived, that the Father is the first source, and the Son is the source from the source, just as the Son is the beginning from the beginning according to Gregory the Theologian, who says about the Son: "The beginning from the beginning, the light from the light." Here, then, it is evident that they are unable to interpret the teachers properly, but the Latins drag everything simply and uncritically toward their own assumptions. For the teacher does not refer to the eternal existence of the Spirit, but to its gift and distribution, and he wants the Son to be the source of the Spirit in the sense that He has it inherently and wholly in Himself and can distribute it without depletion, whether its energies or anything else. The entire passage, when read, clearly shows this. Although the intention is to demonstrate the divinity of the Spirit in that section, having transitioned appropriately from the discussions about the Son of God to those about the Spirit, from the same discussions, he also correctly and skillfully concludes both the divinity of the Spirit and of the Son from the

energy of the Spirit, which works in those who partake of it, showing the divine power of both the Spirit and the Son, who carries and gives it, being the same in both without variation.

2.He says thus: "It is impious to say that the Spirit of God is created or made, when all Scripture, both Old and New Testament, counts and glorifies it together with the Father and the Son, because it is of the same divinity and essence, as the Lord Himself says: 'He who believes in me, out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water.' He said this about the Spirit, which those who believed in Him were to receive; as in Joel it says from the face of the Father: 'I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh, and your sons and daughters will prophesy.' Therefore, He breathes it into the face of the apostles, saying: 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' so that we may learn that the Spirit given to the disciples is from the fullness of divinity. 'For in Christ,' he says, 'dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily,' as John the Evangelist says: 'We have received from His fullness.' The Spirit appeared in bodily form, that is, as a dove, descending and remaining on Him. In us, the firstfruits and pledge of divinity dwell, but in Christ all the fullness of the Godhead. And let no one think that He, not having it, received it; for He Himself, as God, sent it from above, and He Himself, as man, received it from below. Thus, it went from Him to Him, from His divinity to His humanity. Isaiah cries out from the face of the Father, saying: 'Thus says the Lord your God who made you and formed you from the womb: Fear not, my servant Jacob and my beloved Israel whom I have chosen, for I will pour water on the thirsty and my Spirit on your descendants and my blessings on your offspring.' In the Gospel, the Son promises to give water to those who thirst, saying to the Samaritan woman: 'If you knew the gift of God, and who it is that says to you, "Give me a drink," you would have asked Him, and He would have given you living water.' A little later, He says to her: 'Whoever drinks of this water will thirst again; but whoever drinks of the water that I shall give him will never thirst, but the water that I shall give him will become in him a fountain of water springing up into everlasting life.' Therefore, David, singing to God, says, 'For with you is the fountain of life; in your light we see light.' He knows that the Son, being with God the Father, is the source of the Holy Spirit. As Jeremiah says, 'My people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed out cisterns for themselves, broken cisterns that can hold no water.'"

3.Therefore, this entire discourse of the teacher is clear to those who want to consider it truthfully, and it clearly shows us what kind of source of the Holy Spirit the teacher considers the Son to be; for by presenting those prophetic and evangelical sayings, in which the gift and distribution of the Spirit to humans are marked, he shows that the Son is the inexhaustible and natural giver of the Spirit's gifts, and for this reason, he calls Him the source of the Spirit, having the source of these gifts inherently and fully in Himself. But we also clarify this word by interpreting the matters of the source according to the foundations of faith and the words of other teachers, from which every Latin attempt will be shown to be futile, which they undertake from that phrase.

4.In general, beginning, source, and cause are considered the same thing, as they say, and therefore whatever is the source of the Holy Spirit must also be considered its beginning and cause, even if these names have some differences. The characteristic of a source is especially to distribute to others what it inherently possesses, without diminishing itself; the characteristic of a beginning is to preside and be conceived before those under it; the characteristic of a cause is to flow something from itself to the caused, making it the beginning of its existence. Therefore, the Father is not always called the cause of the Son and the Spirit by the teachers, but rather the beginning and the source; the source for its exclusive characteristic,

the beginning for its order. The Father is distinguished from the other divine persons by His property and is also ordered together with them in the unity of worth and nature. Those who use the name of cause do so because it is clearer to the many and has a more expressive power of personal distinction. But about cause and beginning later.

5.Now about the source, it must be said that the name of the source implies three things: origin, fullness, and inexhaustibility. Therefore, whatever is mainly a source has all three of these; and thus the Father is the source of the Spirit; He is its natural beginning, as it proceeds from Him, that is, exists from Him; He is full of it, having it wholly and projecting it without diminution; with an infinite and eternal fecundity, He brings it forth and it is unceasingly in Him by nature, even if it is distinguished supernaturally by hypostasis. Sometimes this word, dividing these properties of the source, calls a source something that participates in one or two of these properties; thus, we also call something a source of what it gives inexhaustibly, just as we call a river the source of water, because it is filled with the watery nature and we can take water from it without depleting it, as it has it inexhaustibly from the source. Therefore, it is reasonable to call the Word of God the source of the Spirit, because He is filled with the Spirit, not as a vessel, but inherently, and is an inexhaustible giver of the Spirit's gifts; but He is not the source of the Spirit in that main characteristic of the source, which belongs to the chiefly called source, that is, the origin and cause; in this way, the Father is the source of the Spirit as well as of the Son, and the only source; and therefore the teachers exclusively call the Father the source. Cyril, explaining the divine symbol, says: "It proceeds, that is, comes forth from the source, the Father, and is given to creation through the Son." The same in Thesaurus: "Everything that belongs to the divine nature is naturally brought forth, having the Father as the source, and it proceeds through the Son, sanctifying creation."

6.Basil in his work Against Eunomius: "Having all things eternally, as the Spirit of God and manifested from Him, having Him as its cause and source and proceeding from Him." In the work Against Sabellians and Anomoeans: "The Father has a perfect and self-sufficient being, being the root and source of the Son and the Holy Spirit." That the Father alone is the source of the Spirit, John of Damascus says: "Whatever suits the source, cause, and begetter must be adapted to the Father alone." And from where did he get this? From the holy Dionysius, the great Athanasius, the first council, and John Chrysostom. Dionysius in his discourse on united and distinct theology says: "The things of the superessential generation are not reversed to each other; the Father remains the source of the superessential divinity, the Son is not of the Father nor the Father of the Son, each of the divine hypostases keeping its own properties reverently." He also defines the Father as the source of divinity, and the Son and the Spirit as the offshoots, flowers, and superessential lights of the God-begotten divinity. And to prevent anyone from daring to sophisticate due to the addition of the article, saying that the whole divinity is at once the source, that is, of both the Son and the Spirit together, but not separately, the holy Athanasius in his discourse on eternal existence presents the word without the article; for he says: "We separate from those Judaizers and corruptors of Christianity with Judaism, who deny the God from God, saying that He is one God like the Jews, not because He is the only unbegotten and the only source of divinity, and therefore they claim Him to be the only God, but as one without Son and barren of the living Word." The first council says to the philosopher: "One nature, three persons are to be called, source, river, water." And adds: "But no one calls the fountain the river, nor the river the fountain."

Chrysostom, in his exposition of the ninety-third psalm, agrees with the council, illustrating the divine Trinity with these three names, then adds: "And you cannot call the source the river, nor the river the source."

7.If Athanasius himself said that the Father alone is the source of divinity, how could he also call the Son the source of the Spirit, as a source of divinity? According to the meaning of "source" as mentioned by the great Basil when speaking about the Spirit: "Having the Father as its cause, as its source," and the council saying, "No one can call the river a source, for the name 'source' is primarily used in relation to what comes from it," how would Athanasius have called the river, that is, the Son, a source, except in a different sense, which both the words and the context of sacred Scripture acknowledge? What sense does it make to add a phrase to Athanasius without careful consideration, neither fitting him, the councils, nor the multitude of teachers, nor considering the necessity of the words, which is most important everywhere, to think that the Son is the cause and beginning of the Spirit because Athanasius said somewhere that the Son is the source of the Spirit? If it is impossible for Athanasius to contradict himself and everyone, it is necessary that the name "source" attributed to the Son concerning the Spirit means something else, not the cause of the hypostasis or existence.

8.He says then, as mentioned earlier, that the Son of God is the source of the Spirit, as being naturally full of the Spirit, meaning having it wholly and being wholly united with it, and entirely being with it except for the hypostatic distinction, and therefore distributing it without depletion, as one might say that the river is the source of water, because we draw water from it, although it is the water that springs from the source by nature, distinguishing the naturally Son of God from those who otherwise partake of the Spirit. The others received the Spirit externally and each had it in one or more gifts, so that none of them can be called the source of the Spirit, but rather each had a portion and participation of that divine and sanctifying grace; the Son of God, however, was filled with the Spirit naturally and had it wholly by nature and essence. And wherever and however the essence came to the Son, in the same way, the Spirit entered the essence, not as an accident but as a perfection of the divine essence and a substantial good according to the holy faith and its sacred teachers, as the holy Athanasius says, following Paul, that in us the firstfruits and pledge of divinity dwell, but in Christ all the fullness of the Godhead.

9.Thus, having the Holy Spirit, the Son of God could distribute it without depletion and eternally to those worthy of it, and make all share in all the goodness of the Spirit as far as human nature could contain. Therefore, the holy Cyril, wanting to show the Son as a natural and eternal giver of the Spirit in the fourth book to Hermias, says about Him: "As from the source of His own fullness, He breathes and says, 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' thus vividly depicting the nature of the Spirit through the physical and visible breath." And again: "He does not give the Spirit by measure, that is, the Son of God and our Lord, but He Himself infuses it from Himself, not having received some energy or gift of the Spirit, as the prophets received the grace of the Spirit according to the measure of nature or choice or need, and thus distributed it to the apostles; but He Himself infuses it from Himself, having within Himself and substantially united to Him the source of all those gifts, that is, the divinity of the Son and the Spirit, or rather having all the fullness of the Godhead in Himself."

10.Under the name of the Spirit, sometimes the superessential hypostasis and essence are understood, and sometimes the grace imparted to us from it; or rather, the superessential hypostasis under one title, sometimes taken as part of the divinity itself, and sometimes as shared externally through its impartations, as

the context of the words requires. The Son is in no way the source of the hypostasis of the Spirit, neither as a cause nor as a beginning, but He is only naturally filled with it, not sharing it externally or partially. Therefore, He is an inexhaustible and eternal distributor of its energies and graces. He is also the source, cause, and leader of the gifts of the Spirit, as He is the primary cause and source of the Spirit's benefits to our nature, no less than the Father, and the Spirit itself similarly, as shown before. The work of the divinity is common and indivisible, even though the distinction in hypostases admits this common work and assigns it with some differences to the order of persons. Hence, it is fitting to call the Son a source from the source, as Gregory says, a beginning from the beginning of created beings. The Son is the beginning, just as the Father, of the common works of divinity towards all nature and towards us, either forming or reforming. And thus, the three hypostases are one creator, just as one God. But because the Son is from the Father, who is the beginning of all beings creatively and of the Son naturally, He is called a beginning from the beginning, this distinction relying not on creative activity but on the order of divine persons, which they have among themselves and towards others. Therefore, although no one has said that the Son is a source from the source of the Spirit, as a distributor of the Spirit's gifts, it would be true to say so, just as He is called a beginning from the beginning. But how could He be a source from the source of the Spirit's hypostasis, who cannot even simply be called the source of the Spirit's hypostasis as a beginning and cause? That Gregory the Theologian calls the Son of God a beginning from the beginning of created beings, but not of the Spirit, is evident from what he says elsewhere: "God is unbegotten, but the beginning of all," meaning this world. And elsewhere, numbering the superessential hypostases according to the principle of the beginning: "An unbegotten beginning, and that which is with the beginning," and if he meant that the Son is the beginning of the Spirit, he would have said "from the beginning."

11.To seal all this, a testimony from the holy Basil must be added. He, in the eighth book to Amphilochius, included the name of source among the names attributed to the Son of God, not without clearly showing how he calls Him a source. He says: "Again, because of the manifold grace given to us, which, due to the richness of His goodness, is provided to the needy according to His manifold wisdom, He (Scripture) honors Him with many different titles, sometimes calling Him a shepherd, sometimes a king, and again a physician, and the same one a bridegroom, a way, a door, a source, bread, an ax, and a rock. These do not present His nature but the manifold operations which, due to His compassion for His own creation, are provided to the needy according to their need." Where does Scripture honor Him with the name of source? Clearly, it alludes to David saying: "With you is the fountain of life," and Jeremiah saying: "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters," and our Lord Himself saying about Himself that He will give water from which one who drinks will never thirst, thus showing Himself as a source much better than the physical water the Samaritan woman was drawing. Athanasius, following these sayings, also calls the Son the source of the Holy Spirit. As Basil considers the Son a source because of the Spirit's operation, which He made to spring from Himself through His philanthropy, and calls the Father the root and cause of the Spirit as a source, discussing the existence of the divine persons, so Athanasius calls the Father alone the source of divinity, but looking at the gifts of the Spirit, of which our Master has become the source to us, as true God, eternally having the source of these within Himself, thus calls Christ the source of the Spirit, following the guidance of holy Scripture.

THE LATINS ARGUMENTS

12.Therefore, neither the argument of order nor the words of Nyssa and Athanasius align with the true meaning of those words of saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. Our church, in accordance with the foundations of faith, renders them as we have presented, and these words rather support the mentioned meaning. The Latins, however, hunting for certain words within them and interpreting them sophistically and against common assumptions, seem to say something to those who do not pay close attention, as has been adequately demonstrated with God's help. From this, it is clear to those who wish to pay attention how the other sayings of the teachers should be understood, which they bring forward to support the innovation, and how to respond to their sophistic and baseless interpretations. Therefore, we have briefly passed over those sayings, wishing all who desire to be pious to have it readily from the said that the holy teachers speak differently about the Holy Spirit as it is, and differently as it is partaken; differently as eternally receiving, and differently as temporally giving; differently about the hypostasis within God proceeding and being, and differently about the grace poured out and manifested externally. And therefore, one must divide the sayings of the teachers and place each in its context, as they would justly wish them to be placed. What they would wish themselves is evident from the purpose of their words, unless someone wishes to argue out of contention. But whoever mixes all these together will clearly wrong both the sacred doctrines and the teachers, and wrong much more, because those teachers, dividing very well for the sake of not misleading anyone, and doing so even now, from which some are led astray from the right path, have themselves become the cause of this deviation, alas.

ON ‘A PATER PER FILIUM’

5. Part Five: The formula "a Patre per Filium".

† Where it is shown by the sayings of the saints and words that the Son is not the cause of the Spirit; and as in the repetition of what has been said before, the meaning of "through the Son" becomes clear.

a. Sayings of the teachers denying the Son's causality of the Spirit.

1.That it is impossible for the Son to be the cause of the Spirit is first evident from the teachers themselves explicitly denying this. The divine Damascene says in his work on divine names: "The Spirit is of the Father, as it proceeds from the Father; for there is no movement without the Spirit; and it is also the Spirit of the Son, not as from Him, but as proceeding through Him; for the Father alone is the cause." Therefore, according to him, the Son is not the cause of the Spirit. Thus, the preposition "through" here does not signify the cause. The divine Maximus, in his letter to Marinus, says: "From this, they have shown that they do not make the Son the cause of the procession of the Holy Spirit (for they know one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the Father, the one by generation, the other by procession), but that they show the procession through Him, and thereby demonstrate the consubstantiality and unchangeability of the essence." Therefore, the preposition "through" signifies the consubstantiality of the essence, not the cause, and the Son is not the cause of the procession of the Holy Spirit, and there is one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the Father alone; for if there is anything in the divine, it is this. If one were to say that the Son is not the cause of the procession of the Spirit, but the cause of the Spirit, since every beginning can be called the beginning of its own being, but the beginning of its existence can only be called the first cause, thus the Father alone is the cause of the procession of the Spirit.

2.The divine Gregory in the Eulogy says: "The Son has everything from the Father, except the cause." He also says in the work on doctrines and the establishment of bishops: "The authority of the Father is to be the beginning and cause of the divinity seen in the Son and the Spirit." The prerogative of the person must be communicable. In addition, the teacher says that the Father is the cause of the divinity seen in the Son and the Spirit, thus refuting those who misinterpret the saying of Dionysius and explaining its meaning to us. For when he says that only the Father has it, he means that it is the prerogative of the Father; and explaining the superessential divinity, he says it is seen in the Son and the Spirit. He also says in the work on theology: "The properties of the Father are being unbegotten and being the beginning, the beginning as cause and as the source and as the eternal light; the Son is not unbegotten but is the beginning of all." Nyssa says: "For it is one person and the same of the Father, from whom the Son is begotten, and the Holy Spirit proceeds; therefore, we confidently say that there is one cause with His effects, one God." Let these sayings be added to those where it is clearly stated that the Spirit exists from the Father and has the cause of its hypostasis from the Father and has the cause of its being from the Father and proceeds from the Father. Those sayings concerning the unity of the essence and the distribution of the Spirit's gifts belong to the Son, under this form of speech, which no less excludes than if it were said that the Spirit has its existence only from the Father. These sayings we have previously presented.

b. Arguments from common assumptions shared with the Latins, showing that the Son is not the cause of the Spirit, which is the same as saying that the Spirit does not proceed from the Son, in the strict sense of "proceeding" as meaning the specific and hypostatic progress from its own cause.

1.Referring generally to common principles, one will not find it consistent or logical to say that the Son is the cause of the Spirit. Firstly, the Church as a whole has commonly rejected the idea of multiple causes, and many Latins also admit that this is absurd; it is absurd not if there are multiple causes among beings, but if there are believed to be multiple causes among the divine persons. This happens in the Latin assumption; for the Father and the Son, although united in nature, are distinct in hypostasis and two; the Father and the Son must be compared to the Holy Spirit as hypostases in proceeding it. All the teachers, including Nyssa, say that the Spirit proceeds from the paternal hypostasis, so it would also be true according to the Latins to say from the hypostasis of the Son. Just as it is impossible for them to be one hypostasis or one person, it is impossible for them to be one cause of the Spirit. As there is one and undivided in nature, so there will be two distinct in hypostasis. They respond from creation; they say, the Father creates the creation, likewise the Son and the Holy Spirit, and yet there is one creator. But there, the Father, Son, and Spirit create the creation because these hypostases are one God; hence it is the same to say, "The Father, Son, and Spirit create" and "God creates"; for God is the creator. But since God is truly the Father, Son, and Spirit in Himself, the creating is distinguished among these three persons, and the Father creates, the Son and the Spirit create. Here, we cannot say, "God projects the Holy Spirit so that the projecting is distributed among the three persons," but rather, "projecting is assigned to the paternal person," as the Savior said that it proceeds from the Father, and the Apostle said it is from God, meaning the Father, as all teachers interpret.

2.They respond again, saying that even if they are not one cause in terms of hypostases, they are one cause in terms of energy or power, as they proceed this by one energy and have one power of projecting. But it is questioned whether the projecting power is the same in them; hence, it was not necessary to resolve from the questioned. Where could one be convinced that this is true? Where is this said in the Gospels? What council or teacher said that there is one projecting power in the Father and the Son? And even if the projecting power were one, there would still be two causes; for there are two acting by one power. And there would be more two causes if they projected by two powers; but even so, they will not be entirely one cause, nor will they project entirely uniformly because there are multiple subjects to which such energy applies with some difference following the personal distinction, as the Latins say. We want to affirm that there is entirely one cause of the divine persons; for hearing the teachers say that the Father alone and uniquely is Father, that is, begetter and projector, and that the cause and principle of divinity is His property and prerogative, we believe entirely that the Father is the one cause within the divinity.

3.They respond again, saying that the Father and the Son project the Spirit, not as distinct hypostases, but as being in the essence. But first, just as the Father, Son, and Spirit, creating the creation, create it as being in the essence and according to the manner of the will, so also, if the Spirit were projected as the Father and the Son are in the essence, they would project it creatively. For as the Latins use the example of creation to establish one cause, so we can use it to establish the similarity of the projected, whether the three project as in the essence or only the two. But this is obviously impious, and also impossible, assuming the Spirit is a creature. Then, if the essence is the cause as the form only, our previous question remains, that if they are

one cause in the principle of projecting, they will be two causes projecting. We seek entirely to affirm one cause. If the essence is the cause as projecting, it will be the essence in the Father and the Son seen in a subject, of which projecting is an energy; and thus there will be four subjects in God, Father, Son, Spirit, and the common essence of the Father and the Son. Moreover, neither the Father nor the Son project according to the essence, but the divine essence projects in the Father and the Son, and it will be entirely communicable, and thus nothing in God will differ as the cause in no way, which is impossible; or as a subject it will be incommunicable, but communicable in form, and thus the divine essence in the Father and the Son will be another essence as a cause, and a generic cause will project the Spirit, and the Spirit will sometimes share in the divine essence, and sometimes not, and many absurdities will arise from this.

4.They respond again, saying that neither insofar as they are in essence entirely, nor insofar as they are a person, nor insofar as they are two persons entirely, but insofar as these two persons have one projecting power. Firstly, they do not say anything clear; for saying this is nothing other than that in no way in any of these and in all together, and such a response is more of an evasion than a resolution because the resolution gives in to the question. It was necessary to say in terms of one of these, if they intended to resolve. Then again, there is the same question about that power; it will be asked, the unity of that power follows what unity? For every power in the divine, even if it arises from nature and essence, it is either co-measured by divinity, as it encompasses all the hypostases, or it is determined in some person. If then this projecting power is one due to being of one person, again the Father and the Son will be one person; if due to being of one nature, just as the unity of essence does not prevent the Father and the Son from being two hypostases, so the unity of power will not prevent the Father and the Son from being two subjects projecting with one power, and thus being two causes.

5.If they admit everything else but deny that two subjects projecting with one power are two causes, bringing forward the creative power, which is one in three persons, and neither the Trinity of subjects is destroyed by it, nor are there three creators, nor three causes, but the example is dissimilar. There, God, who is the whole divine nature, creates, being the same in the three hypostases in reality; hence it does not create with some reference to the internal, but independently, and then the power is not considered more of the distinct subjects than of the common nature, and therefore just as there is one nature and power in the Father, Son, and Spirit, so there is one cause; it is equal to refer the quantity of cause to both the power and nature. Here, there is no one common to the Father and the Son, and not to the Holy Spirit, where projecting would be an energy, nor is the divine essence the cause of the Spirit as the three hypostases are in it, but also the two hypostases refer to the Spirit, and therefore not to the power, but to the subjects acting, being two, the quantity of the cause will be referred, and it will be dual, as the two are.

6.Moreover, if the projecting power is equally in the Father and the Son as first in each, they are clearly two causes; if the Son receives this power from the Father, and thus the same follows. The Son receives being from the Father, but His being is the same as the Father's and the Spirit's, as it has no opposition to the Spirit; He also receives the power to create, but that is common to the divinity, and the divine persons have no reference to each other by it; for it is in them independently and refers only to the external in acts; hence if each hypostasis has the power to create according to the property of each hypostasis, which they have in themselves and to each other, but such a distinction is in the principle, and therefore does not multiply the cause in them. But if the Son receives the projecting power entirely from the Father, except that it is in the

Son from the Father, as the Latins say, since the Father has a real relation to the Spirit, the Son will have likewise, and thus the Father and the Son will have a real relation to the Spirit each as a cause; and since they do not relate according to essence, but according to hypostases, and relate to it each as a cause, they will be two causes of it, just as they are two hypostases undeniably.

7.Secondly, Dionysius the Areopagite and the great Basil both assert that what is common to the Father and the Son is also common to the Spirit. This would not be the case if the Son shared in the projecting power with the Father, but there would be something common to the Father and the Son that is not common to the Spirit. Thus, the teachers' assertions would be false, and what they fear would come to pass: the Spirit would be inferior in nature and not in the same unity of essence with the Father and the Son. Let us consider this. Every name of a divine person, when said by itself, excludes the other persons from its meaning because every name of a divine person contains everything that is in the others in terms of the essence communally and unitedly, but does not contain what is in them in terms of the property unless antithetically and relationally. Therefore, the Son is not the Father but is what the Father is, according to the great Gregory and the divine Maximus.

8.But when a phrase is predicated of a divine person signifying an energy, if the energy is co-measured and corresponds to the person, the other persons are excluded from that predication, even if they are conceived in terms of opposition, and consequently in terms of nature, because the opposition is in them in the natural relationship, as when we say: "The Father begets"; the person of the Son and the Spirit are excluded and separated from that predication because begetting is equal and corresponds to the hypostasis of the Father as proper to Him alone, even if not only. If that energy surpasses the property of the person, then the other persons are understood under that predication because it extends to the whole divine nature, as when we say: "The Father creates," or "The Father is Almighty," or "The Father is God," or something similar; since the divine essence is each person with the personal property, if the energy fits the property of the person as it is distinctly, it also fits the essence, not as it comprises all properties, but as it distinctly comprises that one; if the energy does not correspond to the property of the person, then it pertains to the divine essence in itself and as it comprises in itself all properties, and thus extends to all hypostases as a common perfection of all. And it is impossible to find any energy not co-measured with each person, nor extending to all; for if any energy surpasses the property of the person, and does not extend to all persons, the excluded person from such energy would be outside the divine essence because such a predication, in which the term is not co-measured to the person to whom it is said, calls the whole divine nature.

9.With these premises, when we say: "The Father projects the Spirit," the projecting is either co-measured and corresponds to the hypostasis of the Father, and thus the Father alone will be the projector; or it surpasses, and then, since it calls upon the whole divine nature, the Son and the Spirit will be understood to partake of this energy, or the Spirit will be outside the divine essence, if the energy calling the divine nature is determined from the Father to the Son. Both of these are false and impossible, which follow the second part of the division; the first part is thus true, that the projecting is co-measured and corresponds to the paternal hypostasis; and thus the Father alone is the projector and the Son is not the projector of the Spirit. – They respond to this, saying that the division is true for all other things except projecting; for this escapes that division. But this response is not necessary, as long as it is questioned whether projecting is common to the

Father and the Son alone; when it is shown to be common, then the response will have a place; but it will only be a question why only projecting is so.

10.They respond again, saying that the projecting would also belong to the Spirit insofar as reason is concerned, but otherwise, it is impossible; for it would neither be the cause of itself nor of any of those proceeding from it (for the principles of divine generation do not reverse), nor of any other; for there is no other subject beyond the Trinity. But this response does not resolve the argument, it only establishes that projecting does not belong to the Spirit and that it would be impossible for it to belong to it. Therefore, we, seeing that projecting does not belong to nor can belong to the Spirit, as the Latins themselves say, assert that the Son is not a projector either, because it would necessarily follow that either of those impossibilities would be. Therefore, it is not because these things are impossible that one must admit to which these follow, but rather that, since these follow as impossibilities, one must consider impossible that to which they follow, if the sequence is true. That the sequence is true is confirmed by the fact that if the Father and the Son project, then the Spirit also projects; the previously mentioned teachers and Latins themselves confirm this, saying that projecting would also belong to the Spirit if it were not hindered by the property of the Spirit. But it makes no difference to us whether it is for this reason or another that they are impossible, as long as they are impossible, to show that the other thing is also impossible, to which these follow.

11.They respond again, saying that the statement of Dionysius and Basil must be interpreted like that evangelical saying, "All that the Father has is mine." But the teachers, interpreting that, add "except begetting and except fatherhood"; whereas they simply say that what is common to the Father and the Son is also common to the Spirit, adding nothing, so they would mean that if something cannot be common to the Father and the Spirit, then it cannot be common to the Father and the Son either. Who would be a better interpreter of what they say than those who said it? These are the ones who say that the Father alone is the source of the superessential divinity, and after this, the Son and together with Him the Spirit are known, and they exist from the Father. Furthermore, how could the Latins also accept Augustine's alien voice into the common foundations of faith, and use Maximus, the wise and noble listener of all the teachers before him, as a guide, wishing to add and submit to the assertions of the teachers with authority, and yet propose such inconsistent and unsupported things?

12.Thirdly, God is a monad and a triad, and He is the same monad and triad, the former by the principle of essence, the latter by the mode of existence, as the holy Maximus says, that is, monad by nature, but triad by persons. And the great Gregory says: "The three are one, and the one is three, in whom is the divinity, or to speak more precisely, who is the divinity." Therefore, God is a triad and a monad, but by no means a dyad, nor do we believe in a dyad. God would also be a dyad if the Father and the Son, as one cause, projected the Holy Spirit; let the Father and the Son be entirely one cause, which has been shown to be impossible in what was said before. Therefore, if the multitude of persons in the divine is made by relations, because the relation in the divine is always to the internal person, and the Spirit relates not only to the Father by the opposition of the cause, nor to the Son by the different mode of being from the cause, but to the Father and the Son as one entirely cause and one relation to them, it will have one relation to one cause, which is its principle, and thus God will be two persons. For every relation to the internal in the divine is of a person, and the real relation of the Spirit to its one principle will be to one person, that its real relation to it may be like the relation of the Spirit to its principle; and thus since beside the Spirit in the divine there is the Father and the Son, and these

as one entirely principle of the Spirit will be one person by the said reasoning, God will be two persons; and it will either be only two and the triad will be abolished, or there will be both dyad and triad, which leads to more absurdities. Moreover, that one which is the one principle of the Spirit will be conceived of as the person of the Father, as it is first in the Trinity, just as the dyad of the triad is conceived; for it is impossible to say that it is both dyad and triad; this would be even more absurd. – They respond to this, saying that the Father and the Son send the Holy Spirit, but God is not a dyad. And the Son and the Spirit are caused by the Father, but God is not for this a dyad. Therefore, neither will God be a dyad because the Father and the Son project the Holy Spirit. – But it must also be said in response to this, that the Father and the Son send the Holy Spirit, but the Spirit also sends itself, when it is sent by the Father and the Son, if sending means giving; for the Spirit is also a gift to creation and the common gift of divinity with other teachers and Augustine says. Therefore, the reasoning is not similar, nor should the same things happen on both sides. For the said things happen because projecting is internal to divinity and some relation and opposition occur internally; but the sending of the Spirit is a common work of the Trinity for the benefit of creation. And the Son and the Spirit are not one caused, but two caused, and therefore in the communion of being from a cause, the Trinity remains a triad. But if there is one cause and one projector and thus one cause, the triad would be a dyad for the aforementioned reasons, or there would be two causes as there are two caused, unless it is to be a dyad.

13.Fourthly, all teachers refer the Son and the Spirit to one cause and call the Father the sole source and beginning of the whole divinity. If the Father and the Son project the Spirit, and it is supposed that they are one cause of the Spirit, it still implies two causes in the Trinity; for there will be one cause that begets and projects, and another cause that only projects; they will not be the same, because one will contain two energies and one person, and the other will contain one energy and two persons. But they respond that there is one cause, and thus: the cause, which is the Father and the Son, refers to the cause, which is the Father alone, since the Son is a cause of the Spirit communally and participatively, while the Father is causeless and self-existent. Moreover, the Father projects the Son by the fecundity of intellect, and thus is the sole cause of the Son. Then He is understood to project the Spirit by the fecundity of will; and since the Son is understood as projected with the perfection of the Father, which He has in begetting Him, the Father and the Son project the Spirit with the same fecundity of will.

14.But these are new theological inventions; if they have heard them from somewhere more ancient, they did not participate in the common tradition of the church. Therefore, we are not obliged to follow them, as often said before; we follow the common and unblemished guidance of all the teachers, believing that the Son and the Spirit proceed and are projected from the Father by the fecundity of nature, except in different ways, with the difference being ineffable and incomprehensible; and we know that creatures exist by the divine will. And that generation and projection are in the Father and act simultaneously, we hear the teachers saying. And the marks of our understanding, by which we consider the former and the latter in our mind, seem very useful to us for having some understanding of divine things; otherwise, our mind would not compose anything about those simplest things, which is its way of knowing; but we do not believe that these apply to divine things at all; for in one mark, all things are there at once. And all these things, we have received not from ourselves, but from the teachers. The Latin example, even if it does not seem to use the temporal former, still uses it; otherwise, it could not infer anything.

15.But to refute such positions belongs to another kind of study; it is enough to say that these ideas about such fecundities are neither necessary nor reputable. Such notions are neither familiar nor credible to us. Since they refer the cause, which is the Father and the Son, to one cause, which is the Father alone, if they ascend by the way of analysis to the higher and first, thus for us, the first cause will be one; but simply, it is not one, but both the referred and that to which it is referred. If they think it insufficient to say that the Father and the Son are the cause of the Spirit unless they specify the Father alone as the first cause, why not say that the Father alone is the cause of the Spirit? This statement does not nullify any truths. But they say that the Father and the Son are the cause of the Spirit, which is false even by their own admission, unless it is added that the Father alone is the cause of the Father and the Son being the cause. Why do they criticize us when they say that the Spirit is of the Son and in the Son, and proceeds from the Father through Him, and from the essence of the Father and the Son, according to the teachers' sayings, and acknowledge that the Father alone is the cause of it just as of the Son? If they do not criticize, why not unite with us in saying the truth? If they say that the cause, which is the Father and the Son of the Spirit, is the same as the cause, which is the Father alone of the Son and the Spirit, but thus they lead to other absurdities, and the Son will be a cause of Himself; for He will act in the begetting and projecting cause, since it is the same cause as the projecting, in which He acts, that is, projects, and thus again a dyad emerges in the divinity, and Sabellianism is resurrected.

16.But what do they say? – The Father is one principle of creation? Yes, if "one" does not mean "alone." The Father, the Son, and the Spirit are one principle of creation? – Yes. – Then the Father, the Son, and the Spirit are two principles of creation or a dyad according to you. – By no means, because the principle of creation is something substantial and common, and encompassing all the divine persons, and there is one energy of creating, fulfilled from the Father through the Son in the Spirit according to the holy teachers. Again they similarly ask: – The Father is one principle of the Son? Yes, if "one" does not mean "alone." – The Father is one principle of the Spirit? – Yes, if "one" does not mean "alone." – Then the Father is two principles in divinity. – By no means, because the principle is predicated of one person, the paternal, and it is not impossible for one person to have two different energies, and thus it is one principle of what proceeds by those energies. But here it clearly follows: the Father is one principle of the Son and the Spirit and "alone" according to the teachers, as shown by saying: the Father and the Son are one principle of the Spirit. Therefore, in divinity, there are two principles or a Sabellian confusion; for the principle of divinity is not predicated substantially, I say substantially here to distinguish it from personally, nor do the same persons encompass each of the principles equally, but one is the principle of two persons in one, not proceeding in the same way; the other is the principle of one person in two proceeding in the same way. Therefore, those objections are irrelevant to the argument, and in every way, two principles appear in divinity, maintaining the Latin position, one, which is the Father alone, another, which is the Father with the Son, having nothing common except being divinity and in divinity, the same and in the same, but neither with the same terms nor energies, nor from the same nor towards the same.

17.Fifthly, from what the Latins themselves precisely determine, it is clear that they do not even fully consider the Son to be the cause of the Spirit; this has been said before and now must be examined more clearly. For they say that the Father, generating the Son, gives Him to project the Spirit through Him. And we agree with this; for since through the Word the Spirit is projected from the Father according to the holy

teachers, and everything attributed to the Son, the Father gives this to Him in generating Him, it is clear that the Father gives Him to project the Spirit through Him. And this is what the holy Cyril says in the Thesaurus, that "the Son has been generated, having all the Father's properties in Himself, and since He is the fruit of the highest divinity, how could He be thought of as devoid of the goods of divinity? A property of divinity is sanctification, of which the Spirit is indicative; for it is holy by nature and sanctifying all creation." And we, following Cyril, acknowledge that the Spirit is in the Son and proceeds through the Son from the Father and is projected, knowing that the Son has all the natural properties of the Father and lacks none of the goods of divinity.

18.We ask the Latins: Does the Son receive the projection of the Spirit through Him in the same way as His being, or in another way? They would not say another way, since not only by being does He receive everything from the Father, but also what He receives, His being is according to them. Therefore, if He receives these in the same way, even if His being and the projection of the Spirit through Him are not entirely the same, but have some difference, let us see how they differ. If He receives them in the same way, because His being is not caused by Him, but He is the cause and principle of the projection of the Spirit through Him? As He receives everything with His being being generated, but He is not the cause of these for Himself, so He receives the projection of the Spirit through Him, but He is not the cause of this for Himself. Therefore, He is not the cause of the Spirit projecting through Him; for it is projected from the Father through the Son, and there is one procession of it, from the Father through the Son. If He were the cause of this projecting from the Father through Him, it would not be projected from the Father through the Son, but rather from the Son through the Father; but this is impossible even according to them. Therefore, He is not the cause of the Spirit projecting through Him; therefore, He is not the cause of projecting at all, thus not even of being; for He receives being projected, just as the Son receives this being generated. But what do they say? The Son receives also the making of beings through Him from the Father, but He is no less the cause of beings made through Him from the Father and the cause of their being no less than the Father.

19.The argument is true because creation, as has often been said, is substantial and common to the three divine persons, and there is one creator and one principle of creation, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, even though the distinction according to hypostases gives this commonality to the three hypostases according to the order they have among themselves and to eternally create. But projecting the Spirit is not of the whole divinity, but of one person according to us, or two, as the Latins say; and for this reason, the teachers say that beings were made through the Son and from the Son, and the Spirit proceeds through the Son and from the Son; but no one says that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, that is, exists from the Son, but only proceeds from the Father through the Son. The European teachers will be discussed shortly. If the Spirit were from the Son as all things are from the Father through the Son, the teachers would also call the Son the principle and cause of the Spirit, just as they hymn Him as the principle and cause of creations, and they would say that the Spirit has its existence from the Son, just as they say that the creation was made by the Son; but they also deny these things about the Son. Then they say that the Spirit proceeds in the Son from the Father and remains in the Son; but they do not say that creation remains in the Son, nor that it proceeds in the Son. And they say that the order of persons is shown only in the fact that beings were made through the Son from the Father; but in the Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son, the unity of essence and the order are shown. Therefore, it is difficult to attempt to provide proofs from such dissimilar things when the difference

in words from their necessity and matter is evident. And furthermore, we say that the Spirit is immediately from the Father; the Latins also agree to this. We say that it is from the Father through the Son, and they also agree. But they say that the Spirit is also immediately from the Son; this we deny, and all our difference in the inquiry about the Spirit is about this. They believe that the Spirit is from the Father and the Son, both of them projecting it directly, but the Son having the projecting from the Father; we believe that it is projected directly from the Father alone, and yet we believe and say that it proceeds from the Father through the Son, marking the unity of divine essence and the order of persons, which is necessary to maintain due to the tradition of the Lord and the sequence of names when we theologize distinctly.

20.Therefore, the teachers themselves are witnesses of our understanding; for those who say that it is through the Son that it proceeds from God also show their understanding, either by what they immediately add or by what they theologize more clearly in other parts. But the Latins do not provide any witness of their understanding to us; for no one says that the Spirit has its existence from the Son, no one says that it exists from the Son, no one says that the Son is the cause and principle of the Spirit, no one says that the Father and the Son are one principle of the Spirit, no one says that they have one projecting power. There is none among our teachers who could be considered interpreters of "through the Son"; they are accustomed to say "through the Son." Thus, we, with much advantage, prevail; for what we say, they agree, but what they alone say, they have no evidence to show from which to prove them.

c. Exposition of our and the teachers' common clear doctrine with a summary of what has been said, which is that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son.

1.From all these things, it appears that the foundation of peace is weak, as they have often dealt with it so simply and grossly, misunderstanding "through the Son" to mean "from the Son," and taking both to mean that the Son is the principle and cause of the Spirit. It has been shown by reason that it is impossible for the Son to be the principle or cause of the Spirit, and many other arguments demonstrate this by those who have written before us on these matters, which we have judged should be sought and found in their books rather than composed in this present work. And the teachers have shown in many statements that the Father alone is the cause, and that the Son is not a cause within the Trinity, and all that agrees with this idea; and the phrase "through the Son" concerning the Spirit does not denote the cause, but something else, as the words of the theologians have made clear. And the sayings of our teachers, from which the Latins think to confirm their doctrine, have been rightly and justly drawn to the common confession and doctrine of the church and the developed theology of the same teachers; but the Latin interpretations are somewhat forceful and sophistical and have shown no necessity. And these being well demonstrated, as has been said about the ecumenical councils and the assistance coming from them to us, and what we have made as proofs that our doctrine is both ancient and true, rightfully hold authority. From which it is also shown that the previous agreement with the Latins was an overturning of our doctrines and a disdain for the examined ancestral doctrines, and an unexamined adoption of foreign doctrines, and the agreements previously made with some of ours with the Latins, forced until recently, were again overturned, the authority of our church having been asserted, differing in no way. Therefore, taking up again the discourse concerning our faith, as a summary of all the

previously said and demonstrated, we briefly give it thus to the true members of our church and to all who demand an account of the faith in us.

2.Following our holy teachers, we believe in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; in a supremely one, simplest, and infinite nature, a triad of hypostases or persons, characterized by three properties, the unbegotten, the begotten, and the proceeding; for the Father is unbegotten and uncaused, the begetter of the Son and the projector of the Spirit; the Son is begotten or generated, and the Spirit proceeding. Hence, we believe the Father to be the source and cause and principle of the Son and the Spirit, and we call Him the fountain of divinity, and theogonic divinity, and the root due to the principality, and the sun as the eternal light, and we hymn Him with such names as the first and principal hypostasis and the only unbegotten, that is, uncaused and self-existent and self-generated, rather unbegotten, not in essence (for in this the whole blessed Trinity is unbegotten and uncaused and first), but in His own hypostasis in comparison to the others; therefore we call the Father the only source of divinity and the only cause, and recognize His prerogative as the principle and cause of the divinity seen in the Son and the Spirit as an incommunicable property.

3.We believe and understand that the Son and the Spirit are like branches or fruits or flowers from that root, or like a twin ray of the sun, or like a twin-streamed river springing from the same source. They arise and exist from the Father in the same nature, yet differently: the Son as the Son of the Father and generation, and Word due to the impassibility of generation; the Spirit as simply from the projector, the Spirit and projection. Therefore, we understand them not only as rivers from a source but also as a river and water from a source; not only as rays from the sun but also as a ray and light from the sun, so that their harmonious conjoined nature is acknowledged through these examples, so that the Spirit is known after the Son in order, and with Him in nature, from the Father. For we must acknowledge the existence of the Son and the Spirit from the Father and preserve the order of the divine persons without confusion, so as to believe the Son of God to be only-begotten, as He is conceived with the Father, and the Spirit not to be the Son, as He is conceived with the Father through the Son.

4.We believe that the Son of God, being by nature the Son and true God, is with the Father, as the sacred sayings declare, and is distinct from Him in terms of personal property, and being in the Father and with Him in essence, wholly in the whole, and no less Himself in the Father than the Father in Him, possesses all the Father's goods. Likewise, the Holy Spirit, not brought in or externally from any higher nature, but naturally conjoined and consubstantial, proceeding as from one principle naturally, even though in a different manner, with the difference indicated by Scripture, and the manner of this difference being ineffable and incomprehensible and preserved by all who think piously and soberly, even if some have taken some analogy from created things to comfort their thoughts, thus preserving the ineffable and incomprehensible in the processions.

5.We believe that the Holy Spirit, which is the current subject of our consideration, not the other articles of faith, proceeds from the Father, that is, exists; for the Father sufficiently and perfectly projects it and establishes it in being uniquely, differently from how He establishes the Son, as a hypostasis causelessly and unbegottenly projecting the Word and the Spirit, a hypostasis in itself and towards itself, in the same unity and simplicity of divinity superessentially and beyond reason. Moreover, we think and say that it proceeds from the Father through the Son, not as the Son being the immediate principle of it, but the Father being the primary and first, just as one might say that Enos came from Adam through Seth or according to some

analogy of sequential causes, in which the second gives to the third the form of the nature which it received from the first (thus nothing would prevent saying that the Son is the principle and cause of the Spirit, and acknowledging the Spirit from the Son, which our teachers avoid), but we understand the Spirit proceeding through the Son in those ways that the words of the holy teachers lead us; for it is not permissible for us to conceive any other notions about what they say than the true and acknowledged ones, which they have conceived from what they say.

d. That in saying the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, the preconception of the Son towards the Spirit is indicated.

1.Firstly, we say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son because it is not without the Son. The conception of the Word is pre-conceived, as Scripture teaches. For it says, "It proceeds from the Father," that is, from the same source whence the Son is begotten, and "baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." And for this reason, some teachers say that the Spirit is joined to the Father through the Son, not as being more joined to the Son and less to the Father, as happens in all things joined to another through another, but as the relationship of the Spirit to the Father is not at all severed by the mediation of the Son, even if the distinction of the processions and the order of the names compel the mediation of the Son in our words and thoughts. If this is so in reality, no one can argue from the sacred writings. The holy Gregory of Nyssa, making this clearer, said that the mediation of the Son both preserves His only-begotten nature and does not sever the Spirit's natural relationship with the Father. For the Spirit proceeds from the Father according to the Savior's voice, and in this procession and relationship to the Father, the Son is also conceived, who is neither separated from the Father subsisting, nor from the Spirit subsisting, but does not subsist with the Father, yet subsists with the Spirit, and thus is conceived with the Spirit proceeding and believed to proceed together. But again, the Spirit is pre-conceived as proceeding from the Father, so that both are not believed to be sons. The Spirit is not pre-conceived so that we do not confuse the established order of the Son, nor are we led to strange notions by the transposition of these names. For it would seem to some that the Spirit is a Son, to others that it is a Father, and much more it would seem that the Son is the Son of both when conceived after the Spirit, or now it seems to the Latins that the Spirit subsists from the Son, because the Son is pre-conceived and preferred in order. Wherefore the title of the Son more clearly has the relation of cause, and it is impossible for someone to be a son of another unless begotten by him. Therefore, to preserve the only-begotten nature of the Son, since the paternal name leads to the notion of the begetter, and the order of the divine names is preserved, we reasonably pre-conceive the Son in the procession of the Spirit, and we say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through Him as pre-conceived. And this would be expressed in one word, saying through the Son as not without the Son, taking the pre-conception and mediation alone from those which we say are, as the not without them, not the external and comprehensive or collective and causal.

e. That from this the essential consubstantiality of the Son and the Spirit becomes clear.

ON 'A PATER PER FILIUM'

1.Secondly, we say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, so that it is not thought to be somehow separated from the Son. For hearing that the Son is begotten from the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, some might have thought these are separated from each other and distinct from each other as two complete wholes, connected only by the communion of nature and the principle from which they receive their nature, not also to each other as having one and the same nature in number. They are misled by those examples where the Son and the Spirit are likened to two rivers flowing from the same source, or two branches sprouting from the same root, or two brothers born from one man. These examples, though good at representing the order of the Son and the Spirit towards the Father, do not equally show the order of the Son towards the Spirit, nor that they are in each other. To avoid completely relying on those examples, we say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, as through Him it is both proper and own, so to speak. For the Spirit, in order, is after the Son but with Him in nature from the Father, and through the nature and hypostasis of the Son, it is completed and defined in its own hypostasis, as if to say, even though no example of this is found in things that exist, only the propositions of faith necessarily lead us to these notions. Even if one speaks of an eye, a source, and a river, or a root, a branch, and a fruit, or something else of the sort, it will be shown that the Spirit is after the Son in each of these examples; but that it is with the Son and in the Son, these examples will in no way be able to show. These have been taken by some only for the sake of distinguishing the divine persons in the unity of their own nature by these examples and showing their order contrary to the error of Sabellius. The river is connected to the source, and the fruit to the branch, so the Spirit is connected to the Son and the Son to the Father without mingling. And in one nature they are connected according to the likeness of these examples. One nature is through the source and the river and the water, and even more clearly through the root and the branch and the fruit, though not as one as in the divine. Up to this point, there is some similarity, but the rest are completely dissimilar. These are bodily arranged, one after another, not one in another nor in each other. The divine, though ordered, are no less in each other, as if they were not ordered, and they are completely one thing, except for the personal distinction among them. This being superessential and due to their infinite and extreme simplicity, there is no example to be found in things that exist.

2.Therefore, following such notions, we believe and say that the Spirit proceeds through the Son, understanding that it passes through Him, so to speak. And if any extension of this is re-established by us in those processions, it is due to our weakness of sight and the height and greatness of the matter. Thus, the Spirit is extended with the Son and passes through Him and remains in Him, and thus it is His, and no less defined in its own hypostasis and only having its being from the Father. Therefore, Cyril says in the Thesaurus: "As the arm is naturally joined to the whole body, performing all actions as the mind wills, using the finger for this, so we think of the Word of God as naturally joined from and in Him and inherent, and the Spirit naturally and essentially proceeding from the Father in the Son, through whom He sanctifies all. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is not seen as foreign or alienated from the divine nature, but from it and in it naturally."

3.And Maximus in the letter to Marinus says: "But to show the proceeding through Him, and thereby demonstrate the essential consubstantiality." The laws of holy theology want the Holy Spirit and the Son of God to be united not only by proceeding from the same source, nor only by this does the Holy Trinity unite, but also by one proceeding through the other and, so to speak, mixing harmoniously with each other. The

proceeding through each other for natural consubstantiality does not differ at all, but it fits much more with the given order and personal distinction of the divine. Thus, we say that the preposition "through" equals "in" in saying that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, not as the Latins say more grossly. And thus we piously interpret the sayings of the European fathers, taking "from" as "through," or rather understanding "from" instead of "through," and considering a natural order in "through" in those superessential things, surpassing all created likeness, in which nothing is distinguished through something except with some reservation, either by nature or worth. Removing all such reserved notions, we accept only the consubstantiality and place it in the divine persons by nature and essence alone. Thus, we say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father as the first cause of all, and it proceeds, so to speak, through the Son, to demonstrate the consubstantiality and unchangeability of the essence. For the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father by essence is clear from the names and generation (for it is necessary that the Son of God generated from Him by nature is similar to the generating God; this is the case in lower generation, and much more is the likeness of nature there greater, hence both are one, rather the three hypostases are God). Since this is so, the consubstantiality of the Spirit with God the Father is not similarly evident from these names and the procession, as the names are more common and cannot signify a specific manner of natural progression from the phrase. Therefore, saying that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, as Scripture says, to demonstrate the consubstantiality by essence, we add "through the Son." For it is not possible for the Holy Spirit, proceeding and, so to speak, passing through the Son according to divine Cyril, not to be of the same essence as God and the Father. If the Son is consubstantial with the Father as His Son by nature, and the Holy Spirit defined in its proper property through the nature and hypostasis of the Son and naturally and consubstantially proceeding and passing through Him, so to speak, is consubstantial with Him, it is clear that the Spirit is also consubstantial with the Father like the Son, and thus the blessed Trinity is summed up and united in one unity of nature," according to the holy Athanasius.

f. How the essential consubstantiality of the three hypostases and the unity and monarchy of the divinity is thereby revealed.

1.To further accommodate the Latins' insistence and contentiousness while keeping the truth, in saying that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, we not only understand the unity of the divine essence in the Son and Spirit, as said before, but also perceive this unity in the Father and the Son. For it is clear, according to the holy Athanasius, that the Son is the essence of the Father, and according to the great theologian Gregory, in his discourse on the Spirit: "The Son is not the Father (for there is one Father), but He is what the Father is, and the Spirit is not the Son, for He is from God (for there is one only-begotten), but He is what the Son is." And Maximus, in the sixty-second letter to Thalassios, following Gregory's path as in other matters, also here says: "The Son is not the Father, but He is what the Father is, and the Father is not the Son, but He is what the Son is." Therefore, according to these holy teachers, fatherhood and sonship are incommunicable and distinct in the Father and the Son; what they are is one in them, undividedly and in extreme identity shared through generation from the Father to the Son; this is the divine essence. The Father is Father by fatherhood but is simply by the divine essence; and as He is, so He acts naturally. Therefore, the Father acts, having the Fatherhood, He is Father by fatherhood; He acts by essence, which is simply, and by it,

He begets and projects. So it is true to say that the Father begets the Son and projects the Spirit by the essence, and it is the same to say by the essence and through the essence. Many of our and the Latin teachers taught that the Son is begotten from the essence of the Father to avoid the idea that the divine essence begets, which is impossible; and that it is better to say the Son is begotten through the essence of the Father than from the essence, as many Latin teachers say.

2.If the essence of the Father is the Son and what the Father is, according to the holy teachers, it is true to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father by the essence and through the essence, just as the Son is said to be begotten from the essence of the Father, that is, from the Father by the essence and through the essence. Therefore, it is true, rather necessary, to say that the Spirit is projected from the Father through the Son. But just as it is impossible to say that the essence in the Father is the principle projecting the Spirit as a hypostasis and subject, but rather in another aspect of the principle, it is similarly impossible to truly conceive the Son in "through the Son" as the principle projecting the Spirit, but only as said, as through one united with the Father by nature, connected in hypostasis, as conceived directly from the Father, believing and thinking that the Spirit proceeds from the Father; and thus the essential unity, rather the super-unity, of the divine essence in the Trinity of hypostases is well revealed. This aligns with the view of the great Basil, who says that the Holy Spirit is known after the Son and with Him, but from the Father, and confirms this as distinctive of the hypostatic property. This also aligns clearly with Maximus, who says the Romans of that time said the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son to show the consubstantiality and unchangeability of the essence and praised this view. For he also considers Cyril, Basil, and nearly all teachers saying everything from the Father through the Son and in the Spirit, and returning to Him, preserving the unity of the divine essence and monarchy, following Paul, who says everything was made by the Father through the Son in the Spirit and theologizes that the Spirit is poured out from the Father through the Son to humans, always weaving that triple strand, as one teacher said.

3.Holy Athanasius, in his letter to Serapion, says: "As there is one baptism, so there is one faith. The one who believes in the Father knows the Son in the Father, and the Spirit is not outside the Son, and therefore believes in the Son and the Holy Spirit, as the divinity of the Trinity is known from one Father." Here, the Spirit is said not to be outside the Word, as we previously said it is not without the Son. And again: "The Father does everything through the Word in the Holy Spirit, and thus the unity of the Holy Trinity is preserved, and thus one God is proclaimed in the Church, who is over all, through all, and in all; over all as Father, as beginning and source; through all, through the Word; in all, in the Holy Spirit." The Trinity is not only in name and appearance but in truth and existence as a Trinity." Divine Basil, in the eighteenth letter to Amphilochios, says: "The way of knowing God is from the one Spirit through the one Son to the one Father, and conversely, the natural goodness and the natural sanctification and the kingly dignity proceed from the Father through the Only-begotten to the Spirit. Thus the hypostases are confessed, and the pious doctrine of monarchy is maintained."

4.All the teachers say the same things, whether speaking of our creation, our recreation, and all gifts from God to us, our ascent and return to Him, not without His grace, or the very existence of the Spirit from the Father, always uniting the Son to the Father and the Spirit through Him in all these discourses, thus maintaining the unity of the divine essence and preserving the monarchy. But neither is the gift, existence, and order of the Spirit identical to our ascent to God and His natural goodness flowing to His creatures, nor

should all be placed equally on these; for while God creates, sanctifies, and does all things proper to God through the Son, and the Son is understood as creating unchangeably as the Father, so also the Spirit, Cyril says in the sixth book against Hermias: "Everything equally through both, the Father acting, having the energy and will through the Son and with Him in the Spirit." And in the Thesaurus, he says: "The Father has the power to create, and likewise to sanctify and do all things proper to God, all through the Son; for He is always with the Father as the radiance with the light." Basil calls the Son the leader and cause of the Spirit's gifts, though given through the Son, but when we are conformed to the Son through the Spirit for the adoption of the Father, and we know the Father from the Spirit through the Son, we no longer consider the Son the cause of the Spirit. Thus, hearing that the Spirit proceeds through the Son from the Father, we do not necessarily consider the Son the cause of the Spirit, but only understand it is said for the consubstantiality of the essence; if not, Maximus' words in the letter to Marinus would be in vain, and the Damascene's many denials of the Son being the cause would be in vain; and Athanasius saying the Spirit is not outside the Word, which is the same as through the Son, knowing the one divinity from one Father.

g. How in saying the Spirit proceeds through the Son, a certain progression from the Son is understood, not for the sake of subsistence, but for the sake of distinction and separation only.

1.Thirdly, since the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and abides in the Son, as the holy teachers say (John of Damascus says the Spirit proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son; Gregory the Dialogist says, "The Paraclete Spirit proceeds from the Father and abides in the Son"; and in the periods of the Apostle Andrew it is said, "And in one Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and abiding in the Son"): given this, so that the Spirit is not thought to subsist indiscriminately in the Son, it is said to proceed through the Son, which Cyril more clearly stated as passing through the Son, thereby expressing in a brief and condensed manner both proceeding through the Son and abiding in the Son. And this progression indicates the distinction of the hypostasis from the hypostasis, not the cause nor the progression into being from the existing principle; for each hypostasis remaining in its own terms and marks, mixing with none of the others, the divine Dionysius considers one of the modes of distinction.

2.As the Spirit is conceived as distinct from the Father when it is thought and said to proceed from Him, so it is conceived as distinct from the Son when it is thought and said to proceed through Him. But there, the Father is considered the cause of the Spirit's existence, while here the distinction does not imply the cause of its existence; for it is neither necessary to think so, nor is it handed down to us from the sacred writings. The Spirit is sufficiently understood as subsisting uniquely and fulfilling the blessed Trinity in having its existence from the Father, just as the Son has His existence from Him through generation; and as far as subsisting in the divine nature from the first cause, from which it naturally springs forth, there would be no need to proceed through the Son or from the Son. But it is sufficiently distinguished from the Son by the different mode of its procession from the Father, and there is no need to add anything to the concept of distinction, as has been previously demonstrated by the words of the teachers.

3.But since it is said and believed to abide in the Son and be in the Son, so that such well and truly believed notions do not harm the distinction that springs from it to us, and so that the doctrine of piety is firmly maintained everywhere, we also affirm the distinction by saying it proceeds through Him, as if it

emerges from His hypostasis from its abiding in Him. For it abides in Him by nature indissolubly always; but subsisting, it proceeds from Him as defined by its own marks and personally separating from Him. And this is what the blessed Gregory of Nyssa meant by saying it appears and shines forth through the Son, yet subsists from the Father and has its cause of subsistence from Him; that when it is thought to abide in the Son and not emerging from Him, as if to say, the light of the Spirit is hidden in the Son, well subsisting by its own cause's procession, but somehow hidden in the begotten light and escaping our mind. But when it is thought to proceed through Him and from Him, it then clearly shines forth in its proper distinct property. It is also said that the Spirit was sent to men through the Son, as the revelation to Gregory the Wonderworker says, and many teachers also say this, but Gregory of Nyssa has this understanding. The Spirit, while being distinguished in some way by its temporal and transient manifestation to us and our perception, through which, among its other eternal marks, it is characterized, just as the Son of God is known by us with many properties from His economy, thus the holy Dionysius and some other holy teachers distinguish the Son of God from the Father and the Spirit, even in the monadic adoption.

4.But also eternally showing the Spirit through the Son by the concept of distinction is true, and Gregory of Nyssa seems to wish this. Just as when the Son of God says, "I am in the Father, and the Father in Me," He affirms that He and the Father are one; when He says, "I came forth from the Father and have come," He shows that He is distinct from the Father. Likewise, when Athanasius says in the letter to Serapion that the Spirit is in the Son and the Son in the Spirit, he affirms the unity of nature; but when he says it proceeds through the Son, he and the other teachers show their distinction in hypostasis. For how could the Spirit be conceived distinctly without some procession indicating its distinction from the Son, in whom it is believed to abide? Even proceeding through Him, it is no less in Him, just as the Son is in the Father, proceeding from Him. "For even if each has a distinct hypostasis, the complete determination does not admit," says Cyril in the sixth book against Hermias. Therefore, the Spirit is in the Father and the Son by nature and is distinguished from them in hypostasis by proceeding from the Father through the Son. The procession from the Father is the cause, as has been said; the procession through the Son is only for distinction. Substantiating from the Father and thus distinguished from Him, yet being in the Son, it is understood as emerging from Him and separating, thus with the distinction appearing the series and order that the divine word delivers, so that truth everywhere agrees with itself. The Spirit must be separated from the Son to refute the Sabellian confusion; it must be united with the Son to overthrow the Arian and Pneumatomachian impiety; it must be thought after the Son to maintain the order that the divine law compels us to keep; it must be confessed and believed from the Father to attribute to it the dignity of divinity from the theogonic and fountain divinity, as to the Son of God, and also not to be anarchic. All these things are well revealed in saying it proceeds from the Father through the Son.

5.It is said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father because it subsists from Him, has its being from Him, has the cause of its existence from Him, and has the cause of its procession from Him. The theologians say these things. To the "from the Father" is added "through the Son," so that it may be understood to be in the Son (for it would never come through Him without being in Him), and that it may be believed to be distinct from Him; this is the meaning of passing through and going forth, to be distinguished, as long as things are incommunicable, they are indistinguishable from those in which they are incommunicable. And so that the Spirit may be revealed as third from the Father in the arrangement of the names alone, as Cyril says, the Holy

Spirit is shown forth to us after the Son from the Father, and one divinity is preserved in the order of the divine names and subjects. Since those who separate the Spirit from the Word no longer preserve one divinity in the Trinity, the holy Athanasius says in the letter to Serapion. On the contrary, those who say it proceeds through the Son join the divine hypostases as in a single chain, and in saying the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, they make the Father the sole cause and show the consubstantiality of the essence, as the divine Maximus has said.

6.The procession indicates not only the unique progression into being of the divine person from another divine person but also simply the distinction from a person, and proceeds for the sake of being distinguished and known as distinct. It is distinguished either by cause oppositely if it has its being from it, or otherwise as the property and existence of the hypostases require. And that terms like progressing and emerging are not our words but those of the teachers, a worthy witness of the teachers will suffice, whom even the Latins rightly consider sufficient in all matters where they believe he agrees with them, though they are mistaken. For he says in the fifth book against Hermias about the Son in relation to the Father: "If then it were said that He is the character of the hypostasis of the Father, understand Him as inseparably and intimately united and as the form of the begetter. And when it is also said to be the radiance of light proceeding and shining forth, understand it as almost a progression from the Father towards the external, neither entirely detached from the hypostasis from which it is, nor entirely contracted, but emerging into being of its own existence. For the Son is consubstantial with the nature of the Father, as almost possessing it and not enduring the cut at all, yet subsists uniquely and is truly a Son." And again in the sixth book against Hermias, he says about the Son: "Rather, as wisdom and power of the Father, so also He is glory, radiantly shining forth from the essence of the begetter and indicating the nature from which He came through Himself, like a ray of the sun and radiance of light emerging from the essence of the source."

7.Clearly, he says the Son emerges into His own being, into His own existence, and His progression from the Father is almost a movement towards the external; otherwise, He would not be conceived as distinct. But the reason for the distinction is not the distinction itself, but the manner in which He is distinguished; the Son is distinguished from the Father by oppositional causality. Therefore, the same must be understood about the Spirit, that saying it proceeds through the Son means it almost emerges into its own being towards its own existence; otherwise, it would not be conceived as distinct in hypostasis if it were only said to abide and be in Him by nature. But the reason for the distinction is not the distinction itself, but the manner in which it is distinguished, as has been previously demonstrated.

8.That this teacher does not attribute the same reason for the distinction is clear from what he adds about the Spirit in the same discourse. Having said that the Lord said, "He will take from what is Mine," indicating the essential and natural relationship, he adds: "For being the Spirit of wisdom and power, it is indeed wisdom and power, preserving the entire energy of the proceeding one in itself and as in its own nature clearly showing what it is." For he means that proceeding and breathing the Spirit is common to the Father and the Son; for this reason, it is called the Spirit of the Father and the Son in Scripture and breath by the holy teachers, because it is naturally breathed and sent forth from both, as Cyril says in the Thesaurus: "Naturally sent forth from the divine essence, it has the entire energy of the Father and the Son. For when it is sent forth, it fulfills the presence of the Father and the Son." This means that proceeding and sending forth the Spirit is common to the Father and the Son, and it is conceived as distinguished from them in proceeding

and being breathed by them. However, he does not attribute the same reason for the distinction. Therefore, about the Son, he says, "It signifies the nature from which He came," that is, from the Father; about the Spirit, speaking of it and the Son, he says, "In itself, it shows in its own nature the nature from which it is," meaning it is the Spirit of the Son. Thus Damascene rightly agrees with Cyril, saying, "We call it the Spirit of the Son, but we do not say it is from the Son." Hearing Cyril say it proceeds from the Son and through the Son, he rightly understood these in the context of the discourse, as we have also shown in the previous discourse.

h. That these explanations are not contradictory to each other, but from all these, one true understanding is gathered, distinct from the understanding of the Latins.

1.If we have now demonstrated that "through the Son" indicates a certain progression of distinction, and previously the consubstantiality of essence, there is no need to be surprised; for both are true, and the teachers have used this intention in both concepts. And rightly so; for distinction in the divine brings the notion of unity, and unity carries the understanding of distinction, and there is no true distinction in the divine without somehow implying unity, nor unity without immediately giving the idea of distinction. Therefore, the holy fathers make the procession of the Spirit from the Father a sign of hypostatic distinction and essential unity, and likewise for the generation of the Son from the Father; and there is no need to bring proofs for this, as it is clear to anyone even slightly familiar with the teachings of the teachers. Since, therefore, the unity of essence is indicated in the Spirit proceeding through the Son, it is not unreasonable to understand the distinction of hypostases through this, and vice versa; the teachers use it according to the need at the moment, and it seems to divide it; hence they sometimes construct the consubstantiality alone from this, and sometimes the distinction. But we, gathering the individual and separate concepts of the teachers, as they would have wished, combine the truth from all.

2.For they had their reasons for their statements at each time; but our present need urges us to gather all their opinions together, and to understand whether they intended to show the cause in "through the Son," as the Latins now think, or wished to teach us something else. This was easily resolved by the letter of Maximus to Marinus; for that shows the opinion of all the other teachers and Maximus himself and the Latins of that time; for the Latins still listened more sensibly to the teachers. But still, we ought to find and clearly express this from the teachers themselves and the common assumptions, to convince all who wish to heed our teachers, that they were far from thinking the Son the cause of the Spirit's hypostasis in saying the Spirit proceeds through the Son, and even further from saying it proceeds from the Son, knowing the Son as cause from the cause and principle from the principle; without this, it would be indifferent to use these intentions; for it is great folly and ignorance about our teachers to think so, clearly showing their own intention, as is clear to even the blind what is said. We think we are now doing the teachers a favor, gathering their opinion into one from all sides; for sometimes they do gather it. For what else does Gregory of Nyssa mean when he says about the divine persons that the Holy Spirit has its cause of being from the God of all, whence it is true light, and shines forth through the true light? And again, shining forth through the Son but having the cause of its hypostasis from the prototype light? Does he not say the same as his brother who says the Spirit has the

characteristic sign of hypostatic property, being known after and with the Son, but subsisting from the Father? Certainly, if the other does not say it more imperfectly.

3.Therefore, shining forth through the Son means being known after and with the Son, just as subsisting from the Father means having the cause of hypostasis from the prototype light; but shining forth after and with the Son means the consubstantiality and personal distinction and order towards the Son of the Spirit; for being with Him means unity, being after Him means distinction and the consequent order. Therefore, "through the Son" signifies both unity and distinction, so it was rightly said before that saying "through the Son" is the same as after and with the Son, and now it is more clearly demonstrated that in "through the Son," our teachers signify the unity and distinction of the Son and the Spirit, not thinking the Son a cause from a cause.

i.That according to the premises, those statements of the teachers in which it is said that the Spirit is or proceeds through the Son are easily and truly shown to be ours.

1.Thus, we understand those holy teachers when they say that the Holy Spirit is from the Father through the Son, or is projected, or proceeds. And we use the statement of Athanasius himself as our teacher and interpreter; for he says thus, refuting the hypocrisy of those around Eusebius of Samosata: “Nevertheless, understanding the impassible generation of the Son through such an explanation, they alienate the Spirit from the Father and the Son, because its procession is not by generation but is likened to breath, through the participation, like breath coming from the mouth and sanctifying the receiver, as it is said of the Spirit. It would be impossible for the Spirit to be glorified in the glory of the Trinity if it were not pre-eternally from God through the Son, but were made by God, as they say; for a creation is not glorified with its creator, nor a servant with its master, nor would participation in the alien essence of God be participation in God. For in this we know, says John, that He is in us, from the Spirit He has given us. For, having prepared from what those around Eusebius themselves agree upon, that the Son is consubstantial with the Father, even though they wickedly do not accept this term, as if from what they seem to agree, they later secretly destroy the identity of the essence through the term of consubstantial, and then he also sets a word of theirs about the Spirit, by which they attempted to show the Spirit alien to the Father and the Son; for they said the procession of the Son is generation, a natural procession of a divine hypostasis from a hypostasis, and therefore the Son is from the divine essence; but the procession of the Spirit is not by generation but by breath, it is not a procession of a hypostasis from a hypostasis, nor is the Spirit from the divine essence, but the participation which we partake of God is the Spirit of God, like breath coming from the mouth and sanctifying the receiver. This argument the great one refutes in two ways. First, he overthrows it from what is confessed about the Spirit; for the Spirit, he says, is glorified in the glory of the Trinity, and whenever we praise the one God in the Trinity, we include the Spirit, understanding that supreme and simplest unity of the divinity from the Father through the Son to the Spirit supremely, and therefore we believe and confess the blessed Trinity to be a united triad; this would be impossible if the Spirit were not pre-eternally from God through the Son, but were made, as they say; for it would rather be numbered among the creatures and not be glorified with the Father and the Son.

2.Therefore, proceeding from the Father through the Son, it is glorified in the glory of the unity; for this is the divine Trinity, the divine nature itself, orderly encompassing these three hypostases; and being glorified in the glory of the Trinity, it is reasonably God and not a creation, if God is confessed to be a Trinity; for a creation is not glorified with its creator, nor a servant with its master. This same point he makes in the discourse on the Incarnation: "It is impious to say the Spirit of God is created or made, since all Scripture, both old and new, numbers and glorifies it with the Father and the Son." Therefore, being numbered with the Father and the Son, he says, means being from God through the Son, and this is a reason of the blessed Trinity, that the Spirit is from the Father through the Son, that is, the blessed essence from the Father through the Son to the Spirit is defined, so to speak.

3.Then he gives a second argument. "To partake of the alien essence of God is not to partake of God; but in partaking of the Spirit, we know we partake of God, as the blessed John says. Therefore, the Spirit is not alien to the divine essence. He says, it is from God not made, but pre-eternally, that is, it proceeds, not created; and pre-eternally is opposed to made, as naturally to voluntarily; and he says it is from God through the Son, because breath is not separated from generation, as they say, but differs, and is not outside of it. And the Spirit is distinguished from the Son, but is not outside Him, as he says elsewhere; and thus being from the Father through the Son, which they agreed is from the divine essence, even if wickedly, it is reasonably glorified in the glory of the Trinity, as completing the blessed Trinity, in the unity of its essence, and is necessarily God. Thus, one should heed the Seventh Ecumenical Council saying: And in the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father through the Son, and adding: And known to be God."

4.And the divine Maximus: "The Holy Spirit, as it exists according to essence from God and the Father," he says, "so also it is according to essence from the Son, as it proceeds essentially from the Father through the Son who was begotten." And what wonder if the divine Maximus makes the procession from the Father through the begotten Son a demonstration of the Spirit's consubstantiality with the Father and the Son, where even the pouring out from the Father through the Son, which is later and temporal, is made a sign of essential identity. For if it is shown, says the divine Athanasius, that the Spirit from the Father through the Son is of the same nature and divinity as in the Son and the Father, it will be shown to be worthy of worship and veneration." And he brings the proof from there. And John of Damascus, the power that searches the depths of God and reveals them to us, as a spirit (for no one knows the things of a man, except the spirit of the man which is in him), says this revealing power, the Holy Spirit, proceeds from the Father through the Son. And again, that the Father is the begetter of the Word, and through the Word the projector of this revealing Spirit. For he did not mean to say the begetter through the Word, but he says the projector of the Spirit as of the Word; and he adds through the Word to indicate the order of the persons and the consubstantiality of the essence by such mediation of the Word. But he does not indicate the Word as the projector of the Spirit; from where? As he does not admit the Spirit to be from the Son nor to have its existence from Him, and says the Father alone is its cause.

5.Therefore, we are so far from being disturbed by four or five statements where it is said that the Spirit is from God through the Son or proceeds, that we honor them equally with the others and want them to be in agreement with them, and understand them according to the premises, as not showing the Son as the cause of the Spirit, but as indicating the established order of the divine names and the actual distinction of the persons and the unity of the essence shining through all these. But whenever we hear the teachers saying that

the Spirit is given, granted, sent, or manifested to creation from the Father through the Son, which statements are almost countless, in all these we understand the cause along with the said things, not because of the preposition, but because we believe the work understood in these statements to be a common work of the whole divinity, in which all the hypostases equally act, attributing the work to one energy, because this energy belongs to them as they are indistinguishable; all this was previously clearly demonstrated, and now Cyril the holy will sufficiently confirm these things for us, saying in the Thesaurus: "Having clearly preserved the unity of the Father and the Son, he placed 'direct' in the singular, not as if it were the Father's alone and another's work of the Son, but as from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit, the gifts being sent from the one divinity to the worthy."

THE AGREEMENT OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS

6. Part Six: Agreement of the Greek and Latin Fathers

† In which it is shown how the holy teachers should be reconciled with each other; and that the writings of the European teachers should be drawn to the type of the Asians and our teachers, and how this type is clearer, more authoritative, and more in accordance with the principles of faith; and that otherwise, attempting to reconcile them, they are shown to be more contradictory; and an epilogue of the entire treatise. I hope this translation meets your needs, retaining the theological depth and nuances of the original text. Let me know if you need further assistance!

1.With these premises sufficiently established and demonstrated, it is clear that the European fathers also speak truthfully and in agreement with the teachers from Asia concerning the Holy Spirit. For they say it proceeds from the Son, not making the Son the cause of the Spirit, but saying it is from the Son as through the Son; this, in turn, reveals the essential unity in the distinct hypostases. The great Maximus is a trustworthy witness, and those Romans of his time, by their antiquity and all just measures, are more credible in the explanations of the teachers than the modern Latins. Even without such testimony, it is evident from their writings that they had this understanding. For Hilary, in his work on the Trinity, says, "May I be deemed worthy of the Holy Spirit, which is from You through Your Only-begotten." This type of theology he took from the canonical scriptures and the foundations of faith, being a most accurate teacher and following the ancient and secure path, which all our leaders praised. Therefore, from where he took this type, he also drew the meaning of what he said, and as our teachers have shown, understanding "through the Son," so he also understood.

2.Then, the Latins use the preposition "through" instead of "from," but when someone says that something happened "through me," it means "by me," just as Scripture uses this preposition in many places. However, as they now require us to use it, they themselves have not used it and therefore do not want to say "from the Father through the Son"; they allow us this only malignantly, as if to gain what they want and convert us to their doctrine. Conversely, it would be true for them to say that the Son projects the Spirit through the Father, meaning through the Father, because the Father gave Him the power to project. Thus, it is usual for them to use the preposition in this way. Therefore, if Hilary did not conform his speech to the opinion of the Asians, he would have preserved the idiom of his own language, in which he wrote these things. Hence, he did not think the Son to be the cause of the Spirit, but said it is from the Father through the Son, as not without the Son, not outside the Son, as after and with the Son, for the sake of the order of the names and the unity of essence, and overall for the reasons we have worked out previously.

3.That among the Latins the preposition "through" denotes a passage, a connection, and a union, in their other matters it is fitting to each, but in divine matters, it is understood in a manner befitting God, as those who know their language's idiom understand. It is no wonder, since procession in divine matters is understood in a manner befitting God. Thus, we say there both passage and proceeding, not as if the Son's hypostasis is subordinated to the Spirit, as when we say something goes through land or sea, as through a continuous medium, without implying any material movement, not considering the Son an instrumental or ministerial cause, if we do not wish to consider Him a cause at all, but indicating that breath is not separated from generation, nor is the Holy Spirit from the Son; these things are united and distinct, as we say warmth

comes from the sun through the light to us, as being conjoined with the light and united with it, though the analogy is different, or as Gregory of Nyssa says in the third book against Eunomius about the holy powers, "They have holiness inherent in their whole hypostasis from their natural communion with the holy," or as Cyril says it proceeds through the Son, and again in a manner befitting God, proceeds through the Son, in his commentaries on the Gospel.

4.Thus, Hilary says the Spirit is from God through the Son, to which the Latins should pay more heed than to those who made the addition, as he agreed with the common opinion of the church. Ambrose also, in his book against Macedonius, says the same: "The Apostle calls it the Spirit of God, and consequently the Spirit of Christ. Observe that here the person of Christ is indicated by the title of God; if the Father is not indicated, then the Spirit is signified by the title of God; here the Holy Spirit, by the unity of essence, is shown to be the Spirit of both the Father and the Son, and it is reasonably known to proceed from both and to have a distinct hypostasis in the bond of the Trinity."

5.Therefore, we also never deny the principle of unity and distinction, and that the Holy Spirit is both in both and proceeds from both; for we do not know how else it would be distinguished from the Son, being in Him, or how it could be united with the Son in the supreme union of nature while being personally distinct, if not believed to proceed through and from Him, when it is believed to proceed from its own cause, rather from the common cause of the divinity, I mean the Father. The unity of the divine nature, as it is in the Father and the Son, necessitates that it is in both; and the distinction, that it proceeds from both, but not as subsisting from both, but subsisting from the Father, whence also the Son, and conjoined to the hypostasis of the Son simultaneously, so to speak, and simultaneously distinct to be uniquely. For it has been said previously that some progression is of cause and distinction, and some, only of distinction; it is not necessary that if the Spirit is to be distinguished from the Son, it must have its cause from Him, but rather the Spirit of the Father, subsisting pre-eternally from Him, is sufficient to be distinct from the Son, and all teachers say this, as demonstrated previously, and many Latin teachers also think so. The understanding that it proceeds through the Son is compelled by other assumptions of faith, the infinity and unity of that divine essence and the distinction and order of the hypostases, which the divine word has delivered to us; but not for these reasons would we consider something that seems to common faith, nor is it necessary, and besides, it would be contrary to the personal dignity of the Father and the equality of the Spirit with the Son and the Father. We think these things, as shown previously, and Ambrose agrees with us, showing by the unity of the essence that it is called the Spirit of both, and by the necessity that it also has a distinct hypostasis in the bond, that is, in the series and intertwining of the blessed Trinity, and proceeds from both, as we might more clearly say, from the Father through the Son.

6.And the same teacher, in the same discourse, says: "It is said to be sent from the Father and the Son, so that it may be known to proceed from their essence and work with them as one." Therefore, since it proceeds from their essence, Cyril also says: "When the Holy Spirit, being in us, shows us to be conformed to God, it proceeds from the Father and the Son, showing clearly that it is of the divine essence, essentially in and from it proceeding." They say these things, indicating the movement of the Spirit from there (so to speak) and its sending as essential and equal, not as a creation or a ministerial act according to the prattlings of the heretics.

7.Then the same Ambrose adds: "And therefore the Son says about it: 'The Paraclete, who proceeds from the Father,' that is, from the communion of the paternal power and from the property of the nature." And

we, then, as far as it pertains to the communion of the paternal power, would also agree that the Spirit proceeds from the Son according to the premises; but as far as the property of the nature, we say it proceeds from the Father alone; for we consider it fitting for the property of the Father to alone be the cause of a divine hypostasis, nor do we consider it possible for the property of the Father and the property of the Son, when understood sincerely, to ever come together for one action internally (for they are uncompounded), but only externally; for then the property of the whole divine nature acts, which indeed acts in the divine nature and in which the three properties are and subsist. Therefore, the Father creates, and so does each hypostasis, but as each of them is God, not as it is this particular hypostasis. Then the teacher adds: "But from this statement, when it is said to proceed from the Father, it is shown to have no beginning with the Father." Therefore, we do not say it proceeds from the Son, because it has a beginning with the Son, that is, both it and the Son refer to the one beginning, the Father. Then he adds: "What does it mean to say that the Son is begotten from God the Father and the Holy Spirit is indicated to proceed from Him? If you ask what distinguishes the begotten from the proceeding, it clearly differs in this, that the former is begotten from one, while the latter proceeds from both." We also say that the proceeding differs from the begotten in this, that the Son is understood to proceed directly from the Father when He is said to be begotten; for He is the only-begotten; but the Spirit proceeds from both, as we would say, from the Father through the Son, that is, through the unity of essence, as he said, and from the communion of the paternal power. For the unity of the divine nature, as it is in the Father and the Son, necessitates that the Spirit be in the Son, subsisting from the Father; but the principle of distinction requires that it also proceeds through Him; otherwise, it would not be conceived as distinct. Thus it subsists from the Father, is in the Son, and proceeds through the Son, and is no less in the Father. Therefore, it proceeds from the Father and the Son, that is, from the Father through the Son.

8.And again, in his discourse on the Spirit, the same teacher says: "That which proceeds from the innermost depths of God is shown to be the essence of God, not a creation." And shortly after: "Since the Holy Spirit proceeds from both, therefore it says: 'If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to Him.' And elsewhere: 'He breathed and said: Receive the Holy Spirit.'" We also say this procession is from both, and that the Spirit proceeds from the innermost depths of the Son of God, pouring forth to creation, believing Cyril and Ambrose who say this. And the blessed Pope Leo, in his first sermon on Pentecost, says: "The Holy Spirit, being the Spirit of the Father and the Son, not as some creation, which are of the Father and the Son, but as living and capable with both, and eternally subsisting from that which the Father and the Son are."

9.We also believe this, like Leo; for we say the Spirit is from the Father as proceeding from the paternal hypostasis, and is of the Father and the Son as naturally belonging to them and having the same authority and power of the divinity; but not subsisting from the Son nor having its being from that hypostasis as from the paternal, but from that which the Father and the Son are; and that is the divine essence. Therefore, this blessed Father does not mean that the essence, as something existing in a person, produces the Holy Spirit, so that the divine essence, as it is in the Father and the Son, is a person subsisting the hypostasis of the Spirit (for this is false and impossible), but he says it subsists from that, that is, subsists from Him, receiving from the Father that which the Father and the Son are, meaning it has the same essence and nature as them. This is very different from saying it subsists from the Father and the Son.

THE AGREEMENT OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS

10.But since it would take much effort to go through the statements of those teachers individually and apply them to the words of our teachers, what has been said is sufficient to provide some guidance on the way and type by which we rightly and justly apply their agreement; although we do not have many of the fathers from Europe, but only those which the Latins themselves provided us by copying; and these are what they most hoped would support their doctrine.

11.If the books of those teachers were with us and were properly translated into our language, I am convinced that we would find many instances where those teachers attribute the cause and principle of the Spirit to the Father alone, speaking in the same terms as our teachers and resolving this dispute. This we would also do if someone from there were appointed to correct their errors, as some of us were appointed there to try to refute our arguments from our teachers, or rather to conceal their departure to the Latins, which happened for other reasons, with writings in favor of the Latins; for they gave the Latins those statements of Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Basil, as if they could use them against us, and some of them even corrupted them. But we know only those teachings of the European teachers which they themselves selected for the defense of their own doctrine; and these all stand with us and our teachers, saying the same thing with the truth; for they were teachers of the truth no less than our teachers.

12.That they stand with us is rather clear; for their statements show the essential consubstantiality of the Spirit with the Father and the Son in its procession to creation from both, and they indicate a certain consubstantiality and distinction of the hypostases but do not imply a cause; for they do not proclaim the Son as the origin or cause of the Spirit, nor do they say it subsists from the Son, but only that it proceeds from the Son, not signifying a manner of existence through its procession from Him, as Gregory the Theologian says about the Spirit; the proceeding itself, not in terms of sonship, but simply as proceeding, indicates a true distinction.

13.Therefore, what the Latins bring in support of themselves provides nothing significant in defense of their innovation, so that we might not align them with the statements of our teachers; but the statements of those that clearly support the truth we hold and dissolve this dispute in our favor are well known to the Latins, but they draw them in support of their innovation; for they do not wish to hold on to those ancient ideas of the teachers and the ancient glory of the church, but rather what they themselves have conceived daily from their rhetorical ambition, aiming to empty the mystery of the hidden things of our faith, having promoted some like Scotus and Richard, to whom if anyone paid attention, they would know nothing of the truth, thus being carried away by much subtlety of mind, they confuse everything, not preserving a trace of that ancient and truly sacred and unpretentious theology.

14.The blessed Augustine seems to support them more than the other teachers; but if one wishes to listen to him wisely and with good will, they will find him not at all departing from the common opinion of his brothers and peers; for if one wishes to divide the church innovating and defend such an innovation using any of the teachers, they will seize Augustine and many others for their purpose, though the living would least of all join the evil doer, yet in the breadth of their words, they seem to offer some support to him, just as the statements of truth have been used by heretics of all kinds, not because of themselves, but because of the heretics, since they chose to err; but the truth remained unshaken and will remain until the end. And anyone wishing to unite the church will more rightly draw Augustine and every teacher to the common opinions, and no one would blame them for doing so; for it is very just and beneficial to the unity of the church to do so,

and one should not be scandalized by the apparent difference among them, which is reasonable and necessarily happened to them.

15.For the teachers of the church fought against opposing heresies, and as the holy Theologian says, they fought against impiety with equally pernicious errors. Therefore, they seem sometimes to lean more towards the necessity, sometimes in defense of the divine unity, sometimes in defense of the true and practical Trinity of properties, fighting against the heretics, but they never deviated from the truth and accuracy in all things, imitating the best of physicians, who, wishing to cure the imbalance in the body, seem to relax some precision, which each treatment demands, by giving more care to the prevailing disease, yet they act most precisely; for they do not know any other way to restore the good condition to the body, except by caring for all internal parts, and when sometimes the treatment of one part seems to worsen another, they then lean more carefully towards it.

16.Thus, just as some teachers allowed concessions in their struggles, overcoming excessively, without harming the truth, others openly denied them, the time requiring precision, so that their difference is due to necessity, and their agreement shines wonderfully even in their differences, as long as they protect the one in danger, without causing any danger to the peaceful part and undisturbed faith. As Ambrose, in his discourses against the Macedonians, seems to lean more towards the unity of the essence, which the whole of his discourse required; for they were against those who separated the Spirit from the essence of the Son, as the creatures are separated from the essence of God, not proceeding from His own nature internally, nor are they, but they exist externally as if through a likeness of the divine will, creating them; nevertheless, he does not depart from the common opinion, nor does he deviate from the rules of truth, nor does he say anything clearly establishing these new doctrines. The same must be thought of Augustine by those wishing to live rightly; for he says in many places that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, but the premises of his statements do not require the same understanding of procession, not according to our judgment, but according to the judgment of all the other teachers, to whom it is just to draw Augustine, to the many rather than the one; and therefore, Augustine's procession, being one, must be divided into multiple understandings, and each understanding must be well applied to each premise of his words, considering what Cyril and each of our teachers would have used in such a phrase, as they had much abundance of words to signify each thing precisely; for Augustine did not wish to confuse different meanings, but used one phrase of procession, as the Latins say, sometimes for subsistence, as we do, and sometimes for simple proceeding; and this is also well applied by our teachers to the temporal procession of the Spirit, using this in a common and general way; for the term "procession," though common, applies to the eternal existence, ascribing this honor to Scripture, using this term for the indication of the existence from the Father as from a unique cause; for in his discourse on questions to Orosius, he says: "The Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father into the Son and from the Son proceeds to sanctify creation, but proceeds from both." Thus, he seems to say from the phrase; thus, the Latins think rightly to conclude against us: "Procession signifies the eternal existence of the Spirit according to you Greeks. But Augustine says the Spirit proceeds from both. Therefore, the teacher's opinion is that the Spirit has its existence from both." But this is not so; and this is clear from the following. If Cyril were the one saying this, he would never say the Spirit proceeds from the Son, but he would say it flows from or proceeds through the Son, calling Cyril other teachers now silent, because Augustine had the same necessity as Cyril then, the blasphemy of Nestorius being then murmured, and this is the one of our teachers

who seems to speak most in favor of the Latins. Therefore, Cyril says a myriad of times that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and never that it proceeds from the Son, but only flows and proceeds and is provided through the Son, and such things. Likewise, the other teachers.

17.Whenever it was intended to consider the progression of the Spirit's sanctification of creation, whether it is one and the same from the Father and the Son, or from the Father to the Son and then as if from another source to creation, it would be impossible for Cyril or any of our teachers to present this argument in such a way. Instead, the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father to the Son and from the Son to sanctify creation, but it proceeds from both simultaneously. And thus, the argument would be true and appropriately align with the teachers' type; for the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son simultaneously to sanctify creation, no less from itself, and that progression is not interrupted but is one and the same and a common energy of the divinity, and the sanctification from it is a common gift of the whole divinity. This is the opinion of Cyril and all the teachers and us who pay close attention to them. Therefore, Augustine there understood "proceed" instead of "simply" and it should be interpreted so by us, if we are to interpret correctly, and wherever Augustine says "proceeds," it should be transformed to mean simply "proceeds" in all its meanings of procession, and where "proceeds" means the same as "subsists." Thus, Augustine would be shown in agreement with the other teachers.

18.But the Latins, hearing in the Gospel "proceeds from the Father" and in the Creed, which indicates the personal existence of the Spirit from its unique cause, and hearing Augustine using this for every meaning of procession due to the poverty of language, wherever he says the Spirit "proceeds" for sanctifying creation, and anything else, they understand and interpret as "proceeds," and thus raise Augustine against us, claiming he agrees with their opinion and contradicts ours. But they will neither persuade nor compel us, as long as we maintain a healthy and free mind; for they bring Augustine's statements to us, but it is our task to interpret them, using the broad theology of the Asian teachers, and rightly using the Latins themselves as an example. What do they do? They honor the teachers from Asia equally with their own, but everywhere they assert their own and strive to align all their faith with that type; and when they seek impartially, they reach the truth and the opinion of the teachers well; but when they are somehow biased, they wrong and divide them. Hence, they also divide themselves into various opinions, coming against each other with the teachers; and it does not matter whether in one conclusion or another, as long as they are divided on many conclusions of faith, and some say they are from Thomas, others from Francis and Scotus, like Stoics and Peripatetics and Epicureans of old.

19.Therefore, if they stick to the type of their own teachers, why should we not do likewise, and much more, since the type of our teachers is clearer, more authoritative, and more in accordance with the common principles of faith than the type of the European teachers, as will soon be shown. If they say they do not dishonor our teachers when they interpret them according to their own type, why should we not honor their teachers more truthfully by interpreting their statements in accordance with the common opinion of the church? Let us first consider from other statements of the teacher if it is possible for him to follow the agreement of the teachers, with the term "proceeds" well interpreted by him.

20.In the second book against Maximus, he says: "You ask me if the Son is from the essence of the Father, and the Holy Spirit is from the essence of the Father, why one is a son and the other is not. Behold, I answer you whether you accept it or not: The Son is from the Father; the Holy Spirit is from the Father; but

the former is begotten, the latter proceeds. Therefore, the former is a son of the Father, from whom he was begotten; the latter is the Spirit of both, because it proceeds from both. But therefore, the Son said about him: 'He proceeds from the Father,' because the Father is the cause of his procession, who begot such a Son and in begetting gave him to have the Holy Spirit also proceed from him. For if the Holy Spirit did not proceed also from him, he would not have said to the disciples: 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' and gave it by breathing on them, indicating that it also proceeds from him, revealing by breathing what he gave secretly." Then he adds: "Therefore, the Spirit is of both, proceeding from both." This way, the statement aligns well and in agreement with all the other teachers who can see. But those who first dared the addition and now the Latins, deceived by it, understand the whole statement as "proceeds" meaning the hypostatic procession of the Spirit, which for us means the personal procession of the Spirit. They do not even see that the teacher says the Father is the cause of the Spirit's procession and seems to attribute this solely to the Father due to that evangelical statement, and that he wants the procession of the Spirit from the Son to be the secret and unseen giving of the Spirit, and that he makes the airy breath a sign of the Spirit's proceeding from the Son; and because he concludes that it proceeds from both, he concludes it is the Spirit of both. And this is what the Latins previously said correctly, that the Spirit's proceeding through the Son and from the Son means to the Romans, to show the consubstantiality and unchangeability of the essence. For proceeding from both, it is the Spirit of both; but the Spirit of the Son, as naturally belonging to him, says the great Basil, and as manifested and given to creation through him, says the divine Damascene, but not having its existence from him; but the Spirit of the Father, as proceeding from the Father, in other words, subsisting.

21.In the discourse on faith to Peter, he says: "It is eternal and without beginning, because the Son subsists from the essence of the Father; and eternal and without beginning, because the Holy Spirit proceeds from the essence of the Father and the Son." And in the book on the Trinity, he says in many places that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. And he brings testimony for proceeding from the Father: "Our Lord says in the Gospels, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father." For proceeding from the Son, he brings testimonies of it being sent by the Son, breathed upon, the power coming from him and healing all, the prophecy of Isaiah about the Son, that with the spirit of his lips he will slay the wicked, and the saying of the Apostle, that the Lord Jesus will kill with the spirit of his mouth; and the statement in Revelation, that a two-edged sword came out. Then from all these he concludes that the Holy Spirit, which is said to be in the Trinity, is the Spirit of the Father and the Son, and proceeds from the Father and the Son.

22.Therefore, he speaks very well. For the Spirit is also of the Son and proceeds from the Son, manifested and given to the apostles through Him, and thus is the Spirit of the Son, just as it is of the Father, except for the cause that comes from there, not being separated in the eternal existence of the Son, but remaining in Him by nature, yet distinguished from Him in hypostasis, and thus said to proceed through Him, as the circle of our teachers proclaims. Therefore, Augustine also speaks excellently, converging with their same understanding and agreeing well in all things, if "proceeds" is not always interpreted as "proceeds" but when referring to the Father alone it is understood as "proceeds," and when referring to the Son or both, it is understood as "proceeds." Thus also, the wise Planoudes should have interpreted the discourses on the Trinity; but he, always interpreting "proceeds" as "proceeds," either was ignorant of our theology and therefore attended only to the teacher's words, or favoring the Latins, corrupted the interpretation, thinking

everyone would yield to Augustine's words when they heard him saying the Spirit proceeds from the Son and from both.

23.If this seems violent to anyone, we are faced with three options: either to show that Augustine misunderstood those scriptural phrases and conceived a new opinion in himself, displeasing to all other teachers and therefore disregard him as an innovator and a modernist; or to prefer him alone to the whole chorus of teachers and common opinions; or to reconcile him with the others, even if violently. We choose the latter, using Maximus as an example, who accepted this method concerning the restoration in the words of Nyssa, and the interpretation we apply to Augustine's statements, having Maximus as a guide. We prefer to do this, even if it means being more lenient, rather than letting something similar to what Thomas did to the blessed Damascene.

24.If Augustine's opinions were entirely incompatible with the common doctrines, we would never abandon all other teachers and common opinions for Augustine alone, nor would we ever choose to wage an unending war against such a great chorus of teachers for the sake of peace with the Latins, but rather we should let Augustine be silent and speak nothing more to the Latins. For it is not necessary to answer every question asked about anything, but to present all the teachers, completely blocking the Latins' innovation. If the Latins, struggling for these ambiguities, slander Damascene and accuse the Third Council and attribute a reputation of sophists and sophistry to it, since they tolerated the arrogance of Nestorius concerning the greater matters of truth, and remaining silent passed over the insult to the Spirit, and for the lesser matters made a great commotion, how much more should we, insisting on what is confessed, which no one has dared to accuse, much more should concede to all the teachers to prevail, who all come to one opinion, and not touch Augustine at all, revering the man for his other holiness and piety and struggles against the heretics, recalling those things we have well examined in the previous part of the book and add nothing to it.

25.And where is it violent, as we are accustomed to always say, that Augustine, Leo, and Gregory, the bishops of Rome, always confessed the Spirit proceeds from the Father, even though they said it proceeds from both, however they understood this "proceeds," and none of them introduced or promoted an opinion, even though they had the greatest power to change the common confession, and the bishops of Rome after them until the first who dared this, walked the same path as those great bishops and teachers. Examining the teachers' words, in which it is said the Spirit proceeds from both, yet confessing publicly the faith as it was confessed by them, what clearer evidence could there be that these explanations and reconciliations are true and authoritative? It is clear that they referred all that theology to the type of the Creed, and therefore allowed the Creed to remain uninnovated and understood the theology of the teachers in such a way that it did not trouble them at all concerning the Creed, but rested as needing no addition. If the Creed was perfect in the part concerning the Spirit and needed no addition, then they did not understand the Spirit's procession from both as the Spirit subsisting from both, nor should we understand it this way if in the Creed it means the Spirit proceeds from the Father, subsisting essentially from the Father.

26.If those who say "from the Father" also mean to indicate "from the Son," and therefore neither the teachers who said it proceeds from both understood it otherwise than that it subsists from both, nor those who made the addition did anything but expand the term and unfold the apparent meaning, this is truly a sophistry, a deception, and a perversion of right reasoning. For whom should we believe more, those who rashly divided the church, or the defenders of the church and those whose zeal for truth is well known? For

how they expanded "proceeds from the Father" is clear without needing prophecy, as the previously cited statements of theirs loudly and clearly show, which have nothing in common with the Latins' expansion. Then, what need was there to expand a well-established term, thus exceeding the fathers' rules, splitting the larger and greater part of the church at that time, and trusting only themselves with the expansion of divine statements, not all Christians? It was likely that those snatching at the matter rashly would err, and it was not fitting for them to be the teachers of that expansion, not all nor the best and most capable of such matters, those whom their struggles with the heretics compelled to examine the divine matters precisely and clearly, and to whom the aid of language was available, who the Latins themselves admit as examples of every precise discourse. For surely, the eastern churches could also expand if they so wished, having greater power by the multitude of thrones and the balance of the empire, under which all the ecumenical councils of the previous time adorned Asia alone, and they had the vote of the Seventh Council with them, which said the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, and much earlier that of the Third, which showed that the Spirit does not subsist from the Son by the many ways it did not contradict and through many other ways, and they had the expansions of the teachers so clear that no one could contradict them if they wanted to expand so. But they were troubled by the Latins' novelty, feeding the church grievously and laboring with the evident schism.

27.However, the eastern churches did nothing of the sort, for they revered the decrees of the Third Council about not adding, and they made it dreadful to disregard the decree of one patriarch, the pope, and what is greater, they were not later raised by the autonomy of the Roman church to do anything in anger and cut off the hopes of peace. Thus, the eastern churches were better disposed concerning faith and peace. And reasonably so, for the wholeness of the church should be sober and healthy, as our Lord foretold it and clearly promised. But a part, even the most honorable, being sick and corrupted, while the rest is well, is not impossible. Concerning these matters, if the expansion "from the Son" was placed in the books by the teachers, they should have stayed on it and not gone further nor made a schism much worse than the former, renewing another expansion on top of the previous one and introducing myriad contradictions, as will be shown shortly. For in saying the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, they bring us many proofs from Augustine's statements, or rather, he says the Spirit proceeds from the Son according to our true interpretation. But that the Son is the cause or origin of the Spirit, or that the Spirit has its subsisting being or existence from the Son, no teacher says so explicitly, nor do they bring such faith confidently to the common church:

28.That we are the ones truly honoring Augustine and the other Roman fathers, drawing them to the common opinion of the church and showing their words agreeing with those of their brothers and peers, has become sufficiently clear from what has been said. It is also clear that for a long time the Roman church held the same opinion about Augustine and the other European fathers as we do, that is, from the times of the Third Council, in which Augustine lived, until the time of the blessed Photius, in whose time a council was gathered, 75 years after the Seventh, established him on the throne and condemned the Latins then whispering the innovation, for the sake of no scandal in the churches, to be excommunicated and cast out of the church. And in this council, the most holy Pope John was present through his delegates, Peter, a cardinal priest, and two bishops, Paul and Eugene, and as is read in the sixth session of this council, after the common opinion was proposed, the holy Creed was read:

THE AGREEMENT OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS

29.Thus, all the fathers thought, thus we believe; we were baptized into this confession and were deemed worthy of the sacred rank; and those thinking otherwise than these we consider enemies of God and the truth. If anyone dares to write another creed besides this holy one, or to add or remove anything, and names it a definition, let them be condemned and cast out of every Christian confession; for to add or remove anything shows the confession concerning the holy and consubstantial Trinity to be imperfect, descending from ancient times to us, and disregards the apostolic tradition and the teaching of the fathers. If anyone, being driven by madness, dares to write another creed, as said above, or name it a definition, or make any addition or subtraction to the creed handed down to us by the holy and ecumenical great council, let them be anathema.

30.The blessed John, bishop of Rome, writes to Photius as follows: "Your brotherhood knows well that when he who was sent a little while ago from you came to us, and tested us concerning the Holy Symbol, he found that we preserved it exactly as it was delivered to us from the beginning, neither adding nor subtracting anything, knowing precisely that severe condemnation awaits those who dare to make such changes. And so, we again declare to your reverence that concerning this article, through which scandals have arisen among the churches of Christ, you may rest assured that we do not only not say it but also judge those who first dared, with their own impiety, to do this, as violators of the divine scriptures and subverters of the theology of the Lord Christ and the rest of the Fathers, who, convening in councils, delivered the Holy Symbol. We rank them with Judas, for they have dared the same as he did, not betraying the Lord's body to death but tearing apart and mutilating the faithful, who are as members of His body, thus consigning them to eternal death, and rather choking themselves as that false disciple did." Until then, the Church of the Romans heard the words of Augustine as we hear them now, and until those times when this new opinion and the insertion into the Symbol gained hold, it was thirty years later that the pope who ventured to make the addition was John, who had acted for the good union. He never wished to cast this common scandal upon the Christians for the sake of such expressions, but still, the Roman Church, holding to the ancient ways and still able to use many wisely, would put an end to all the audacity of the innovators with the form of the Symbol and consoled the Eastern churches, promising the correction of the innovators.

31.But when those innovators once distorted the confession of faith, it seemed as if it had forgotten itself, and it interprets Augustine as best fits the addition, and it proposes its own status for justification and uses common issues according to its own judgment, and drags our teachers as if captives to advocate its laws and forces us to accept a faith which we do not know whence it is. And when someone advises it on the easiest and most just way towards the union of the churches (which is the removal of that addition), it forgets its own status, claiming it cannot remove an addition established over time nor make everyone yield to it. And so it shows itself able only to add to the ancient, but not remove the new, and strong to confuse the Church of the Christians but unable to unite and reconcile, even though the third and all other councils successively allowed adding and removing from the Symbol of faith, as we say. But as the Latins say, the bishop of Rome is in no way bound by these terms. Thus, according to them, he has the power both to add and remove, or neither of these.

32.If, therefore, the pope cannot at any time remove, then he could never add at that time. But if we must speak the truth, then doing what he could not do (for it was not allowed to him to add, and this for the Church's harm), he acted very badly; now, not willing to do what he can do, he can remove the scandalous

addition, and this with the Symbol remaining well, if indeed the addition is truly an unfolding, as they say, and is neither more nor complete. He errs doubly worse than before. None of us will owe God the account, as it was clear then and now the pope causing the schism; for if it was necessary for any economy towards the agreements of the churches, it should have belonged to him to manage it. For management everywhere belongs to the greater; he indeed is greater truly in the Church of Christ if he wishes to do the greater's things.

33.These things are as if in an excursion. But since the Latins also say that the apparent disagreements among the teachers are resolved by laying their new opinion, that is, that the Son is the beginning of the Spirit and cause, we will first show that even if this were possible, it is better to draw the Europeans towards the pattern of the Asian teachers and to make the syllables of the fathers from Asia the canon and type of faith, rather than to force the words of our teachers to the type of the Europeans. Second, that it is impossible, since the opinion that the Son is the beginning of the Spirit stands, for our teachers not only to agree with those from Europe but not even with themselves. And this we will make clear, all the explanations by which the Latins try to appropriate the words of our teachers being sophistries showing no health, and so we will put an end to the appropriate book. These also, as a sort of recapitulation of the sayings of the holy teachers by review, as if the whole discourse, even if it seems to have some particular intention, nevertheless a repetition or a kind of second discourse, will not provide any satiety to those who diligently attend to it.

34.No one would deny that it is necessary to draw the less clear to the clearer, and the less precise to the more precise, and thus it is fitting for true teachers to act in every science. That our teachers have theologized more clearly and precisely than the fathers from Europe, no one knowing the teachings of the teachers will be ignorant. Thus, their teachings must be directed toward ours, as if to a certain rule and model. But first, we will show that our teachers' teachings are clearer. If it is necessary for things to be better known and clearer, the closer they are to the principles, as the principles are naturally the most evident. Some principles of faith among us were revealed by the light of revelation, and the form of our teachers' teachings agrees entirely with these, it is evident that they are also clearer. For example, one principle is the word of our Lord, that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, as we have no clearer saying in the Gospels about the existence of the Spirit from God and the Father, and that the procession from the Father signifies having existence from the Father; and how this is different from being sent by the Father and the Son, we have shown in the third discourse.

35.There is another principle, that apostolic word in which the blessed Paul speaks concerning God and the Father, that He saved us through the washing of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit, which He poured out on us generously through Jesus Christ. According to these principles, our teachers say everywhere that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, is bestowed upon creation through the Son, and has its existence from God; and that it is through the Son that the Spirit is made manifest to men, and it shines forth through the Son, having the cause of its existence from the original light; and that from God it has the cause of its being for all things. And these teachings explain that the procession of the Spirit means having its being from the Father and existing; and using the term "being revealed" instead of "being poured out" as more appropriate, since light is more incorporeal than water, and radiance more fitting than pouring. Others say that the Spirit is made manifest and is given through the Son, all referring themselves, with different words, to the sense of that apostolic saying.

THE AGREEMENT OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS

36.There is another principle from the blessed Peter concerning our Lord, that having been exalted to the right hand of God, and having received the promise of the Spirit from the Father, He poured this out, which you now see and hear. Combining these two apostolic words, Cyril, speaking on the gift of the Spirit, says that the Holy Spirit, coming upon us, makes us conformed to God, and proceeds from the Father and the Son, changing the term "being poured out" to the more general and spiritual "proceeding." The apostles say that the Father poured out upon us and that the Son poured out this which you see; and this teacher says that the Spirit, coming upon us to make us conformed to God, proceeds from the Father and the Son. He uses the term of the apostles, saying it proceeds from both, that is, from the Father through the Son, changing only the preposition, and he adds essentially, that the Spirit, having its existence as the grace poured out upon us, is from the divine essence.

37.Again, the Apostle says, "God sent forth the Spirit of His Son," and "if anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ." Connecting this principle with that evangelical one, the Fathers of the first council say, "Receive one Godhead"; then they proceed to the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from Him, the Father, and is proper to the Son. They found, they say, the Spirit proceeding from the Father and proper to the Son, and rising from Him for us. Again, from another principle, the Spirit is metaphorically called water in the Gospels, and Cyril in the council says that the Spirit is proper to the Son, and our Lord performs signs not as being endowed with something external and sanctifying according to Nestorius, and Theodoret suspects, lest he calls it proper as having its existence from the Son. Cyril, again defending, declares that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, and is proper as not being foreign, so that the Spirit is of the Son as proper to Him, according to both the council and Cyril, proper as not foreign according to Cyril again, and naturally akin to Him according to Basil; but not having its existence from Him according to others and John of Damascus. These principles, the second council followed, declared the Spirit proceeds from the Father, is worshiped and glorified together with the Father and the Son, and all the ecumenical councils after it.

38.A certain universal hypothesis of faith has been established, not knowing whether it is likewise preserved among the Latins, that there is one principle of all, God and the Father through the Son in the Spirit; the beginningless, the principle, and what is with the principle, the divine Gregory said, that is, the one who is God in essence in the Trinity of persons; for this one is naturally beginningless and the one principle of all creatively; the Father is the principle of the Son and Spirit naturally, so that the Father is the principle of all; but of the Son and Spirit only and naturally, as having a personal being, being their principle, and leading these things out according to the nature; but not alone of the creatures, but with the Son and the Spirit, as one principle with them. For He does these things according to the similarity of the common will, and essentially has the being of the creatures from the principle, not personally; for the teachers oppose the essential not only to the external but also to the personal, as the blessed Maximus in the twenty-eighth of those to Thalassius and in the treatise to Marinus concerning the Son says, that He has an energetic and not natural being from the Father, saying the same thing natural and essential, and substantial and personal.

39.Following this hypothesis of faith, Dionysius says that the Father is the only source of the supra-essential divinity; Athanasius says He is the only source of divinity; Damascene says He is the only cause; Maximus says that the Son is not the cause of the procession of the Holy Spirit; and Gregory says that the Son has everything of the Father except the cause, referring to the internal matters. For he makes his discourse about the internal matters there. And Gregory also says that the Father's property is being the cause

and the principle of the divinity observed in the Son and the Spirit. And again, "The Father's property is the beginning and the source; the principle as cause and source and as eternal light." And Maximus says that the Father is the one cause of the Son and the Spirit, of the former by generation, of the latter by procession; and Nyssa says that it is the same person of the Father from whom the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds. And the great Athanasius in the forty-sixth chapter says, "What is God? The principle of all, according to the Apostle who says, 'one God the Father from whom are all things'; for the Word is begotten of Him, and the Spirit proceeds from Him. Then all creation is established creatively through the Word in the Spirit." And the Theologian in his discourse on Pentecost, just as all things of the only-begotten refer back to the first cause, so also all things of the Spirit, keeping it clear that the one is begotten, and the other proceeds.

40.Furthermore, the law of theology commands that the properties of the hypostases remain unconfused; our teachers, keeping this law, call the Father the source of divinity and the generator of divinity; Gregory the Theologian says, "This is the Father, the begetter and projector, the one is begotten, the other proceeds." And concerning the Son, he says again, "He is only the Son and wholly the Son." And again, "One must know one God the Father, unbegotten and uncreated, and one Son begotten of the Father, and the Spirit having its existence from God." And the writer Theodore, saying "one Holy Spirit proceeding from God and the Father and con-glorified and con-theologized with the Father and the Son as co-essential and co-eternal," continues, "glorifying the Trinity in hypostases and persons, preserving in each of the mentioned ones the separable and unconfused properties as nowhere shifting or moving, assigning to the Father the unbegotten and the cause of those from Him, to the Son the generation, to the Spirit the procession; and ascribing the generation and the procession from the Father." And the blessed patriarch Nicephorus says, "Knowing the cause and begetter and projector, the Father, unbegotten and without cause, timeless and eternal, the begotten Son, co-eternal and co-unbeginning with the Father, unchangeable and impassible, having his birth from the Father, referring to the Father as cause and principle; and the procession or projecting and sanctifying power, the Holy Spirit, proceeding timelessly from the Father, not begotten but having its procession, co-existing eternally with the Father and the Son." Following these, they believe the same and one essence and glorify the trinity of persons, the atheism and impropriety of those confusing and dividing are cast down and abolished, as rightly and divinely proclaimed by the theologians and mystagogues of the ineffable mysteries.

41.Moreover, the true faith holds that there is one essence among these three hypostases, and thus one God, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For this reason, the hypostases are separated by their properties, yet they exist inseparably and co-comprehended, and neither the Son nor the Spirit is separated from their own cause, nor are they distant from each other, nor their processions, but all are in each other and through each other, while their hypostatic distinction remains unconfused. According to this dogma, the divine fathers say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, and that it is from the Father through the Son, and that the Father is the cause of the Spirit through the Word, explaining themselves so as to show the union and sameness of essence, that the Son and the Spirit are connected not only with the principle but also with each other, as receiving the one and the same infinite nature from that principle, and to show the royal dignity of the divinity, proceeding from the Father through the Son to the Spirit.

42.The teachers also command us to keep the order of the divine persons, even in the extreme unity according to essence, and that order which the divine words deliver. Therefore, they understand the Son

proceeding immediately from the Father (thus they find the meaning of the names to be referentially related), and the Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son. Thus, they pre-conceive the Son to be prior to the Spirit, even if both are from the first. They pre-conceive what precedes the others by reason of cause and not of nature, but differently; the Father in contrast to the Son and the Spirit, since in them the reason of cause involves some opposition in reference; but the Son prior to the Spirit differently and, as it were, by a distinctive manner, since the reason of cause in them does not involve opposition, but is only conducted differently by reason of different origin from the same cause and different cause and effects.

43.Thus the form of our teachers preserves these hypotheses of faith genuinely. It will be shown to be the same also when compared with all other such hypotheses of sacred theology. And this form avoids all heresies opposed to the truth so well as to provide no suspicion, being so exact and finely trimmed to the truth of our piety. For example, it is free from the mixture of Sabellius, as it makes no community of the properties, but assigns the cause and principle and unbegotten and fatherhood, in a word, the generation and projection, according to the theologian Gregory, to remain incommunicably in the Father, and distinguishes well the Son and the Spirit by their different manner of procession. It is separated from the division of Arius, as it testifies that all things of the Father belong also to the Son, except the cause, and as the Father has the being of the Father and from the Father but does not cause his own being, so the Spirit has the being of the Father and from the Father naturally, but does not cause its own being personally. It declares that the Father communicates to the Son the things but not the property which is personally appropriate to Him. This form also well avoids the many authorities of Arius and the Manichaeans, and the first and second principles which they borrowed from Platonic fables, adding from outside doctrines to seemingly support our faith but actually carrying the things opposed to it. It escapes the babble of Macedonius exceedingly, as it says the Spirit neither creatively nor naturally has its existence from the Son as from some principle and cause, but only from the Father, and represents the affinity to the Son in other ways. It is alienated from all Pneumatomachians, as it does not allow anything to naturally belong to the Father and the Son, and that God is both, which is not allowed to the Spirit either. Nor does it allow the Spirit to proceed from the divine will, but from the nature of the Father and the Son and the Spirit, except in a different manner, and says the difference is ineffable and incomprehensible; nor that there are two generative powers in God, mind and will, the former being superior, the latter subordinate, as Valentinus and Ptolemaeus babbled about two couples in God, mind and will, first conceived, then willed; but speaks of generation and projection, considered as a certain natural generative power in the Father, conceived in an indistinguishably united manner, but distinctly divided in the relation to the proceeding, through which the Son and the Spirit are simultaneously brought forth, even if the given numbering of persons and the meaning of the names showing the properties of persons, and the progression of our thought makes the order of progression and the person of the person precede, and this order is real, having its foundation in the real distinction of the differently caused persons.

44.It escapes the madness of Apollinaris, who set himself as the dispenser of divine honor and assigned ranks of dignities in the Holy Trinity, saying that the Father is greater than the Son in dignity, and the Son greater than the Spirit, and making the Father the greatest, establishing such differences to form the blessed Trinity, and making a ladder of divinity that does not lead to heaven, but brings down believers from heaven. Our teachers avoid these babblings by acknowledging the unity of nature, as well as equality and unity of power and dignity in the three persons, granting the Father the dignity of being the principle as the Father,

that is, the begetter and the projector, giving this only to Him; not allowing the cause and the caused and the result, but only the cause and the caused, having their existence differently from the one cause.

45.Above all, it rejects the dual principle of the Manichaeans, as previously stated, advancing the Son and the Spirit from one principle, the Father, and establishing the Father as the one and only principle of divinity. It rejects the heresy of the Severians and Theodosians, who babble that there is a common God inherent in whom the Father, the Son, and the Spirit do not share, and that each of them is God; thus, they raved that the three hypostases are one hypostasis and that their common God is essence and nature. This heresy is rejected by not allowing any common existence in the Father and the Son that the Holy Spirit would project, but distinguishing the Father from the Son hypostatically and not giving any hypostatic attributes of God and the Father to the Son. These are the activities towards the internal aspect of the paternal person, as the first person establishing the others. Such is the position of our teachers, and it aligns with the canonical scriptures and clearly follows the hypotheses of faith, escaping all heresy and suspicion of heresy.

46.The form of the fathers from Europe holds much suspicion, as it greatly troubled our own from the third council onwards, as shown at the beginning of the discourses. When examined against this form by clear evidence and the testimony of the symbol's identity, it was accepted, as differing only in words and not in meanings, it was not rejected, as the letters of Maximus and Pope John, and the council over Photius, and all the events testify.

47.Now, aligning with the form of the Asians, it is true and clear through it and familiar with the principles of faith. Departing from the form of the Asians, as the Latins now do after the addition in the symbol, which they wish to vindicate in every way, it neither agrees with the principles of faith and is full of much suspicion. The Latins try to show it aligns with the principles of faith and is entirely free from those heresies we just mentioned, since they also hate those heresies equally as we do. But they do this sophistically and forcibly and through many means, most of which are only esteemed by themselves, and not even all of them, but entirely unesteemed by us, who consider nothing esteemed in the divine except what is esteemed by all teachers and holy councils. The same and necessary things are considered to have the same power as the original doctrines of our faith. Thus, even if they do not wish to fall into heresies themselves, this form prevailing in the church will be the overthrow and confusion of true doctrines and will lead many to defect to heresies, which took many struggles and time to uproot. It must not be allowed to give any passage to these or any such things again. Among the Latins, this has already prevailed, and he who causes this to prevail among us will prepare judgment for himself, preferring a form full of much suspicion over the true and clear form, as the Latins do, not as introduced by those teachers, persuading everyone to change according to himself. Thus, it is clearer that our theologizing teachers have appointed boundaries, distinctions, explanations, and interpretations, which the Westerners have not at all.

48.Augustine, having said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, i.e., proceeds, and bringing the proof of the former from that evangelical saying, "He proceeds from the Father," and of the latter, the breathing and the power proceeding from Him, and such things, was freed without specifying anything more or dividing. But our teachers say the Spirit proceeds from both, i.e., from the Father through the Son, and divide the procession, saying that it proceeds in existence from the Father and through the Son is given, not as from Him, but through Him, and not as from a cause, but through the connection of essence, and they say all those things which have been demonstrated in various parts of the present book.

THE AGREEMENT OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS

49.But our teachers appear to have discussed the Holy Spirit more precisely and accurately than the fathers from Europe, first by speaking clearly and distinctly about everything concerning it; for it is clear that speaking distinctly and concisely about anything is one of the ways of being literal, and among the many ways, it is the best. And if terms like “pouring forth,” “originating,” and “shining forth” are used metaphorically concerning the Spirit, as long as these and other terms define the eternal existence of the Spirit, the different concepts of the Spirit’s procession are distinctly marked, we say that those who use these terms extensively have spoken literally and accurately. This is also attested by the Latins themselves; when they hear Damascene saying that the Father is the only cause, they say he uses the term “cause” concisely and literally; for when there are two causes of the same thing, the first is primarily and chiefly the cause. Thus, they say, Damascene does not deny that the Son is a cause of the Spirit, but says that the Father is the only cause as the first and uncaused cause and the cause of the entire divinity, just as Dionysius calls the Father the only source of divinity, not denying that the Son is a source of the Spirit (for a source is from a source), but excluding Him from being the source of the entire divinity; for the first principle of all things primarily has the role of a source. Though these ideas are evidently false and impossible, as previously refuted, they nevertheless contribute to our subject; it is shown even from what they sophisticate that our theologians' manner of speaking is more precise. Furthermore, Jerome himself says, "The Spirit is chiefly from the Father." And the Latins after the addition say that he said “chiefly” because the Father in projecting the Spirit depends on no other, from whom He has the projecting; but the Son has the projecting from the Father, depending on another, the Father, for the projecting, saying false and inconsistent things; for thus the Father would chiefly be God and hypostasis, because He depends on no one, and the Son would not be so chiefly, because He has His being from the Father and His being God and hypostasis, which is the madness of Arius, and therefore no one right-minded ever said such things about the Son. Moreover, the difference in depending and not depending itself is not only in saying the Spirit is from the Father and the Son, but even in calling it the Spirit of the Father and the Son; but no one would truthfully say the Spirit is chiefly of the Father and not chiefly of the Son; for it is equally of both, and chiefly of both.

50.Therefore, we do not understand Jerome as the Latins do now, but we are persuaded that he said the Spirit is chiefly from the Father, because the Father is its beginning and cause of existence; for even if it is said to proceed from the Son as through the Son, whether it is said so because of the Spirit’s activities and gifts, poured out and given from the Father and the Son, or because of the connection of essence, meaning that the Spirit is not outside the Word according to the holy Athanasius. Therefore, it does not proceed outside Him, since it receives its own hypostasis from the Father; for in saying “from,” this preposition generally signifies a cause of any kind, with many kinds of causes and things differently attributed to them; but when something is said to exist from someone hypostatically, it necessarily means the productive cause of the one from whom it is, which Aristotle says is generally called the efficient cause. This, when it brings forth naturally, is the natural cause of what is from it; if by the manner of will, it is artificial or creative, as the teachers say. Thus, everything is said to be from God or to have become, because He is their creative cause, and the Son and the Spirit are said to be from the Father, because He is their natural and essential cause. Thus, the preposition “from” taken primarily has this power in meaning, as the material of the words at each time compels the manner of the cause to be understood; it is sometimes taken not primarily to represent only the essential community of certain things, when also the emphasis of the part is given to its own case in

created things, whatever their composition or completeness, as we say that the soul of man is from him, as being his essential kind, and the living being is from man, as being from the concept of man, and as we say Gabriel is from the intellectual essence, as being from the number and multitude of that nature.

51.According to this second sense, we also say the Son is from the essence of the Father, even if in no way is it possible to understand the Son of God as part or portion of that essence; for there neither part nor portion is implied. Therefore, with this emphasis removed, only the essential community is understood in this sense, and we do not then understand the essence of the Father to be bringing forth the Son; for it is not the essence that brings forth, but rather the Father according to it and through it; hence the Son is not from the essence of the Father, primarily taking the "from," but only in as much as it signifies the unity of essence, as said. Thus, primarily, the Son is from the essence of God, as having the same essence; but from the Father the Son is primarily according to the power of the preposition, because the Father is the beginning of the Son as subject and hypostasis; therefore, the first council said the Son begotten from the Father, adding, that is, from the essence of the Father, signifying the unity of essence and the essential and natural proceeding from the Father, neither saying anything idle nor understanding the essence as bringing forth the Son as a subject, that is generating Him, but using the preposition first for signifying cause, then for the community of nature.

52.But the second council considered the word “consubstantial” sufficient to signify the concept of the first council, adding it for clearer manifestation of truth and the overthrow of those opposing consubstantiality, and to establish the Son as consubstantial with the Father with ample emphasis, having added it as part of an explanation, and because this was the chief matter under consideration. Thus, the Spirit is also said to be from the Son and from the essence of the Son not primarily, not because it is less consubstantial with Him than with the Father, but because in this phrase the preposition is not used in its primary sense, which is cause, but either the Spirit proceeds primarily from the Father, as having its personal existence from Him, as our doctrine is, or because the Father does not have the projecting of the Spirit from another, as the Son has it from the Father, as the Latins say, and the Latins after Jerome also witness with our teachers and us speaking more precisely about the Spirit, if it primarily proceeds from the Father. We say it proceeds from the Father, that is, exists, adding nothing, and that it proceeds through the Son and from the Son and exists, and proceeds from the essence of the Son in other divine and acceptable senses to our leaders we believe firmly and proclaim without hesitation, but that it proceeds from the Son thus we would never say.

53.Whether because of the poverty of words and narrowness of language, or for some other reason, Jerome and those with him did not say only the primarily existing things but also endured to say the less primary ones, we should not judge them, as if examiners and judges of what the teachers esteemed and sitting in judgment, but it suffices to think and say about them that they did not only speak about the divine things primarily but also less primarily; for they themselves confess this, and saying that the Spirit is primarily from the Father, yet also proclaim and profess that it is from the Son, which is not primarily according to them; for if it is primarily from the Father, then evidently it is not primarily from the Son. What opinion our teachers have about the less primary sayings is evident not only from their silence on these matters but also from their explicit statements.

54.The great Gregory, in his first discourse on the Son, says, "The Father is chiefly Father, for He is not also Son; just as the Son is chiefly Son, for He is not also Father; for our things are not chiefly so, as they are

both." Therefore, according to this teacher, if the Spirit proceeds chiefly from the Father, it does not proceed from the Son; and if the Father is chiefly cause, the Son is not cause, but only caused; and if He is both caused and cause, then our things will not differ from the divine things, which are not chiefly so, as they are both. Saying this, the teacher agrees with himself in saying that the Son is only and wholly Son. Jerome also agrees rightly and justly with him, having enjoyed much of that theological precision of Gregory; they differed in this part only, that Gregory by no means wanted to say that the Spirit proceeds also from the Son, and therefore did not say this anywhere; Jerome says it is chiefly from the Father or proceeding, and not chiefly, evidently from the Son, setting him as our arbiter of truth and the habit of discourse; for even if it is said or can be said that the Spirit is from the Son or proceeding, this would not be said chiefly. Gregory of Nyssa, in his discourses against Eunomius, often takes the non-chiefly as equivalent to not being at all and rightly rejects this difference of chiefly and non-chiefly from sacred theology, not wanting to give any passage to such distinctions and elevations, from which heretics conclude some difference of natures in the divine, that some things of the divine persons are chiefly so, and others are not, and therefore he says that in the divine either it is not at all, or it is chiefly and is said so, whether it be predicated of the divine essence or a person. For he says, "How can it be true to say something is, to which the non-chiefly being is attributed? For it must be that what is not acknowledged as chiefly is put together with the opposed names; for the non-chiefly is invalid entirely; thus, the construction of the non-chiefly being becomes a proof of complete non-existence." Again, he says, "He (Eunomius) constructs the truly existing one as either entirely being or non-chiefly being, which is equivalent to not being at all; for what is non-chiefly is not at all." Therefore, since the teachers of Asia have discussed the Spirit more precisely and clearly than those from Europe, as much as they also agree more with the principles of faith, and their theology is free from all suspicion, it is evident that drawing them to these is both true and scientific and ancient; for thus the Romans acted in the times of Maximus and before and after him until the schism. But if someone does the opposite, acting against the truth and science, and not agreeing with those before him, he is an innovator and a modernist, indulging his own will and clearly causing the disturbance of the churches. Therefore, the Latins will not deceive those with sense with their many arguments for the agreement of the teachers, on which they establish their supposed good concord; for the foundation is admittedly excellent, but such things are not placed upon it; they set up a formless and mutilated image of concord upon it, having cast down that golden image of concord, which we hold always standing on the same foundation, having now well established it, we honor the good architects of it through it.

55.It is also impossible, with the principle that the Son is the source or cause of the Spirit, for our teachers to agree with themselves, let alone with those from Europe, as is evident from what has been said. For if it were the opinion of our teachers that the Son is the source or cause of the Spirit, how does Damascene say that the Father alone is the cause within the divinity, speaking about internal matters? For this is a contradiction: the Son is the cause of the Spirit; the Father alone is the cause of the Spirit. For the Son cannot be the cause of the Spirit if the Father alone is the cause of it; thus, those statements contradict, even if not presented contradictorily. But what do the Latins say to this? They say, "The Father alone is called the true God by the Lord; but the Son is not excluded from being true God." This is not the same. For there, God spoke economically; but Damascene had no authority to manage matters of truth economically, as he professed not even his own opinions, but those held by the fathers, collecting and composing them concisely

and keeping his promises very well. Furthermore, our Lord, having defined human happiness in the knowledge of the true God, adding also the knowledge of Himself as eternal life, showed Himself to be truth and true God; for His knowledge would not be eternal life if He were not true God, if knowing the true God is eternal life. But Damascene adds nothing more. Then, without that addition, that category would not solve the dispute, being essential against God and the Father, as the hypotheses of the orthodox hold, and includes the other persons; but here, saying the Father alone is the cause, excludes the other persons, since the cause refers to internal matters, it is personal and not essential, and it is impossible for the divine persons to share something personal with each other.

56.They also say that the Father alone is the cause because He is the only uncaused cause. But this is impossible. For the Father is the uncaused cause of creation too, as Basil says, the pre-eminent cause, and Gregory says, the beginningless one. Basil also calls the Father the original hypostasis, saying in the sixteenth letter to Amphilochius, "Let no one think that I speak of three original hypostases," and so on, implying one alone is the original hypostasis. But it is not true to say that the Father alone is the cause of creation, adding nothing; for the heretics understood the "through the Son" in the creation of all things, admitting that things were made through the Son, but saying that the Father alone is their cause and creator, and for this reason, they were refuted by the teachers through the reversal of the prepositions and many other true ways, who concluded that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one principle and cause of creation, even if those hypostases are distinguished as cause and caused. Therefore, the Latins must understand that the preposition in "through the Son the Spirit proceeds" does not signify cause as in the creation of beings; for this teacher says, "not as from Him, but as through Him proceeding"; this he would never say concerning the creation of beings, for things were not brought into existence only through Him, but from Him too. Just as "through" does not mean the same as "from" in the discourse of Damascene, if he consistently distinguished them, neither does "cause" there mean only an uncaused cause; for he would not have simply said so without any addition; and if he knew the Son as cause in some way and understood "through" as equivalent to "from," yet he separated the prepositions and stated it simply, then he did not well understand the use of terms, nor would he be an accurate theologian. But on the contrary, all is true, for he knew the words of Basil to Amphilochius and the terms of theology so well as to be a teacher to all later ones. Furthermore, Damascene does not only say this but also that all things fitting a source, cause, begetter, should be attributed only to the Father. Therefore, if the Son were to be the cause of the Spirit, he would clearly contradict himself by saying so.

57.But what do the Latins say to this? Since the teacher did not add "and projector" to the begetter, they argue his statement supports them more; for it seems he does not believe the Father alone to be the projector, just as he does not believe the Father alone to be the begetter. Let them hear that he says "only cause." If causality in the Father includes generation and projection, and he alone is the cause, he alone is the projector. Moreover, being the Father alone, he is also the projector alone; for the Father, taking this name in its entirety, is begetter and projector. The Father is the begetter of the Word, and according to this teacher, he is also the projector of the Spirit through the Word. But the Son, just as he is not a begetter, nor is he a projector through the Word. Therefore, he is not a projector. The statement that the Spirit is projected through the Word does not necessarily show the Son as the cause of the Holy Spirit, as the Latins think, and the

preposition here indicates rather the connection of nature and distinction and order, not the cause, as they wish, as shown earlier.

58.In conclusion, the teacher's rule refers to all the teachers, and has authority from them, since everything he says is evidently from the teachers and nothing is his own. Thus, wherever you find in the teachers "cause" and "source" and "begetter," understand the Father alone and apply everything fitting these titles to the Father alone, since they also call him thus with the addition of "alone," saying only source and only cause and only begetter. But no one of the teachers is found calling the Father only projector, for they did not even simply call him projector, but only the theologian Gregory out of great zeal for these matters invented this term, like "procession," "projection," and "sending forth," calling them according to the Greek usage. All before and after him almost always understood the Father's relation to the Son and the Spirit under the name "Father," using the name in a general sense, as equally able to say "Father" and "cause."

59.The Latins might say that even Gregory, who uses the term "projector," does not call the Father only projector. True, if not in so many words, but as one may see with a clear mind. For defining for us the person of the Father, he says, "This is to us the Father, begetter and projector; but the Father alone is the Father," in his discourse to Heron, it is clear that he means to say the Father is the only begetter and the only projector. Moreover, even if no one explicitly says this, it is fitting to attribute projection to the cause and the source in the divine, just as it is fitting to attribute cause and source to the Father alone. Likewise, projection must be attributed to the Father alone. What will they say to the statement of Damascene, that the Holy Spirit does not have its existence from the Son? The one saying this would contradict himself greatly if he believed the Son to be the principle of the Spirit. They have nothing true to say, but many sophistical arguments, such as that he denies the Spirit has its existence from the Son, but agrees it has its existence through the Son, since he says it proceeds through the Son.

60.First, what the teacher means by the Spirit proceeding through the Son has been sufficiently shown earlier, where we examined all the similar statements under the rules and patterns of the teachers, showing that he does not understand by "through the Son" the cause of existence as from a direct principle. He himself makes this clear by adding, "for the Father alone is the cause," and the responses of the Latins to this have been refuted as inadequate. Furthermore, if they praise this explanation, and also praise Damascene for separating these prepositions in this way, why do they not themselves, leaving aside "from the Son," say in the symbol that the Spirit proceeds "through the Son"? Why not avoid what he avoids and choose what he chooses? If they are unwilling to go so far as to be good and just friends of peace with the teachers and ourselves, maintaining the teachers' position, how can we heed them as those who wish to explain everything?

61.Moreover, they do not love their own explanations. For example, when we present to them Damascene's statement that the Spirit does not have its existence from the Son, they counter with the statement that it has its existence through the Son; thus, they understand "through the Son" to mean the same as "from the Son." Then they say these do not differ in respect to cause, but the difference in the prepositions signifies the manner of cause, which they think so slight that it does not constitute two principles, the Father and the Son. If things were as they say, Damascene should have mentioned both and acknowledged them, adding only that they have some difference and specifying that difference. But he says, "We say the Spirit is of the Son, but we do not say it is from the Son." He says the Spirit proceeds through the Son but denies it has its existence from the Son. Therefore, he did not think these were the same; otherwise, he wrongly separated

what is inseparable. No true theologian, with two statements being true and differing in some way, denies one and acknowledges the other, advising others to do the same when explaining theology, which should not even be done without question.

62.Let's assume that Damascene either misunderstood himself, or we misunderstood him or ignored his words. Therefore, if the Latins praise Damascene, they should remove "from the Son" from the creed and add "through the Son." But they will never do this; they do not praise "through the Son," and they raise many suspicions against it. Therefore, they do not accept Damascene's opinion, nor do they adhere to their own explanation. How do they want to persuade us with explanations that they themselves disdain in practice and dishonor? It seems their aim is not that we both agree with Damascene truly, but rather to separate us from Damascene, to whom we owe as much respect as to all the teachers together, and much more than they attribute to the teacher of their declarations, whom they set over everything.

63.When they are cornered and in a dilemma, they claim, through their teacher Thomas, that Damascene was a Nestorian in his doctrine of the Spirit. Hence, in this matter, they say we should not follow his decision. Thus, they think it is fine to interpret his words sophistically and believe they do not err in doing so, since they consider him a heretic, and the worst of all heretics ever, if he wanted to revive and bring to light a heresy extinguished for so long. Thomas, being attacked by the Latins, now suffers the same fate, being assailed with accusations of heresy by those on the opposite side. We were told earlier that the addition was made not against the Nestorians but against the Eastern churches, which had not deviated from the Catholic Church and the ancestral doctrines until now. How did Thomas overlook this, as if Damascene had been shown to be lying and opposing the common doctrines in other matters, perhaps he could convince us to suspect him even in this part; but since he only accuses him in the disputed matter, it is great foolishness to disturb the doctrine of Damascene with such fabrications, and he will seem untrustworthy in any other matter or doctrine.

64.Thomas also says that Nestorius' creed was condemned in the third council. Yes, the whole creed was condemned, so that it, being preserved and preached, would not harm the simpler people who partake of the corrupt doctrine under the healthy ones. This was the blasphemy against Christ; not everything contained in the creed was condemned, nor specifically what Nestorius said about the Spirit. Let Thomas show where the fathers of the third council rejected Nestorius' doctrine about the Spirit as heretical. If, because the creed was condemned, we will reject and hate everything contained in it as heretical, we will deny that God the Father is eternal and always God, and the rest of the creed, in which Nestorius is very pious, except for the blasphemy against the economy of the Son of God; this would be a great proof that the Latins have nothing true against Damascene's statements, slandering and accusing him, as they seem to do when unable to devise any probable argument against them, thus easily turning to slander. Therefore, if they respond to these accusations, they have already condemned him, and they think we will avoid him; they are so ready to slander the teachers and consider the same persons heretics and teachers, that they would not hesitate to slander even Augustine (may that blessed teacher have mercy on me) as a heretic if the addition had first been dared by us, while they adhered to the common doctrines just as we do now; yet they now pride themselves on Augustine and justly so; but then they would not hesitate to call him a Manichaean and Pneumatomachian and any other such evil, as they now do against Damascene.

THE AGREEMENT OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS

65.Enough has been said about Damascene. What should we say about Gregory, who says that everything of the Father is also of the Son, except the cause? What about Maximus, who, following Gregory, says the Son is not the cause of the Spirit's procession? What about Dionysius and the others who say the same things previously stated? Will not all these contradict themselves if they are said to believe that the Son is the principle and cause of the Spirit? Or what will they say about these, since they do not hide their intention to misinterpret them? Were they heretics and thought like Nestorius? Some of them lived before Nestorius; all of them were teachers of the Church and impregnable towers of orthodoxy and above any suspicion. If they do not call them heretics or liars, do they not speak of the same things in a different way when they show that the blessed John suffered from Nestorius' disease? He presents the same things the teachers said in their words, saying we do not say the Spirit is from the Son, because he found no teacher saying this, nor the Catholic Church preaching it, but that it proceeds from the Father alone, and is given to creation through the Son, and proceeds from the Father through the Son because of the connection and orderly union of the divine hypostases in essence, designating the Father as the only cause because he found all saying the Father alone is the source and cause of divinity and such things.

66.The Latins will never openly dare to accuse such a multitude of teachers, even if they do so in another way. But if we, believing the Son to be the principle and cause of the Spirit, yet say the Father alone is the cause and the Son does not have causality in divinity, and the principle and cause are the dignity of the Father and not of the Son, and other such things, we will be condemned as sophists, especially by the ancients, who have been the cause of the later ones' entanglements and have handed down the shame of contradiction, neither revealing their hidden doctrine in the creed against Macedonius, when it should have been exposed if ever, nor showing proper zeal against Nestorius, but even appearing to support him, nor the latest ones rejecting Damascene, who taught Nestorius' doctrine so clearly after so many years, that he was even held by Thomas, but also handing him down to us to use as a teacher and witness of the truth.

67.The Latins will say these are not contradictions. For the Son has everything that the Father has except causality, namely in generation; but he can have causality in projection; and the Father alone is the source of divinity, but not the only source of the Spirit, for the Son is also a source of the Spirit from the source of the Father; and the Father's property is the principle and cause, but the uncaused cause and the first principle. However, these responses have been refuted in their own places earlier. Now it suffices to say that if the theologian Gregory had said somewhere that the Son has the causality of the Spirit, or if Dionysius had said somewhere that the Son is the source of the Spirit, theologizing about the existence of those supra-essential persons, the Latins would not need to show these are not contradictions, and find the solution and guide us; for we, assuming it is impossible for so many teachers to contradict themselves as by a pact, would have easily found a way to show this as a contradiction of words and not of meaning; nor are we so crude as to need any of the wise among the Latins to guide us in this. But since the theologian always says one part of the contradiction and never the other, and Maximus and Dionysius similarly, we do not wish to resolve the contradictions introduced by the Latins, not those the teachers seem to make, and the Latins vainly labor trying to solve. For if they resolve these contradictions well, they cannot show the teachers needing their solution, since the teachers say nothing needing such a solution; they do not contradict at all, nor do they attack the current beliefs.

THE AGREEMENT OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS

68.The matter stands thus with the Latins. They say the Son is the principle and cause of the Spirit; we oppose and bring forward Gregory and Dionysius and the other teachers confirming our opposition. They respond that the teachers, saying these things, nevertheless believed the Son to be the principle or cause of the Spirit; but they do not show this with explicit statements of the teachers, so that, with this opposition raised by the teachers, we might try together to find the solution. But they speak from themselves; then, to resolve the arising perplexity, they use distinctions and explanations, which it is not fitting for us to accept; for they lack credibility; hence they should have this credibility. Who will heed them then? They say from themselves that the Son is the principle and cause of the Spirit, and when accused of contradicting the teachers, they bring in distinctions confirmed by none of the teachers. Who of the teachers said the Son is the source of the Spirit from a source, distinguishing it from a first source, or added causality to the Son by removing it in generation? Since no teacher confirms this part of the contradiction or the distinction by which the Latins resolve this perplexity, it would be great foolishness to believe them alone, as if the contradiction stands up to the word, with them themselves resolving it from themselves. Or they should not divide or attempt to solve the contradiction they impose on the teachers; but it would suffice just to define as lawgivers that the Son of God is the principle and cause of the Spirit, and that the Spirit has its existence from the Father and the Son together, if we were to believe them so easily. It is clear to anyone who wishes to judge rightly that both our doctrine and the Latins' are contradictory, and they create and resolve this contradiction, showing it as merely verbal, as they attempt.

69.The clearest evidence that this is the case is when we say to them: "How can you not agree with us that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Son of God, but proceeds personally and particularly only from the Father?" They respond that this is a Nestorian heresy, and therefore they cannot conform to this opinion. Thus, they consider it a contradiction for the Son to be the principle of the Spirit, and not to be; for the Spirit to have its existence from the Son, and not to have it; for the Father alone to be the cause of the Spirit as well as the Son, and not to be so; so much so that they consider our beliefs heretical and therefore cannot agree with them. Why would they not change their stance if they did not consider our beliefs incompatible with their own doctrines or heretical, unless they simply want to harm common peace out of vanity? This would not be easily believed about them. Thus, the Latins contradict us because we rely on the sayings of the teachers, understanding them in a true and straightforward sense, which the teachers themselves seem to praise in other parts, without any forced and human curiosity, clearly showing that they do not just contradict us, but also their own teachers. If the European fathers did not differ from our teachers, as previously shown, then the Latins clearly contradict their own teachers; they are responsible for this contradiction, having introduced a theological type that is foreign and unheard of, proclaiming the Son as the cause and principle of the Spirit and making two hypostatic causes of the Spirit; then they resort to some projecting power and the unity of the divine essence as co-working, knowing well that the teachers still say the Father alone is the cause of the Spirit, and the Son is not a cause. The Latins use technical terms about the divine as about human things, having no certainty among men, but things that are true in opinion, false and impossible in opinion, and become disputers of faith recklessly; which the blessed Cyril and all who are led purely by the Spirit of Christ and true disciples of the Spirit all strongly reject.

70.But what do they say to this? They accuse us Greeks of making the same contradiction: for we believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, but also that it proceeds from the Father through the

Son, and do not reject the explicit statements of the European teachers. These things involve a contradiction; for if the Spirit proceeds through the Son, it cannot proceed from the Father alone.

71.The Latins rightly say that as long as the Spirit is said to proceed through the Son, it is not safe to say it proceeds simply from the Father alone; for this phrase implies something sneaky and unclear, and harbors a contradiction to the procession through the Son. It would imply that in the Spirit's procession from the Father, the Son does not partake at all, neither naturally nor personally, but that their processions are completely separate and their products divided from each other, united only by the community of kind; which the teachers reject by saying the Spirit proceeds through the Son, to show the unity of essence and other things we have previously demonstrated, all of which would be invalidated if it were said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone plainly. Therefore, we do not praise nor proclaim this phrase; but if one removes those suspicions and says this phrase in a purified sense, it is entirely true, meaning that the Spirit has the cause of its existence from the Father alone; which is the same as saying that the Father alone is its cause and the Son is not the cause of the Spirit. These are the voices of the teachers; but we do not legislate this phrase nor publicly proclaim it, except in discussions; we neither endure proclaiming what does not please the church community, nor wish to deny the truth, nor would we ever concede this to the Latins, that because of this it is possible to proclaim the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, because the Son is also its proximate cause, just as we would not ever concede to them that in saying the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, the teachers meant the Son is the principle and cause of the Spirit; for these things are neither true nor testified by any of the teachers. The Latins should do likewise, and not introduce a belief into the church community testified by none of the saints, full of suspicion, and providing just cause for scandal.

72.If what we say is not ours but of the teachers and all the councils, while what the Latins say is their own, and they stand as the cause of contradiction against the teachers and us, we dispel the suspicions of error under the good shields of the teachings of the Fathers and the sayings of the Spirit. They, however, must prepare to give an account to God for the scandal within the church caused by this contradiction. But may it never be that either they or we owe such a defense, and may God grant them the desire for peace justly and fairly, as they now tear at our consciences, forcibly pulling us towards an agreement with what pleases them; as if they themselves possess the church of Christ and divine doctrines, treating us as though we have fallen from the truth and are vile subjects, even though we hold to the holy sayings and teachers that God's grace has established for us. They make their own desires into law, and whatever we propose for our rights and true and just peace, they wish to resolve either by sophistries or threats; they are more burdensome to us now than before because of our agreements in Florence, as they think they have us captured through them.

73.Because of those agreements, we have distanced ourselves from them more than before; we became sellers of our possessions and honors there, and our mouths were closed by the good things expected from them, which two or three barely managed to enjoy. The Pope was managing that council for his own benefit, wanting to dissolve another council legally and properly established in the city of Basel, which wanted to do many other things, including removing that pride and indulgence by which nearly all around the Pope live a not very praiseworthy life, a wicked custom having already infested that church for some time. Yet among those practicing virtue in the deserts there and living quietly, and even some in the cities, nothing is found more restrained and sensible; nothing diminishes the fathers who are assisted by virtue, at least not because of the matter of virtue. That council first began to deal with peace with us, making agreements about the

council to be held, giving money, and promising us everything we needed urgently; for we also were plagued by the same disease as the Pope, considering the search for truth and the unity of all Christians more important than any bodily benefit.

74.So, trembling and fearing and wanting to dissolve this council, the Pope, lest it also take up our vote and deal with his matters more heavily (since, it seems, he did not have the same aim concerning the matters of the church as that council), distanced us from it and its good agreements, and drew us to himself. The methods by which this was achieved need not be mentioned; and immediately all our affairs went badly and unfortunately; for he could neither help otherwise, lacking money, nor manage the peace matter more economically for us; he did not have the authority, as the council in Basel held him in check, if he dared to economize anything for peace's sake, except to show us as obedient to the Latin innovations like slaves.

75.Thus gathered there, we struggled with words in Ferrara against adding anything to the creed of faith; I add myself to the account, as I was the father of the Nicene words; I was the one who gave the responses to the Rhodes and was instructed to say the Nicene words; and I spoke not entirely well-remembered. Again forced to come to Florence, we had four discussions about that saying of Saint Basil, which seemed to have been corrupted by the Latins; we neither raised another issue, nor they resolved any, despite many troubling the matter; but we bore the burden of the sacred teachers' and later fathers' books, who wrote against the Latin doctrine. Although those ecumenical councils truly needed no further consideration, for they had condemned almost all the innovators, they only gathered to deliver a common judgment against them and should have only advised the heretics and declared the church's doctrine to them, then justly cut them off if they did not obey.

76.Here, though the schism is old, each side's doctrine has received much support from many wise writings, and neither side's arguments are weak or contemptible. The Latins, however, prevail with their numbers, wealth, and words, while we are diminished in all these respects except in the present matter where we must always prevail, resolving their sophisms with the teachers' arrows, prevailing with the authority of ancient times, in many other ways, and in having the greater part of the church with us as far as the strength of votes is concerned. Thus, it was not right to discuss just one phrase, leaving the entire matter unexamined, and leaving everyone's souls in those earlier perplexities, to give an unexamined vote, rather an unadvised and highly contentious decision after a long time of doing nothing. Because nothing necessary was done there, everything is confused. From the beginning, nothing human or Christian was done by us, but everything was a clear betrayal of the truth, contempt of God, indulgence, and playfulness in matters not playful, and disputes, quarrels, envies, and shameless slanders against each other, resulting in our disgraceful betrayal and the Latins, as in friendship, easily promoting the glory of our church. I omit these details for brevity.

77.Above all, I accuse myself. You know, God, King, that I do not lie about the tragedies suffered there. You know your own, those who would have advised and acted better if it were possible. There were those who foresaw the disgrace and confusion that would befall us and considered those days as accursed, during which that supposed wondrous peace was being established. But someone came to us in Venice bringing that synodal vote and messages of peace. Many of us were there, some for personal needs, others unable to bear witnessing those calamities. Instead of the sacred synod, accustomed to ancient councils, we saw the Pope there lecturing and teaching faith. Who was this? The one who introduced the addition, whom we considered rejected for nearly five hundred years, and our own not agreeing but being forcibly led like slaves. Rather,

those in higher ranks quickly conceded everything, while the rest, some out of simplicity, others out of fear, spoke. Therefore, realizing the deception later, once they regained their senses and received reproaches from those still sensible, they reversed those signatures and agreements and returned to their former belief. What was the result of those papal decrees? It was said to make everyone believe that the addition in the creed was lawful and reasonable. Where was this shown? The discussions in Ferrara were not about whether the Pope alone could add and expand, but whether an ecumenical council could surpass the decrees about the creed of the third and other councils. Whether we prevailed in those discussions or not, it would not follow that the Pope alone could do this without the others. Therefore, that expansion was unlawful, against all reason and justice, and moreover, it was made against us who believe the Spirit does not have its existence from the Son, whom they call Nestorians.

78.Furthermore, the papal commands order everyone to believe the Son is the principle of the Spirit, and according to the Greeks, its cause. And the Pope teaches this, with the Greeks sadly agreeing, as if they found somewhere that the Son is the cause of the Spirit. Which teacher led them to this belief? When were they persuaded to believe this, if not by explicit words, at least by some arguments? In what discussions during that council were these matters addressed?

79.Furthermore, the Pope commands that everyone believes that "through whom" conveys the idea that the Son is considered the cause of the Spirit. Where and when was this shown? By what arguments? By whose explicit teachings? It was this vote that troubled the entire world. This makes us grieve over the truth as wronged, curse much of what has been done, and lament for ourselves, who, willingly or unwillingly, were wholly or partly involved in those matters, and those who, though able to speak, nevertheless remained silent out of fear; and to blame the Pope greatly, because fearing the consequences of the other council, he did not issue an equal and just vote, and because he himself gave the vote, which even if he could always render, now he could not justly do, pretending to judge in an ecumenical council and giving an account for what seemed to be sins; for no one accused of something has control over the vote by which they are accused, unless they are violent or tyrannical. And above all, because with promises and the decent necessities by which he had trapped the unfortunate Greeks, he persuaded them to agree to the vote without being convinced.

80.Therefore, we grieve and lament for all these things, because they have brought us many calamities until now, and we fear they may bring the final and incurable blow, no matter how we deal with our situation. But spare your heritage, O Lord; do not take just retribution from us; do not let bloodthirsty men trample on your saints; there is no worse calamity for us than this; this will be more grievous than famine, fire, torture, and myriad deaths; for if we must endure those things along with this, this alone would almost vociferously call out to all sensible people, but the destruction of the holy church and the true doctrines will be the worst and most painful of all.

81.But others may perhaps speak and write about that council; I put an end to the present writing, and I believe, rather I am convinced, that no one among men can have a better opinion about the matters at hand than this. Whoever thinks they can do so will be deceived, and though they may say much, they will offend some part of the teachers and all of them, and propose many of the questioned things, or will struggle with slanders and insults against the arguments, as most have done due to ignorance of the matter's intricacies. Therefore, I would never readily agree that something truer than what I have written could be found. But if all, justly and fairly concerned with peace, both Latins and those differing among us on both sides, would

attempt to solve the perplexities causing the scandal together and resolve them, and proclaim a single opinion, and it prevails among us all, I will submit to it, whether it agrees with our own or not, and I will not contradict, believing it to be of the Spirit. The assembly that took place in Florence, however, has little or no credibility for many reasons; it suffices for those who know to say this much.

82.Until such time as we can come together to better discuss these matters, I hold this opinion and advise all others to do the same; for it is not a new opinion but one that has belonged to the times of Christ, testified by many councils and teachers, and altogether ancestral to us. I fear nothing except someone rejecting something trivial and bitter against me, due to the prevailing scandal. For against the entire Eastern Church will this be rejected, not just against me, or I contend to submit everything to the teachers themselves, both ancient and recent. But no one justly will ever impose the penalties fitting to contentious and insolent people on me; for I do not wish to be contentious or to cause confusion in ecclesiastical matters. I publish this book due to the reasons stated in the preface. Moreover, I strive to attain the truth as much as I can; and as far as I am concerned, acknowledging that I am a man and know little, I consider it possible to err from what is right, and I pray for reasonable correction. I also pray earnestly for the resolution of this confusion in the Church, as it would be pleasing to God. As for our ancestors and teachers, I am convinced they hold and maintain the safest opinion concerning the entire matter at hand. I adhere to the common confession; I bring together the ancient teachers in agreement, so no one may easily condemn them, and I please the later of our teachers, honoring all the teachers equally by gathering them into one and using them as advisors and guides in such methodology, and following where they lead, and I revere the authority and faith of the teachers more than any necessity derived from reasoning, as befits all Christians.

83.If I do this and hold such views on all matters of faith, no one with sense will blame me, nor will they persuade any sensible persons. May God forgive those who have said or may say anything unjust against us, and enlighten our minds, for without Him our vision is futile, and may He grant peace to the churches by whatever means He knows best; for this is the greatest gift from above to humanity. Grant us peace, Lord, for you have given us everything, the great one prays in prophets and kings to the God of peace. To whom be glory and praise forever, amen.

† Finished by my hand, the great church steward and deacon Syropoulos, in the year, month of September, tenth indiction (=1446).

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECONDE TREATISE

II. Second Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (1445).

† OF THE MOST WISE AND LEARNED TEACHER OF THE HOLY AND ORTHODOX CHURCH OF CHRIST AND OF ITS SACRED THEOLOGY, KYR GEORGE SCHOLARIUS, ON THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT ADDRESSED TO THOSE WHO DIFFER WITH US ON THIS MATTER, BOOK TWO.

EPISTLE DEDICATION: EPISTLE TO THE MOST HIGH AND MOST DEVOUT KING OF TREBIZOND, KYR JOHN THE GREAT KOMNENOS, TO WHOM THIS BOOK IS ALSO DEDICATED, REVEALING IN PART THE PREFACE OF THE BOOK.

† TO THE MOST HIGH AND MOST DEVOUT KING OF TREBIZOND, KYR JOHN THE GREAT KOMNENOS, GREETINGS FROM GEORGE SCHOLARIUS.

1.The first book was composed amidst my studies in response to the struggles against that bishop, with whom I often debated in the presence of the king, the entire senate with us, and all those who share his beliefs; although wise, he was shown to be inferior not to me, but to the truth. Now, the second book is also written for your sake, most devout king, who desires to receive something like this from us; for besides the other good qualities that adorn your royal soul and through it, the God-given reign entrusted to you, you love words, especially those that are divine, and always appear kind and gracious to those engaged in them, choosing the best of human pursuits. May your faith surpass all your other advantages, which make you love and honor our worthlessness and more than our worth, because we seem to you to contribute something to the establishment of the true and ancestral doctrines.

2.So, most excellent king, having learned about the first book, you requested that it be sent to you by us. Knowing that it was crafted with great care and containing much refutation of those who opposed us, we have shared it with few in this city, for we know there will be a time when it must be revealed to all. But to your command, we were very willing to send it. However, considering that craftsmen of other arts do not offer the same workmanship to kings as to anyone else, but create special pieces for them, and since we had already planned a second book, containing much that was omitted in the first, using the royal command as a just pretext, we have crafted this second book, much shorter and clearer than the first, and more fortified with the sayings of the teachers, and suitable as a gift to the king, who has much to do and prefers clear and concise information.

3.Therefore, do not be displeased that we did not send you the voluminous first book; rather, knowing that we undertook a second effort for your sake and adorned this book with your majesty's name, use it as a proof of our goodwill and accurate faith towards your divine power among many other signs. Let this book not be common to all who may come across it, but let it be a treasure for you, opened and seen and spoken of only in your presence, then hidden again. For many things in it must remain unknown to our opponents if they ever wish to reason with us again. We have a command, as you know, not to give our glory to others and to do everything with due timing.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECONDE TREATISE

4.Now, not only must we be cautious of those speaking another language, but also of our own people who have despised the ancestral doctrine, condemning our ancestors' great ignorance and being deceived by sophistries from inexperience, loudly proclaiming these as something significant to the shame of our ancestors, but rather to their own shame. For they dare these things not out of love for the union of churches. It would be astonishing if only they had the desire for union, and we were all enemies of peace for not agreeing with them. But they wish to establish the agreements of Florence as a permanent pillar against our church, which we all know how they were made, exposed by those who carried them out. They want these agreements to stand and be believed, unjustly and ignorantly shaming us, calling us Nestorians because we do not believe that the Spirit has its existence from the Son, something that would hold for the entire church that nurtured us in the future. Thus, some are truly monstrous and shameless. Therefore, we do not heed them as defenders of union but rather grieve them as those who recklessly endanger such a great matter and tear apart both truth and the glory of our church, while we ourselves, by the grace of Christ, desire and strive for the true and godly union of Christians, if ever we can achieve such a thing.

5.Thus, one must guard against their ignorance and impudence; for those who shoot the arrows of rudeness at the teachers, what wouldn't they do against us? How would they not wrong our words and us, their parents? They come from the same intent as those who dared to write against the truth. For you know many who have blasphemed even against the holy Gospels. But while we live, I suffice to defend against all with words; for what is set forth in both books, I discuss daily with those who disagree; those who cannot respond reasonably act otherwise as they deem fit. But when we have passed away, these books will speak. If anyone says anything against them, it cannot be truth against truth; they will be judged by those with sense before the just judge of all. For there will be many, by the grace of Christ, who embrace the truth with suffering and do not gape at sophistries and the deceit of temporary matters. Therefore, the judgment of our words and the sophistries of others will rest with them. I will submit to the laws and decisions of another judge. Therefore, do not give this book to any enemy until you hear of us being among the living, or until you learn from us willingly that it has been given to others.

1. Part One: Introduction to the entire treatise.

† Preliminary to the whole discussion.

a. The first chapter of this makes clear what the holy teachers think about those who trust too much in human wisdom in their investigation of divine matters; and how safety is commendable; and what it means to innovate in divine things, or to think during the discussion.

1.Since some people place more trust in human wisdom than is appropriate when investigating divine matters and following the guidance of reason in matters of faith, and they do not praise the security of those who do not wish to do likewise but instead accuse them of foolishness, it will become clear from the following how commendable security is in matters of faith, how dangerous boldness is in them, and what the holy teachers think about our security and accuracy and the dangerous curiosity of others, and what it means to innovate in divine matters or to be clever in discourse.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECONDE TREATISE

2.Gregory the Theologian, in his discourse on proper order in speech: "You walk the untrodden and inaccessible path; I, the well-trodden one that has saved many. Nothing could be more unjust to our faith, brothers, if it fell only to the wise and those exceptional in speech and logical proofs, while the majority, like gold and silver and other valuable things esteemed by the many, were to fail in this, and the high and lofty things that reach few would be dear to God and proper, but the closer and more accessible to the many, despised and rejected. Not even the more moderate among men would suffer this, so as not to demand the honors according to their ability, but to rejoice only in the higher ones, and much less God, of whom there are many things to marvel at, none so much as the fact that He benefits all. Do not dishonor the accustomed; do not hunt for the novel, so that you may be esteemed by the many. Better a small share with security than a large one with instability," let Solomon's counsel educate you, and "Better is a poor man walking in his simplicity" (one of the proverbs wisely understood); the poor man relying on speech and knowledge and simple words, and being saved on these like on a delicate raft, is better than a foolish, obstinate man relying on the proof of speech with ignorance and emptying the cross of Christ; the power of the word is better than something superior in speech, where the weakness of the proof is the diminishment of truth."

3.From his discourse to Heron: "Better to struggle in thoughts with the guidance of the Spirit than to impiously seek ease. Spit out for me the objections and contradictions and the new piety and the meticulous wisdom, and spit them out more than the webs of spiders, holding flies but breaking with wasps; not to mention heavier bodies. Teach one thing, the dissolving of faith in sophistry. It is not terrible to be defeated in speech; for not all words are persuasive; but it is terrible to lose divinity; for the hope of all is God."

4.From his assembly address: "Let the Moabites and Ammonites not enter the church of God, nor let the dialectical and mischievous arguments that investigate the birth of God and the ineffable procession, boldly rising against divinity, be heard, as if it were necessary or possible for only a few to comprehend the things above reason, or not to exist at all if they themselves have not grasped them. But following the divine scriptures and resolving the stumbling blocks for the blind, we will obtain salvation, daring everything rather than venturing against God."

5.From his third discourse on peace: "Where we shall distinguish for ourselves what we must not inquire about at all, what we must inquire about moderately, and what we must tolerate and avoid disputes over, as they have no significance to our reason. What must be given to faith alone and what also to reasoning; and about what we must even fervently contend, logically but not violently; for it is entirely outside our court to use our hands, and we must reject those who hate us (tyrants, however cruel, and demons)."

6.Athanasius on the incarnation: "Precision is sought by few, but faith is held by all who are obedient to God, who also receive the greatest praise for their desire; for the one seeking what is beyond himself is dangerous; the one adhering to the traditions is safe. We advise you, as we advise ourselves, to guard the handed-down faith and avoid profane innovations, and to enjoin this to all, to fear the inquiry into such a great mystery."

7.Again from the Theologian, in the third of the peaceful discourses: "These things briefly, doctrinally, but not contentiously; simply, but not mischievously; ecclesiastically, but not publicly; beneficially, but not for show."

8.From Nyssa, in his discourse on the soul: "We should abandon the attempt to confirm our doctrines through the art of dialectic and the sciences of reasoning and analysis, as such a method is both shaky and

suspect for proving truth. It is evident to all that the intricacies of dialectic have an equal ability to subvert truth and to indict falsehood. Therefore, even when truth is advanced with such an art, we often view it with suspicion, as this cleverness can deceive our minds and lead us away from truth."

9.From Basil, in the third of the contra-dictions: "What wonder, then, that we confess our ignorance concerning the Holy Spirit without shame, yet give unfailing glory to Him, as evidenced."

10.From the same, in the second of the same: "For it is not appropriate for someone instructed in divine fear to hastily leap at what the sequence of words easily suggests, but to love and persist in the names set in Scripture, fulfilling the glorification of God through them."

11.From the same, in the second of the same: "For it is not appropriate for someone instructed in divine fear to hastily leap at what the sequence of words easily suggests, but to love and persist in the names set in Scripture, fulfilling the glorification of God through them."

12.From Athanasius, in the first against the Arians: "For it is impossible for all created beings, especially for us humans, to speak worthily of the ineffable. It is bold again, for those who cannot speak, to invent new words beyond those of the Scriptures. Moreover, such an endeavor is mad for both the questioner and the one answering in anger."

13.From Agathon, Pope of Rome, in his letter to the emperors: "We send these present fellow servants of ours, this person and that person, then he continues: For among men, living among nations, and obtaining food with great hesitation from manual labor, how could the knowledge of the Scriptures be found complete, if not canonically from the holy predecessors and the holy five councils, which are determined in simplicity of heart and undoubtedly from the faith handed down by the Fathers? We strive and hasten to always have this one and unique thing, that nothing contrary to the canonically determined should be noted, nor any change or addition, but that these should be preserved inviolate in words and meanings."

14.For those who have chosen the solemn dignity of the ancient ways over novelty, and have faithfully preserved the tradition of the Fathers, they use this form of expression in every region and city. On the other hand, those who dismiss the old ways as obsolete and embrace modern innovations are like fashion enthusiasts who always prefer the altered over the common. You will find among the rural folk even now a manner of speaking that is ancient, while among the sophisticated, raised in the contests of rhetoric, the new wisdom has branded their speech.

15.It is the mark of a devout mind to reverently attribute to the Holy Spirit those things unspoken in the Scriptures, and to be convinced that the experience and precise understanding of these things are reserved for us in the future age when, having passed beyond the mirror and the enigma, we shall see the truth face to face and be deemed worthy of this vision.

b. Concerning those who alter words and leap from one notion to another to strengthen their own doctrines.

1.Because some alter words readily to strengthen their own doctrines and leap from one notion to another, like transitioning from saying the Spirit is given or flows to asserting it is subsisting, as if these things were not different; or from calling the Son the Giver of the Spirit to saying He is the Cause and Source; or from statements about the divine economy to the eternal existence of the Spirit, thinking it no great matter to

conclude many things not expressly stated in the Scriptures and the words of the saints. We must listen to what the teachers say.

2.In the second book to Eunomius, let him show which of the saints has ever called Christ a creature or made thing; what scriptural voices does he have for proof? For if he relies on the voice of the blessed Peter in the Acts of the Apostles where it says, 'Let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God has made this Jesus, whom you crucified, both Lord and Christ,' first, this testimony has nothing to do with the question at hand; for while promising to show that the Son was called a creation by the saints, he provides a testimony about God the Father making Him Lord and Christ. For he could not say that it is permissible in such important matters to invent certain transpositions and transformations of terms; for if we will have to give an account for idle words on the day of judgment, surely it will not be deemed blameless to innovate on such serious matters. Perhaps it is proper to say of God the Father what the divine word has taught us, but it is not fitting for the Only-begotten, as the Holy Spirit has shown through its silence. How then is it safe to change the phrase 'made' and say the Creator of all was created? For if such a title were proper, it would not have been left unspoken by the Spirit. For we have found in the case of creation the title of 'creation' derived from the word 'made,' but not so in the case of the Son of God.

3.And further, the apostle's intention does not present to us the eternal subsistence of the Only-begotten, as the word does in the present case. For it is not concerning the essence of the Word of God, who was in the beginning with God, but about Him who emptied Himself in the form of a servant and was made conformable to the body of our lowliness and was crucified out of weakness. This is clearly known to anyone who even slightly understands the apostolic word, that it does not deliver to us theological doctrine, but rather reveals the matters of the divine economy. For 'God has made Him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified' is said in a demonstrative voice concerning His humanity and visibly affirmed to all. But one is carried away by these things understood, and you know what is the word of nature and what is the word of the economy.

c. Concerning those who use worldly examples to prove that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, it is more dangerous than likely to trust these things concerning divine matters.

1.Because some chiefly use worldly examples to prove that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son, and trust such images more than is fitting; for it is not about proving something, but about revealing already demonstrated truth that these images should be used. It is clear from the teachers that it is dangerous to apply images from created things to divine matters more than is said.

2.Gregory the Theologian, in the discourse on the Holy Spirit, says: "Therefore, I, having often pondered with the curiosity of reason and directed my mind in all directions, and seeking some image of this great matter, found nothing among the things below to which the divine nature can be compared; for even if some small likeness is found, it soon escapes, leaving me below along with the example."

3.And again: "There is nothing that steadies the mind upon the examples seen, except if someone, taking one part of the image out of gratitude, disregards the rest. Therefore, it seemed best to me to let go of the images and the shadows as deceptive and lacking the truth, holding instead to the most pious notion, standing

on a few words, using the Spirit as a guide, and keeping the illumination received from there to the end as a true companion and fellow traveler through this life."

4.He also says: "Give me another god and the nature of God, and I will give you the same Trinity with the same names and realities; but if God is one and His nature is the highest, how can I present a likeness to you? Or do you again seek it from the things below and concerning yourself? It is very shameful, and not only shameful but also vain, to take the likeness of the higher things from the things below, and of the immutable from the flowing nature, as Isaiah says, 'Seek the living among the dead.'"

5.Basil, in the twentieth discourse to Amphilochius, speaks of the severe insensitivity: "O wretched fearlessness of those who speak such things! What more should I lament, their ignorance or their blasphemy? For they insult the doctrines of theology with human examples and try to adapt the altered customs here to the divine and ineffable nature."

6.Gregory of Nyssa, in the discourse against Eunomius, says: "Our Lord Jesus Christ appeared on earth and lived among men, so that men would no longer imagine about the being according to their own opinions, making the suspicions arising from certain conjectures into doctrine, but being convinced that truly God was manifested in the flesh, let us believe this alone to be the true mystery of piety, which was handed down to us through the Word and God, who spoke to the apostles through Himself."

d. Because we are rightly and piously refusing to follow those who use such a method concerning matters of faith.

1.Since some people are using such a method concerning matters of faith and expect us to follow them, and we are refusing, it is evident through their own teachers that we are acting rightly and piously.

2.Dionysius the Areopagite, in the discourse on unified and distinguished theology: "If there is anyone entirely opposing the sayings, he will certainly be far from our philosophy. And if he does not care about the theology derived from the sayings, how will he care for our guidance towards theological science? But if he looks towards the truth of the sayings, we also, using this as our rule and light, will follow the path of defense as unyieldingly as possible, saying..."

3.Cyril, in the thirteenth book of the Treasures: "Questions asked so ignorantly should not be answered at all. For where the answer everywhere brings disrepute, silence is better."

4.From the same author's catholic epistle: "It would have been better for us to avoid entirely such questions, which are hardly seen as in a mirror and enigmatically, and not to dig up the minds of the immature and unstable with what is beyond their grasp. For the thinner notions surpass the minds of the more capable."

e. Concerning those who excessively investigate the progression of the Holy Spirit, as if it could be comprehended by human methods.

1.Because some excessively investigate the progression of the Holy Spirit and rashly attempt to define it as if it could be comprehended by certain created images and human methods, we should listen to what the teachers say about it and what their work seems to them.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECONDE TREATISE

2.From the Sixth Council: "It is characteristic of heretics to investigate and seek the progressions of the Son and the Spirit."

3.Gregory the Theologian: "The generation would not be great if you could comprehend it."

4.And again: "Do you want me to show you the how? As the Father who begot knows, and the Son who was begotten; but beyond this, it is hidden in a cloud, escaping your dim sight."

5.The same author: "Tell me the ingeneracy of the Father, and I will explain the generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit, and we will both quarrel, delving into the mysteries of God."

6.The same author: "If you seek the manner, what will you leave to those who alone know each other and are known by each other?"

7.Athanasius, in the second book against the Arians: "It is not proper to seek how the Word is from God, or how He is the radiance of God, or how God begets, and what is the manner of the generation of the Son. For one would be insane to dare such things, for it is an ineffable matter and proper to the nature of God, known only to Him and His Son, and it is not fitting to interpret it by human reason. For such inquiries are like asking where God is, and how God is, and what kind of Father He is. Just as such questions are impious and from those who do not know God, so it is not lawful to dare such things about the generation of the Son of God, nor to measure God and His wisdom by our nature and weakness."

8.Cyril, in the discourse on the Incarnation of the Lord: Let us cease to pry into the generation of the Only-begotten, and to scrutinize and measure the immeasurable between the unbegotten and the begotten. Let us stop poorly investigating the progression of the Spirit and seeking to know what is known only to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Let us adhere to the definitions we have received; let us not move the boundaries set by our Fathers. Let us be content with the teaching given by the Spirit. Let us not desire to exceed the knowledge of Paul, who said he knows in part and prophesies in part and sees the truth in a mirror and enigmatically. Let us await the enjoyment of the hoped-for goods. Then we will learn the perfect things, when we will not be harmed by pride, when we will not fall due to arrogance, when we will live in impassibility. Therefore, at present, let us adhere to the teachings of the Fathers, so that seeking greater things, we do not fall from the lesser ones, as our forefather Adam did. For he also, desiring to become God, lost being the image of God.

9.Basil: It is a mark of a devout mind to reverently attribute to the Holy Spirit those things unspoken in the Scriptures.

10.From the same author to Eunomius: And do not tell me, what is the generation and how did it come about? For if the manner is completely ineffable and inconceivable, should we therefore exclude the most holy Spirit from the faith in the Father and the Son? For if we were to measure everything by comprehension and what is conceivable by reason, and not allow what is beyond that, the reward of faith and the reward of hope would vanish. How then could we be worthy of the beatitudes concerning faith in the unseen things, if we only follow what is evident to reason? Why have the nations become vain, and their foolish heart has been darkened? Is it not because, following what appears reasonable, they disobey the preaching of the Spirit?

11.Dionysius: For the Father is indeed the source of divinity, the Son and the Spirit are the growths, as it were, from the divine-producing divinity, if it is right to say so, divine sprouts and as it were, flowers and super-essential lights, which we have received from the sacred sayings. But how these things are, it is neither possible to say nor to conceive.

12.John of Damascus: We have learned the difference between generation and procession, but the manner of this difference, by no means.

13.From the same author: For even if the Spirit is from the Father, we do not say it is begotten, but proceeding; this is another manner of existence, ineffable and inexpressible.

14.Augustine, in the twenty-seventh book of the fifteenth concerning the Trinity: But since in the coeternal, equal in honor, incomparable, unchangeable, and indivisible Trinity, it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish between the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit.

f. Concerning those who interpret both the scriptural and the teachings of the Fathers according to their own purpose, without paying attention to the circumstances associated with what is being said and the proper purpose of the words.

1.Since some people interpret both the scriptural and the teachings of the Fathers according to their own purpose, paying attention only to the words and not willing to delve into the meaning of what is being said, and overlooking the circumstances associated with them, the teachers of the Church have specified what must be thought about them.

2.From the great Dionysius: "It is characteristic of those unwilling to think divinely to not pay attention to the power of the purpose, but to the words."

3.Athanasius in the first book against the Arians: "It is necessary, as is appropriate for all of divine Scripture and is necessary, to faithfully understand the words according to the occasion, the person, and the example for which the apostle wrote, so that the reader does not become ignorant and fall outside the true understanding."

4.And shortly after: "Therefore, when one has the knowledge of these things correctly, he has a right and sound understanding of the faith. But if one interprets any of these differently, he immediately falls into heresy."

5.Cyril in the twentieth book of the Treasures: "One who enters into the investigation of divine scriptures must observe the occasion in which what is being revealed is said, and the person from whom or through whom it is said. In this way, the mind of those who wish to think rightly will be kept from error."

6.Maximus in the discourse on the lampstand: "Not always and everywhere will things that have the same expression be understood in the same way, but each of the spoken things must be understood according to the underlying context of the holy Scripture if we are to correctly grasp the purpose of what is being said."

7.Chrysostom in the twenty-fourth homily on Romans: "These things, if we do not again consider the purpose of Paul, who did not wish to rebuke them too severely before the appropriate time, are unworthy of the care appropriate to Christians. But as I always say, it is necessary to examine the intention with which it is said, and the context in which it is said, and what he seeks to achieve by saying it."

g. Concerning those who disregard the common confession of the Church and only pay attention to the opinion of one particular teacher, giving it the same reverence as the canonical scriptures.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECONDE TREATISE

1.Since some people, wanting to confirm their own opinions, disregard the common confession of the Church and pay attention only to the opinion of one particular teacher, giving it the same reverence as the canonical scriptures, we must respond to them with the opinion of the holy Augustine, who has spoken very piously and devoutly on such matters; and all the other teachers agree with him. But since this dispute now especially concerns the teachings of Augustine, we must bring forward his testimonies to confirm the true vote. Therefore, many quotes from Augustine alone and no other will be brought forward for this purpose.

2.Augustine to Jerome: "I have learned to give this honor and reverence only to the books of the canonical scriptures, so that I firmly believe that none of the authors of these scriptures has erred in writing. But I read the others in such a way that, no matter how great their holiness and learning, I do not consider what they have written to be true just because they wrote it."

3.From the preface of the third book on the Trinity: "Since in all my writings I not only desire the reader to be pious but also free to correct, I desire this even more in these writings, where the greatness of the subject matter requires that there be many finders and many disputers. Therefore, just as I do not want the reader to favor me more than the catholic faith, I do not want the corrector to favor himself more than the catholic truth. And just as I say to him: Do not wish to serve my writings as if they were canonical scriptures, but in those, even if you did not believe, if you find anything, believe without doubting. But in these, do not hold firmly what you did not find certain. Thus, I say to him: Do not wish my writings to be corrected by your own opinion or contentiousness, but by sacred readings or unshakeable reasoning. And if you find anything true in them, let it not be mine to be, but to understand and love it as both yours and mine."

4.In the work to Nicetas of the Victors: "I cannot deny, nor indeed should I, that many of the matters in my writings, both large and small, can be rightfully and without any fault found worthy of correction."

5.In the eighth letter to Jerome: "I have learned to attribute this fear and honor only to those authors who are called canonical, so that I dare not believe any of them has erred in writing. And if I find anything in their writings that seems contrary to the truth, I believe either the book is corrupted, or the interpreter did not follow what was said, or that I do not understand it."

6.In the work to Nicetas of the Victors again: "Do not, brother, raise false charges against the divine testimonies of so many, so brilliant, and so indisputable witnesses from the writings of bishops, whether ours or others, like Hilary, Cyprian, and Agrippinus before the Donatist heresy. First, because this type of writing is distinguished from the reverence due to the sacred scriptures. For they are not read in such a way as to provide testimonies from them, and it is not permissible to think differently where they may have possibly thought differently than the truth requires. For we bishops are in such a category that we do not deny that the apostolic saying, 'And if you think otherwise, God will reveal this to you,' applies to us as well."

7.In the letter to Fortunatus: "We should not hold the discussions of any, even if they are some distinguished and renowned men, like the canonical scriptures, so that we are free to disapprove and reject what is found in their writings if it is not in accord with the truth, with the help of God, either through other writings or through canonical and evidential reasons."

8.(Note) And Nyssa in the defense of the Hexaemeron: "Our writings, like those attempted in a gymnasium, should be presented to those who encounter them, causing no harm to anyone by them, even if something is found that differs from common belief in what is said. For we do not make the word a dogma,

thus giving occasion to slanderers, but we confess that we only exercise our minds with the proposed meanings and do not offer interpretative teaching for those who come after."

9.In the second book on the unique baptism: "Who does not know that the canonical holy scripture, whether of the Old or New Testament, stands firmly on its own terms, and that it is placed above all writings written by bishops thereafter? Concerning the latter, no one can dispute at all whether what is written in them is true or right, but for the writings of the bishops after them, we must use the certain rule and through wiser reasoning and more experienced judgment and approval from bishops and more authoritative understanding and councils."

h. Concerning those who think that no teacher can err in any aspect of the truth, even if he maintains his own opinion apart from it, and also that some teachers intentionally left out certain details for the sake of convenience, not making doctrinal statements.

1.Because some people think that everything a teacher says, even while maintaining his own opinion, must be true, and that no teacher can err in any aspect of the truth, this is not the case. Some teachers have erred in certain details, and some have intentionally left out certain details for the sake of convenience, managing their words in a way they saw fit. It is also evident that some texts, both from the canonical Scriptures and the teachers, have been altered by certain individuals who corrupted other books without fearing divine justice. These matters will be made clear by the following testimonies.

2.Basil to Maximus the philosopher: "As for what you seek from Dionysius, much has come to us. However, we do not have the books, which is why we did not send them. We have this opinion: we do not admire everything the man wrote, but there are things we completely reject. For he seems to be the first, as far as we know, to have sown the seeds of the current impiety, the one concerning the Anomoeans. I think the reason is not malice of thought but a strong desire to oppose Sabellius."

3.And shortly after: "We found that something similar happened with this man. Opposing vehemently the impiety of the Libyan, he was unaware that he fell into the opposite error due to excessive zeal. To prove that the Father and the Son are not the same in substance, he needed to establish only the difference in persons. But to be very clear and convincing, he went further, asserting a difference in essence, power, and glory. As a result, he exchanged one error for another and failed to maintain the correctness of his reasoning."

4.From the same, concerning Gregory the Wonderworker: "Then, convincing the Greek, he did not think it necessary to be precise in his words. There are times when he accommodated the custom of the accused, so as not to oppose the essential points. Therefore, you will find many statements there that give significant support to heretics, such as 'creature' and 'made,' and similar terms."

5.He says the same about the baptism of the Pepuzians and in his ascetic writings. Also, defending Gregory the Wonderworker to the Neocaesareans, he says: "They brought forth certain accusations in a letter to our like-minded Anthimus of Tyana, saying that Gregory in the Exposition of Faith stated that the Father and the Son are two in concept but one in substance. This was not said doctrinally but in a dispute with Athenodorus, which those who pride themselves on their subtlety of mind could not understand."

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECONDE TREATISE

6.The Theologian to Cledonius: "What is surprising if we accepted the words of Vitalius in a more pious sense, as he intended, while others rage against the meaning of the written words? I think that Damasus himself, having been re-taught and the scroll of faith rewritten with anathemas, was indignant at the deceit he suffered out of simplicity."

7.Damasus was the bishop of Rome, held in great esteem for his wisdom and holiness. Dionysius was the patriarch of Alexandria and a martyr. Gregory, bishop of Neocaesarea, about whom Basil says in the chapters to Amphilochius: "Where shall we place Gregory the Great and his words? Shall we not place him among the apostles and prophets, a man who walked by the same Spirit as they did, followed the footsteps of the saints throughout his life, and achieved the exactness of the evangelical way of life? And he goes on to detail many other aspects of his wisdom, virtue, and the grace of God in performing miracles."

8.Furthermore, the council against Paul of Samosata, led by this Gregory the Wonderworker, Athenodorus the martyr, and Dionysius of Alexandria, also a martyr, did not precisely address the term 'consubstantial,' as Athanasius defends. For since Paul of Samosata believed the Son did not exist before Mary but began to exist from her, they deposed him and declared him a heretic. But writing simply about the divinity of the Son, they did not delve into the precision of the term 'consubstantial.'"

9.Cyril from the synodal acts: "They asked me whether I agree with what was written by our thrice-blessed father Athanasius of renowned memory to Epictetus, bishop of Corinth. I said: If you have the letter uncorrupted (for many parts of it have been altered by enemies of the truth), I would agree entirely."

10.Again, concerning the same matters: "Having received (I provided old copies and compared them with what was advantageous), he found them corrupted and suggested making equal copies from the books in our possession to send to the Church of Antioch. And this was done. The same happened with the blessed Sixtus, the bishop of the Church of Rome, during the third council. If some bring a letter written by the venerable presbyter of the Church of Rome, Philip, as if Sixtus was displeased with Nestorius's deposition, let not your holiness believe it; for he wrote in agreement with the holy council and confirmed everything it did, and he is of the same mind with us."

11.Concerning his own matters, he says: "If someone brings a letter written by me as if I repent for what was done at Ephesus, let this be laughed at too. For by the grace of the Savior, we are in a right mind and have not departed from reason."

12.The sixth council obelized the Apostolic Constitutions, although they were genuine works of Clement, as they were later corrupted by heretics. Many similar instances are found in the writings of the saints."

EXEGESIS OF CONTRAVERSIAL TEXT

2. Part Two: Exegesis of the controversial texts.

† Of the sayings that those who consider the Son as the origin of the Spirit's hypostasis interpret.

1.Since those who believe and confess that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son attempt to confirm their opinion with the sayings of certain teachers and, even more, with the authority of the canonical Scriptures, it is necessary for us to present these, and to explain the sayings of the teachers through which they teach us the true meaning of those scriptural passages. We should assign a meaning to the words of the teachers that is consistent with the hypotheses of faith and the sacred Scriptures, as well as with each individual teacher, referring to other parts of their writings. By doing so, we can refute the violent and novel interpretations of others as dangerous and audacious according to the given premises. And first, we must examine what they undertake from the holy Scriptures.

a. On the Sending.

1.They say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and is sent by the Son, as stated in Scripture: "Whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, which proceeds from the Father." But the sending and the proceeding are the same, since the Holy Spirit is also said to be sent by the Father: "Whom the Father will send in my name," it says. Therefore, the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. And they connect some words to show that the eternal procession of the Spirit and the temporal mission are the same, so that it is necessary for the Spirit to proceed eternally from whom it is sent temporally. Hence, they also interpret the sayings of the teachers, who say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, but is given to creation through the Son, as meaning the same as the procession.

2.To this hypothesis of theirs, the teachers themselves respond clearly, explaining the sending and the giving, whose explanations should override all other explanations and every argument.

3.Cyril in the Thesaurus: "That the Spirit of the Father appears to be the Spirit of the Son, and the Father, who promises to send or distribute it to the saints, gives it again as His own by the Son because of the unity of essence that He has with the Father, and the like."

4.The same in the treatise on the Incarnation of the Lord: "Thus, having ascended to heaven, the Lord Christ, having presented Himself as a pledge of the peace of men to the Father, sends the grace of the Spirit to men as a kind of guarantee of the promised goods."

5.The same: "To whom, then, would it be proper to be able to give the grace of the Spirit, except to Him who is by nature and truly God?"

6.The same: "Necessarily, therefore, they accept the grace of the Spirit coupled with the dignity of the mission, given by Christ Himself, and not as being served by the ambition of another, but rather given from Himself; for it would not otherwise come to us from the Father except through the Son."

7.The same: "For He promised to send us the Comforter from heaven, when He would be with God the Father above; which He also did, having departed to the Father and given the outpouring of the Spirit most abundantly to those who wish."

EXEGESIS OF CONTRAVERSIAL TEXT

8.The same: "Therefore they receive the participation of the Holy Spirit, when He breathed on them saying, 'Receive the Holy Spirit.'"

9.The same: "Therefore, Scripture says, 'God poured out the gift of the Holy Spirit.' Divinity is not poured out, but the gift. Therefore, to show that what is poured out is not the Holy Spirit, but the grace of the Holy Spirit, David says to Christ, 'Grace is poured out on your lips.' Grace is poured out, not the one who gives the grace."

10.Basil in the treatise against Eunomius: "But neither is creation so miserable, nor is God so powerless, that the holy transmission does not reach the creatures."

11.The same in the fourth treatise against Eunomius: "Thus, believing in such a good and divine creation of the Spirit, seek Christ, the giver of this, without hesitation."

12.In the same treatise: "The Son of God, the fruit, holy from holy, eternal from eternal, the giver of the Holy Spirit in the substance and form of creation."

13.Athanasius, in the first book against the Arians: The Savior, being God and always reigning in the kingdom of the Father, and being the sole giver of the Holy Spirit, is now said to be anointed by the Spirit, so that as a man, He may be said to be anointed by the Spirit for our sake, just as He was exalted and resurrected, and thus made the indwelling and intimacy of the Spirit.

14.Basil again, in the fourth treatise against Eunomius: Let the mind, worthy of understanding, consider how the Holy Spirit is given both to all and to each individually, and let it understand that everything is filled and illuminated by the Spirit standing over them, coming in, and shining upon them from every direction; for the Spirit of the Lord has filled the whole world, and that which contains everything has the knowledge of God. It shines in all the worthy; just as the rays of the sun illuminate and make clouds shine, making them appear golden, so the Holy Spirit, coming into the body of man, gives life, gives immortality, gives sanctification, and so forth.

15.From the same work, in the sixth book to Amphilochius: The grace of the Spirit, dwelling in the worthy and working His own works, is said to dwell well in those who receive Him; the eternal existence and unceasing presence of the Spirit, considered with the Father and the Son, seeks the terms of eternal union.

16.And shortly thereafter: "So, when we consider the dignity of the Spirit, we count it with the Father and the Son; but when we reflect on the grace worked in the participants, we say the Spirit is in us."

17.From the same work, again in the fourth book against Eunomius: This Holy Spirit God poured out richly upon us through Jesus Christ; He poured it out, He did not create it; He gave it, He did not make it. I say these things in parallel, as it should be firmly established in you from every side.

18.Augustine in the treatise on the Trinity: This visible manifestation and presentation to human reasoning is called the mission of the Holy Spirit, not to reveal His essence, which is also invisible and immutable, like the Son, but so that human hearts, stirred by the external appearances, might turn to the hidden eternity of the ever-present Spirit.

19.Gregory the Theologian, in the work on the Spirit, counts the mission of the Spirit among the things said humbly about it: "For whatever is said humbly about the Holy Spirit, like being given, sent, or distributed," and so on. But the procession from the Father is considered great and beyond great. For he says: If it is great for the Father to have no origin, it is no less great for the Son to be begotten from such a Father. Thus, it is no less for the Spirit to proceed from such a Father.

20.Cyril in the Thesaurus: "If the essence of God is not said for any reason; for it is for nothing; but the term unbegotten is said for being better and superior to all. Therefore, the term said for no reason is not the same as the term said for a reason."

21.Similarly, procession is not for any reason; it is internal and free from any created thing and thought. But mission is for a reason, being relational and external. Therefore, according to the divine Cyril, procession is not the same as mission, the term said for no reason is not the same as the term said for a reason. And it is entirely clear from the holy sayings now set forth, even without any further elaboration, what the teachers mean by the mission and giving of the Spirit: they mean the grace of the Spirit, not His essence and existence, nor His eternal existence.

22.If they should say: "And indeed, Gregory the Theologian in the work to Heron says: 'The property of the Father is unbegottenness; of the Son, generation; and of the Spirit, procession.'" And clearly here he calls procession "mission"; for elsewhere he says: "It is common to the Son and the Holy Spirit to be from the Father; the property of the Son is generation, and of the Spirit, procession." If they should say these things, we accept that mission here is used instead of procession, but not instead of the temporal mission, which is the temporal sending. For the Spirit is not distinguished from the Father and the Son by any temporal thing as existing peculiarly, nor is it the property of the Spirit to be sent or dispatched temporally; for the Son's existence was also sent temporally. But the teacher calls the eternal projection of the Spirit "mission," just as elsewhere he calls it "procession," preferring these names to the name of procession as more Greek; for this marvelous Father paid great attention to the Greek language. He also seems to have followed Gregory the Wonderworker; for he says: "The Father is unbegotten, the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Spirit is eternally sent forth from the essence of the Father through the Son." What else could eternal mission be but procession? But mission is not eternal projection; therefore, neither is procession. One should not wonder if the teachers also call procession "mission"; for energy and grace are sent forth from the essence, and the existence is sent forth from the existence, distinguished by its unique appearance, as they say. Cyril also calls being cast out entirely or being separated "mission," as he says somewhere about the heretics, that they "send the Son out of the essence of the Father," and elsewhere, that they "drag him out."

23.Therefore, they should not attempt to show us the glory from such terms, which indicate how the Spirit is in us or comes to us, but from those terms which signify more intimately His eternal union with the Father and the Son, such as "to subsist," "to be," "to proceed into existence," or instead of all these, "to proceed," which has been determined by the teachers of faith as the term for all these, as will be shown later, but they could not.

b. On "All that the Father has is mine."

1.They still try to argue from that Gospel saying, "All that the Father has is mine," and from "I and the Father are one," and from "All mine are yours, and yours are mine." For if projecting belongs clearly to the Father, and the Father is the projector of the Spirit, then the Son also possesses this by those sayings.

2.If, then, we must understand in "all" whatever is in the Father, whether essential or personal, the Son will also be the Father and generator; but if we must understand "all" as the essential, divine, and attributes of

the divine nature, and projecting is a personal attribute, then all the arguments that they weave from these sayings to conclude that the Son is the cause of the Spirit are sophistical.

3.That all teachers declare that the Son has everything of the Father, all the essential, natural, divine, and outstanding attributes of the divine nature, and thus understood those Gospel sayings, will be clear from the following.

4.Dionysius the Areopagite: "To summarize, the divine Word Himself said, 'I and the Father are one,' and 'All that the Father has is mine,' and 'All mine are yours, and yours are mine.' And again, he attributes to the divine Spirit, in a common and united way, all the divine works, reverence, the original and unfailing cause and distribution of good gifts, and I think none of those well-versed in divine sayings will argue against this, that all divine attributes are wholly present in the divine being according to the divine word."

5.Cyril, in the fourth and tenth books of the Thesaurus: "Whatever is said to be with the Father naturally and essentially, all this is also the Son, such as truth, light, immortality, life."

6.In the thirty-second of the same: "He who denies the Father also denies the Son; and he who denies the Son does not have the Father. Someone will deny the Son in no other way than by saying he is a creature and separating him from the consubstantiality of the Father; but he will confess again, preserving for him the genuine and true dignity of sonship and not depriving him of the natural similarity to the Father. Therefore, whatever is said about the Father must also be said about the Son, except for the fact that he is Father; and whatever is assigned to the Son must also hold for the Father, except again for the fact that he is Son; as the Father is God by nature, almighty, creator, lord, king, incorruptible, immortal, living, having no beginning of being, and not brought into being from non-being. These attributes also belong to the Son invariably. If you give these attributes to the Father and acknowledge him to have them, but exclude the Son from them, speaking out of spite, and bring the creator down to the level of creatures, you will also exclude the Father from them, foolishly judging that the Son is alien to the divine dignity and saying that the character of the begetter, seeing whom we see the Father's nature, is different from the Father, according to what he himself said to the disciples: 'He who has seen me has seen the Father.' Therefore, if the Father is unbegotten, the Son must be unbegotten; and I mean by unbegotten, not made."

7.In the same, a little earlier: "If this pertains only to the naturally begotten Son, how could he be of the same kind as the others, being so much above them, having alone the divine dignity of the Father's nature and sharing the essence with his own begetter?"

8.In the same: "Having in himself, naturally and essentially, the excellent attributes of the Father's essence, how could he be of a different essence from him, and not rather of the same nature and from him, with no reason allowing created beings to have the properties of divinity naturally?"

9.And again: "All the Father's own attributes are present in the Son, and the nature of divinity is described in him."

10.From the same: "The Father has the power to create, to sanctify, to save, and all things fitting for God, all through the Son; for he is always present with the light, as the radiance is with the light."

11.Athanasius, in the letter to Serapion about the Son: "And altogether, there is nothing that the Father has that is not the Son's." And he adds: "It is necessary, then, for the essence of the Son to be uncreated, but consubstantial with the Father; otherwise, it would not be a created essence capable of the properties of

God; and his own properties are those by which he is known as God, such as almighty, being, immutable, and the other previously mentioned."

12.Cyril again, in the Thesaurus: "If all that the Father has is also the Son's, it is clear that he enjoys the natural attributes of the begetter, and with the other divine goods, the being unbegotten is also with the Father, so the Son also possesses this."

13.And all the teachers, simply referring to those Gospel sayings, understand and speak of the divine attributes, the distinctive qualities of the Father's essence, by which He is known as God, the natural attributes and such others having the same power. When they enumerate these things, they add "God," "Almighty," and the like; but never "projector," just as they do not say "Father." Thus, it is clear from this that they mean all except, they say, the hypostatic or personal attributes of the Father.

14.Objection: But Cyril says, they claim, that whatever is said about the Father must also be said about the Son, except for "Father," as is stated in the recently cited passages. And in the thirty-second of the Thesaurus, the same says: "How could He be one of the created beings, who alone competes with the begetter according to the ineffable essence, being by nature what the Father is, except for being Father?" Therefore, if the Son has all the Father's attributes except for being Father, it follows, according to Cyril, that the Son also has the projecting of the Spirit among the other paternal attributes.

15.The saints themselves respond again that saying "except for being Father" means nothing other than "except for being Father and projector." For Cyril himself says in the Thesaurus: "Not having anything as his own and by himself, but as one who can fit into everything, whatever is said of one applies, except for the terms and matters of Father and Son." And what is the matter of the Father? Gregory the Theologian makes it clear to us: "This is the Father for us, generator and projector." It is clear that the teacher here defines the matter of the Father, not the name "Father" (for "Father" by name indicates only the begetter), but the matter to which the name "Father" applies, namely, the hypostasis, which is thus named, although it is not the same matter as with the Son in essence, but is distinguished personally.

16.The same teacher also says: "All that the Father has belongs to the Son, except for unbegottenness;" and unbegottenness and fatherhood and being cause and being caused are the same to the teachers when considered in the Father. For Gregory the Theologian, who said that the Son has all that the Father has except for unbegottenness, elsewhere says: "except for being cause," not indicating a different attribute of the Father, but the same one, understood otherwise, namely affirmatively and relatively. And Cyril says: "except for fatherhood."

17.Basil, in the first of the Refutations, says that the voice of the Father has the same power as the unbegotten, and brings along the understanding of the Son in relation to it through the relationship.

18.Gregory of Nyssa, more clearly resolving all our doubts in the works against Eunomius, says that the Holy Spirit, connected to the Father in the uncreated, is again separated from Him by not being Father as He is. Therefore, if the Spirit is separated from the Father by not being Father, according to the teacher, and "Father" indicates only the begetter, not simply the cause, according to those who explain Cyril's words this way, the Spirit is not separated from the Father by not being projector, but He is also projector. But on the contrary, the truth is that the Spirit, just as He does not beget, neither does He project, both of which are the Father's matters, and for this reason, He has all the Father's attributes and is separated from Him by not being Father. Thus, the Son, just as He does not beget, neither does He project, both of which are the Father's

matters, and for this reason, He has all the Father's attributes except for being Father; and for this reason, the Spirit is separated from the Father by not being Father.

19.Let the words of Maximus in the explanation of the holy Dionysius be added: "Observe the venerable and awe-inspiring names in the pure Trinity, that the Father is the source deity, and the Son and the Holy Spirit are sprouts of the God-begetting deity (that is, of the Father), God-sprung, flowers, and supernal lights; rather, he says that they are called sprouts in the Scripture from the vision of the olives of Zechariah the eleventh of the prophets. The Septuagint say two branches of olive; other interpreters say ears and sprouts; lights, in which it is said of the Father of lights, and light from light."

c. On "He will take from what is mine." (John 16:14)

1.They interpret that Gospel saying "He will take from what is mine" as meaning that the Spirit takes its existence eternally from the Son. Some say that "from what is mine" has the same power as "from me," while others reason that anything simple taking from something simple takes its being, creating such fables, not understanding the necessity and purpose of those words, which must first be considered as shown by the teachers who speak and legislate, nor considering this: if we wish to draw everything in the Scriptures into the sequence of the discourse, some things will not follow at all nor agree, while others will lead those who do this into strange and alien thoughts contrary to the right doctrine, and everything will be confused through such misuse of words. They should have considered both the necessity of the words, as has been said, and to discern which convey the method of theology to us, and which indicate the words of economy according to the divine Basil, and to know what is a word of nature and what is a word of economy according to the holy theologian Gregory. Besides this, the phrase "take from what is mine" serves the purpose of economy, and the phrase "will not speak on his own," which contrasts with "He will take from what is mine and declare it to you," signifies, so that if "not to speak on his own" indicates not any deficiency in divine dignity, but rather that He will say nothing alien, nothing foreign, nothing displeasing, otherwise He would speak on His own, as Lordly and authoritatively as He says He comes, not only is sent; and breathes where He wills, not only is poured out and inspired. If this is the case, then to take from the Son means to say what seems to the Son and what the Son would have said if He were present bodily as at first. If the Son says what He heard from the Father, and the Spirit hears from the Son, this indicates the Spirit's existence from the Son and the Son's existence from the Father, it might even seem like something Macedonius would say. Let it be that "to take and declare" can be transferred to being and not only to the economy, but also to the nature of the Spirit; not knowing that there is a great difference between saying that He takes His being from what is mine and takes His being from me. The latter would mean that the Son is the cause of His existence, while the former only shows the community of being, as He said that His being is from what is mine, that is, His being and mine are one, taken from the Father. Let it be that it was said that He takes and declares from me; it would not be difficult to understand piously and according to the premises of faith; for what the Son takes from the Father, the Holy Spirit also clearly takes from the Father, and no one would deny this. It could also reasonably be said that He takes these from the Son as being the Son's, and nothing alien or foreign, and as being eternally in the Son; for the Spirit is not apart from the Word according to the holy Athanasius, nor does He take from the Father what He takes apart from the Word, nor, proceeding from the Father, does He have His nature and

the goods of His nature from the Son as dependent on His hypostasis, but in Him and through Him, He proceeds from the Father, divinely understood as through Him, not as through a conduit or instrument, but as naturally joined to Him always, though always distinguished by hypostasis, as Cyril says in the seventh book to Hermias, that in each the whole nature is understood with the personal peculiarities. I mean by hypostasis; for each remains what it is in natural union with the others, and those enrich their own nature. For the Father is in the Son and the Holy Spirit; likewise, the Son and the Spirit are in the Father and each other. Therefore, the Spirit proceeding thus through the Son and being in Him is said to take from the Son and from the Son, but He takes from the Father as from the originating and subsisting cause. But these things will be examined more precisely later; now it is enough to show the teachers interpreting that Gospel saying as meaning all this rather than that the Son is the cause of the Spirit's existence according to those who misunderstand it so, and that the teachers did not understand the taking of the Spirit as concerning its nature or eternal existence, but interpreted all those words in that Gospel saying as referring well to the need of the economy. Better interpreters than they we could never claim to be, nor would we grant that to any others considering themselves so, as long as we remain established in this.

2.From Chrysostom in the treatise on the Holy Spirit: On "He will take from what is mine." He did not say, "from me," but "from what is mine." He will give to you, but He will take; He takes not borrowing. But because He fulfilled the source as the beginning of the gifts, He draws from what He has received and gives to all from His own. And how is it that to take is to take from His own? Listen: God filled Moses with spirit, and Moses says. And a little further: "He will take from what is mine." From what He gave to me alone, to the lordly man, He will take the gift, the coming, the abiding in me, the anointing me, the sanctifying, the leading into the wilderness, the returning victorious. "He will take from what is mine and declare to you." And to show that He did not refer to the Holy Spirit but to the gifts, He adds after saying, "He will take from what is mine," "All that the Father has is mine." "I received them from the Holy Spirit; therefore, I said He will take from what is mine." Because God sanctified the flesh with the Holy Spirit and sent the gift of the Spirit from the Father to the flesh of Christ, and grace coming placed all the gifts in Christ, He says: "He will take from what is mine and declare to you."

3.From the same, in the interpretation of the Gospel according to John in a homily: Just as the spirit of man, not learning from another, knows itself, so the Holy Spirit will take from what is mine, He says, meaning He will speak in harmony with what is mine. "All that the Father has is mine." Since those things are mine, and He will speak from the Father, He will speak from what is mine. Therefore, He says, "He will take from what is mine," meaning whatever I would say, He will also say. And a little later: "From what is mine," from what I know, from my knowledge; for the knowledge of me and the Spirit is one.

4.From the same discourse: "He will take from what is mine," either from the gift that came into my flesh, or because from the knowledge that I have, not as needing or learning from another, but as one being and the same. And why did He say thus and not otherwise? Because they had not yet grasped the discourse about the Spirit, so He creates one to be believed and received by them and not to be scandalized. For when He said, "One is your teacher, the Christ," that they might not think they were disobeying by obeying Him, He says, "Let my teaching and His teaching be one; from what I would teach, He will also speak." Do not think the things He says are different; for they are mine and constitute my glory; for the will of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit is one.

EXEGESIS OF CONTRAVERSIAL TEXT

5.Cyril in the Thesaurus: The Son did not indicate a difference in nature between Himself and the Holy Spirit by saying, "He will take from what is mine and declare it to you," but that He will use His own words because of the unity and equality of essence, equal in action and speech, so that whatever He would choose to echo in the saints would be the word of Christ.

6.From the same, in the sixth book to Hermias: Adding that "He will take from what is mine" clearly showed the essential and natural unity by which His being is in Him.

7.Basil in the eighth book to Amphilochius: When He says, "I do not speak on my own," and again, "As the Father has told me, so I speak," and "The word that you hear is not mine, but the Father's who sent me," and elsewhere, "As the Father commanded me, so I do," He is not without choice, nor spontaneous, nor waiting for commands from circumstances, but indicating that His own mind is united and inseparably attached to the Father's.

8.Cyril in the fifty-fifth of the Thesaurus: "Since He was about to complete the economy in the flesh and ascend to the Father, He promised to send the Comforter to His disciples, that no one might suppose the Holy Spirit would ever order anything contrary to His will, clearly showing that being the Spirit of God, He will minister the steps from Him again; 'He will not speak on His own,' He says, 'but whatever He hears He will speak.'"

9.From the same: The Savior did not say these things about the Holy Spirit because He is incomplete, but to assure the listeners more that being of His essence, He will not speak anything other than what He wills; and being His mind, as the blessed Paul says, "We have the mind of Christ" about the Spirit, He will think and order everything as He would, who is the mind; therefore, He asserted that the Spirit would not speak on His own, almost saying, "I am again the one speaking," just as if the mind in a man would say about the word proceeding from itself, "It will not speak on its own, but whatever it hears it will speak."

10.And a little later: Being the mind of Christ, He speaks everything within Him to the disciples, not in a separate will or another's counsel of whom and from whom He is, but as proceeding naturally from His essence and having His entire will and action.

11.But they say that the Spirit, according to Cyril, proceeds from the Son, and that it emerges from Him, and proceeds essentially and naturally from Him. Therefore, they claim, we have what we seek from them. They also say that Athanasius in the third of his discourses against the Arians says this: "Unless they dare, as in all things, to say now that the Son has come into the Father by partaking of the Spirit and improving in action. But even this is exceedingly impious, even to contemplate; for He Himself, as it is said, gives the Spirit, and all that the Spirit has, it has from the Word. Therefore, they claim, we have from this that all that the Spirit has, it has from the Word, including its being."

12.If we then remember that saying of the holy Chrysostom, that we must examine the thought with which it is said, and the context about which it is said, and what he strives to achieve by saying it, interpreting any sacred scripture or teacher, and consider besides this what all the other teachers also agree upon, those who assert that the Son is the eternal projector and sustainer of the Spirit's hypostasis gain nothing more from this; for none of us denies that the Spirit proceeds from the Son; for how could it be given and received by the Son and pass to those capable of receiving, without any notion of this proceeding, giving, or passage, and as if in some external course, which the holy Dionysius called an appearance of beneficent gifts.

EXEGESIS OF CONTRAVERSIAL TEXT

13.But that it does not proceed from the Son essentially and naturally in opposition to the heretics and their madness, some of whom said that the Son partakes of the Spirit, and others said that the Holy Spirit is holy by some relation and participation; for this reason Cyril himself in the Thesaurus sometimes says that the Spirit is not holy by participation according to their reasoning, but rather naturally and essentially; and sometimes he says about the Son of God: "Somewhere Christ says: 'He who has seen me has seen the Father.' Therefore, if it is by participation or not essentially, and has life by participation, this will also apply to the Father." And the same: "Therefore the Son is immutable and unchangeable, not by grace nor by addition having the likeness to the Father, but essentially and naturally." Just as now some do not understand the reason of cause and the reason of nature, and thus confuse everything, so then they did not understand the reason of nature and the reason of economy, and thus transferred the humbler sayings about the Son of God or the Spirit, due to the economy, to the divine nature. But the teachers of the Church acknowledge the humble expressions appropriately to the scope of the scripture everywhere and apply them to the economy; but from the more divine sayings and higher terms, they truly establish the essential union and equality of the divine persons. Just as then those who did not pay ecclesiastical attention to the scriptural sayings stumbled over them, as Athanasius says, so now some stumble over the sayings of the teachers, because they do not wish to pay attention to the purpose and material of those sayings, but forcefully draw the teachings about the natural kinship of the divine persons concerning their eternal existences and processions, not wanting to see the distinct regulations about them.

14.How we ought to understand that saying of Athanasius, Cyril himself teaches us, and how we should interpret the entire divine Scripture. For in the tenth chapter of the Thesaurus, on "Why do you call me good?" he says: "We must examine the whole intent of the subject, and thus we will clearly know what Christ wished to teach by saying, 'Why do you call me good?' A lawyer approached (for it is written so), seeking to learn how he might be saved; then he proposes, addressing Him as 'teacher' and 'good,' saying, 'What must I do to inherit eternal life?' To this Christ says: 'Why do you call me good? No one is good but one, that is, God. Go, sell what you have and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven.' But unable to bear the command's weight and faltering in virtue, he complains about the order; for it says, he went away sorrowful. What time for theology was there here? To him who asked what to do to be numbered among the saved, what reason is there not to reveal what he sought to learn, but to say something else contrary to his desire? How could he bear to be taught the mystery above all when he could not bear the burden of one gospel command, thus failing in his desire for good things, as he could not even accommodate it in word? For he was saddened, as it is written. Since the lawyer, seeing a man, approached as to a man and asked as to a mere man, correcting him as ignorant, especially as he was assumed to be wise by seeming to know the law, he gently says, 'One is good in truth, God.' Why then, approaching as to a man, do you attribute to me alone what belongs to God by nature, calling me good? For one is good by nature, that is, God. If then you know, he says, that I am God and therefore good, why do you approach as to a mere man? But if you do not believe me to be God, but think me to be a mere man, why do you attribute to a man what belongs to God alone? Therefore, the saying is a correction of ignorance, not a theological explanation."

15.If we also examine the whole intent of the subject, we will clearly know what the divine Athanasius wishes, that he is not establishing theology for us but mocking the heretics into ignorance, saying that from which they take hold against us. For the heretics babbled that the Son is one with the Father as we become

one with God, and they misinterpreted certain sayings of Scripture to support this. Athanasius first explained those sayings and then, abundantly refuting the heretics, says from that apostolic saying, "By this, we know that we abide in Him and He in us, because He has given us of His Spirit," and then adds, "Unless they dare, as in all things, to say now that the Son has come into the Father by partaking of the Spirit and improving in action. But even this is exceedingly impious, even to contemplate; for He Himself, as it is said, gives the Spirit, and all that the Spirit has, it has from the Word." Then, bringing everything back to the original purpose and concluding the whole discourse well, he adds at the end, "Those hearing these things, the God-fighters should henceforth be ashamed and no longer imagine themselves equal to God, nor do they understand; for the impious man, he says, will not understand knowledge, nor will they endure pious words; for they are burdensome and annoying to them."

16.The teacher's intent is clear to those who follow this whole section of the discourse. He says, "If they dare to say that the Son has come into the Father by partaking of the Spirit and improving in action, but he opposes them by saying that the Son gives the Spirit; how then will He partake of the Spirit, by whom rather all who partake of the Spirit partake? For He is the one giving it to all." Since it is clear from the Holy Scripture that the Spirit is given by the Word, they should rather think the opposite, if they wish to seem to attend to the Scripture at all, that all the Spirit has, it has from the Word. As much as appears, it would be more reasonable for them to understand this, hearing that the Son gives the Spirit, than to think that the Son partakes of the Spirit in the Father, having no basis for this from the Scripture but impiously inventing it themselves.

17.Therefore, the saying is a correction of ignorance by the teacher, not a demonstration of theology; for what time was there here for such words to show what order the Spirit has to the Father and the Son in its own subsistence, just as that correction of our Lord was a correction of ignorance, not an explanation of theology? For our Lord does not deny there to be good, nor does the teacher here assert that the intent of the Spirit being given and supplied by the Son is that all it has is from the Word. And what Basil says about Gregory the Wonderworker, we can also now say about Athanasius, that he did not say these things doctrinally but polemically in the debate with the heretics, since he appears nowhere else to say such a thing doctrinally, but rather says thus in the letter to Serapion: "Therefore, those who think ill about the Holy Spirit also do not think well about the Son; for if they thought rightly about the Word, they would think healthily also about the Spirit." Then adding what is the healthy thought about the Spirit and setting forth the Church's pattern, he says: "The Spirit proceeds from the Father and is proper to the Son, and from Him is given to the disciples and all who believe in Him." So thinking otherwise about the Spirit is not healthy according to him. Therefore, he was not doctrinally stating that the Spirit has its being from the Son as from a causative principle, if indeed he was to think healthily, nor was his intent about the Spirit, but rather about the divinity of the Son. And he refutes the heretics abundantly, seeming also to say something about the Spirit; but his intent was to show the Son neither partaking of the Spirit nor a creature for this reason, just as in the second of those discourses he says the same things directly. For there he says: "To give the Spirit with authority is not of a creature nor of a work, but a gift of God; for creatures are sanctified by the Holy Spirit; but the Son, not being sanctified by the Spirit, but rather giving it to all, is shown not to be a creature but the true Son of the Father." Cyril also brings the same meaning in the fourth chapter of the Thesaurus: "If we, being partakers of God by grace, are called sons, to what would we say the Word partakes to become Son or God? We indeed

partake of the Holy Spirit; but to think this of the Word is ignorant; for He Himself says of the Spirit, 'He takes from what is mine.' Of what then does He partake?" You see that he also mocks the ignorance of those saying that the Son partakes of the Spirit from the Scripture; for they overlook, he says, what the Savior Himself says in the Gospels, that the Spirit rather takes from the Son's things; and if they had rightly believed this, they would not say that the Son partakes of the Spirit.

18.That we should be more attentive and reverent listeners to the sayings of Athanasius than to those of other teachers, because the more accurate he is towards the truth, the more simple and unpretentious he is in word and phrase, if we are not to wrong both ourselves and him, is clear. For in a chapter titled "On Blasphemy Against the Holy Spirit," he says that Christ calls the deity of the Word (that is, Himself) the Holy Spirit. If someone were to seize this with a distorted mind, they would think that the deity of the Word is the Holy Spirit according to Athanasius; but the Holy Spirit was not united personally to human nature; therefore, the deity of the Word was not united personally to human nature, and such a person would think they say something through Athanasius. Again, Athanasius in a chapter on the natural communion of the divine persons says, "If the Son is from God, why do they not see that the one being from someone is the son of him from whom he is." And again, "Nothing is one with the Father unless it is from Him. What then is from Him except the Son?"

19.If everything that exists from someone is a son of the one from whom it exists, and the Spirit exists from God, the Spirit is then the Son of God; and if nothing exists from the Father except the Son, that is, if everything from the Father is a son, and the Spirit is not the Son, then the Spirit is not from the Father. This is another blasphemous conclusion. Someone else might deliberately misinterpret these things; but we, having the intent of faith and ecclesiastical mind, as Athanasius himself says, recognize what someone might have wrongly thought with a distorted mind, having a straight mind. Thus, we also understand the teacher's saying now before us piously and ecclesiastically, and do not pay attention to the mere words but to the intent of the speaker and the necessity of the words, as shown by the other teachers in the previous section, how the Scriptures must be interpreted. Otherwise, it would not even be true, I think, according to the mind of those who oppose us that the Spirit has from the Word all that it has; let them have that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son according to them or that it proceeds from the Father and the Son as from two persons constituting another person. This it would not have from the Son; for it is not from the Son and through the Son that it proceeds from the Father and the Son, unless the Son is the first person in the divinity; for it must be from the Father alone and through the Father that the whole proceeds to the Spirit, since the Son also has the projection of the Spirit through the Father. But if indeed, as doctrinally stated, this must be accepted, therefore it is said that the Spirit has from the Word all that it has, because what it has is of the Word. But the Son does not have these from Himself but from the Father, nor the Spirit from elsewhere than from the Father; but taking from the Father, in the Son and with the Son it receives and has these, and therefore is said to have the things of the Son from the Son. And again, when proceeding through the Son with all that it has from the Father, which is also in the Son without change, it is said to receive from the Son, and this reception is more communal, one might say, than causative; for taking from itself the Spirit and giving to men, it takes from the Son and gives, because they have the same knowledge and power; and what the Spirit gives, it gives of the Son, not having itself received from there, but as what it gives are the same

things the Son gives and has, being proper to the Son and the giving being one; and what it gives, the Son also gives no less, in the same, as one giver and provider of such goods, being of itself and the Spirit.

20.And of this opinion is our blessed Cyril in the tenth of the interpretations on John, saying: "Since it is consubstantial with the Son and proceeds divinely through Him, having all its perfect operation and power from Him, therefore He says, 'He will take from what is mine.'" And a little later: "Therefore it is wholly blameless and beyond all reproach to say that the Spirit takes something from the Only-begotten; for proceeding naturally through Him as His own with all that He has perfectly, it is said to take from His own."

21.If someone thinks the interpretation of this saying is somewhat forced, let them remember this also, besides what has been said, that such a proposition is said once in the writings of Athanasius and not once in the other teachers, and one should not leave the many teachers clearly explaining that Gospel saying, as previously set forth, which was the foundation of that proposition of Athanasius, and cling to that proposition alone and think to conclude everything from it. For one should not be excessively attached to such things, but should hear what Basil says in the works against Eunomius: "I have much to say about this phrase; first, that it is said once in all the Scriptures; then, that it is in a book having much hidden in its thought, so that nothing can be taken from it as indisputable or clear." If we also have to say about the sayings of Athanasius that they are said once and somewhat unclearly, yet we accept them, and applying the opinions of other teachers as a rule and standard, we clarify and smooth out the forced and unclear aspects of them due to the polemical necessity, we act more piously and wisely than those who for this one phrase ignore all the rest.

d. On "the character of the hypostasis."

1.Since from that apostolic saying, in which the Son is called "the character of the Father's hypostasis" (Hebrews 1:3), they attempt to show that the Son is the cause of the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit—as the Son would not be the character of the Father's hypostasis if He did not possess all the attributes of the Father's hypostasis—it is clear that otherwise, there would be no right understanding in claiming this. But regarding the current objection, it is sufficient to examine how the teachers understand that saying and whether it necessarily follows from what the teachers say that the Son is the cause of the Spirit's hypostasis because He is the character of the Father's hypostasis or not.

2.Chrysostom, in the interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans, says: Since some misunderstand the example, saying that the radiance is not subsistent but has its being in another, do not take this, O man, and do not fall into the sickness of Marcellus and Photinus. You have the cure close at hand. So that your mind does not fall into that error, he immediately adds, "and the character of His hypostasis," indicating that just as the Father is subsistent and needs no other for His subsistence, so also the Son. Here, showing the exact resemblance, he said this, referring you to the unique character of the original and teaching that He is subsistent and has His being in Himself. And again: Through the radiance, He indicated the equal essence and showed His closeness to the Father.

3.Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, says: "And the character of His hypostasis. For He exists in Himself," he says, "showing the Father wholly in Himself; for He bears the paternal characters." And continuing: "He called Him the Son, indicating Him to be other than the Father according to the reason of sonship; and He

called Him the creator of the ages, teaching His eternity through this; and He called Him the radiance of the glory, indicating the co-eternity and the same essence through this; for the radiance is from the nature of the fire. He added that He is also the character of the hypostasis, knowing both equally, that He exists in Himself and shows the paternal characters in Himself."

4.Basil, in the letter to his brother, says: The Apostle thinks it should be so. Even though the reason of faith teaches the distinct and separate difference of the hypostases, he also shows the close and almost conjoined nature of the Only-begotten to the Father through the said things, not as if the Only-begotten does not exist in hypostasis, but as not admitting any intermediate state in His union with the Father. So that the one who contemplates the character of the Only-begotten through the eyes of the soul also understands the hypostasis of the Father in contemplation, not as if the contemplated property in them is exchanged or mingled, as if applying generation to the Father or unbegottenness to the Son, but as not possible to separate one from the other and grasp the remaining in itself alone; for it is not possible to name the Son without also contemplating the Father, as the relation of this name also includes the Father. Since the one who sees the Son sees the Father, as the Lord says in the Gospels, therefore He calls the Only-begotten the character of the Father's hypostasis. And towards the end: Therefore, the hypostasis of the Son is like the form and face of the Father's knowledge, and the hypostasis of the Father is known in the form of the Son, with the observed property remaining in them for a clear distinction of the hypostases.

5.From the same, in the first book against Eunomius: For this reason, He is called the radiance, that we may understand the conjoined, and the character of His hypostasis, that we may learn the consubstantial.

6.Cyril, in the thirty-second of the Thesaurus, says: Since there is no difference between them as to divinity and nature, how could the Son be generated, not being this of the Father, whose unaltered image and character He is?

7.In the same: Therefore, just as He is from the living Father, so He is Himself living, preserving the character of the Father's natural likeness everywhere, since He is from the unbegotten Father, He will also be unbegotten; and since He is from the true God, He will be the true God, and not made or created or recent.

8.The same about the image: Athanasius, in the first book against the Arians, says: Let us see the things of the Father, that we may also know the image, if it is of Him. The Father is eternal, immortal, powerful, light, king, almighty, God, Lord, creator, and maker. These things must be in the image, that truly he who has seen the Son has seen the Father.

9.If the Father is seen in the Son and the image is the unaltered image of the essence of the begetter, as it is said by Him, "He who has seen me has seen the Father," it is necessary for Him to have by nature all that the Father has; for thus the character will be exact. The Father is eternal, immortal, king, creator, almighty, God, maker; these things are also of the Son.

10.Here, the teachers say that the Son is the image and character of the Father as to divinity and nature, and even the image of the Father's hypostasis, because He is similarly subsistent; but the property remains in them for the distinction of the hypostases, and enumerating the essential attributes of the Father, nowhere do they place the projection of the Spirit, so it cannot be concluded from this that the Son is the cause of the Spirit. That the projection is a property of the Father will be shown more adequately later; and if the image and character are understood according to the likeness of the hypostatic properties, the Father will be more like the Son than the Spirit, as the Son shares one of the personal properties with the Father or both more

according to those who interpret thus; but the Spirit, neither. And thus the Son will be more the image of the Father than the Spirit of the Son, since He is also sometimes called the image of the Son.

e. On "the Spirit of the Son and the Spirit of Christ."

1.Not only the apostolic sayings in which the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of the Son are understood in the sense that the Spirit has its being from the Son causatively, and they understand the being of the Son and the procession from the Son and the cause of His hypostasis in the same way. But it is clear from what follows that the teachers think otherwise about this and how they understand those apostolic sayings.

2.From the first council. The first council says: "Accept, it says, one deity of the Father who begot the Son ineffably, and of the Son who was begotten from Him, and of the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father, and is proper to the Son, as the Apostle says: 'If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to Him.'"

3.Basil in the eighteenth of the letters to Amphilochius: "But it is also called the Spirit of Christ as naturally belonging to Him."

4.From the same in the letter to his brother: "And the one who said only the Spirit included in this confession both the one from whom it is and the one who is not the Spirit of Christ, for it is from God, as the Apostle says."

5.Chrysostom in the treatise on the Spirit: "The Spirit of God and the Spirit from God; and so that we might not think it is called the Spirit of God by familiarity, Scripture introduces the Holy Spirit and adds to God the one from God; one is God, and the other is from God."

6.Anastasius in the treatise on the correct doctrines: "The Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of the Son, showing through all these names the natural kinship of the deity." And again the same: "To the apostles it is always partaken; but to the Savior Christ and our God, as consubstantial and of the same divinity. Therefore, it is called the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ."

7.Cyril in the Thesaurus: "Accept from me again right thoughts about the Holy Spirit, so that you may learn that it belongs to the essence of the Father and is not alien to the one deity; for having called it the Spirit of God, he immediately also calls it the Spirit of Christ, showing that all that belongs to the Father naturally passes to the Son born from Him; and he again immediately calls it the Spirit of Christ, saying, 'If Christ is in you,' showing that it is not alien to the nature of the Word."

8.John of Damascus in the treatise on the divine-body burial: "This is what we worship: the Father, unbegotten generator of the Son, for He is not from anyone; the Son, offspring of the Father, as begotten from Him; the Holy Spirit of God and the Father, as proceeding from Him, which is also called of the Son, as manifested through Him and given to creation, but not having its existence from Him."

9.From the same: "And the Spirit of the Son, not as from Him, but through Him proceeding from the Father; for the Father alone is the cause."

10.From the same: "We do not say the Spirit is from the Son, but we call it the Spirit of the Son."

EXEGESIS OF CONTRAVERSIAL TEXT

11.Basil: "The Apostle clearly preached that the Spirit is from God, saying, 'We have received the Spirit from God'; and he made it clear that it is manifested through the Son, calling it the Spirit of the Son, as well as of God."

12.Cyril in the Thesaurus: "How is the Spirit not God, having in itself essentially the property of the Father and the Son, of whom it is the Spirit, given to creation through the Son?"

13.Here three things must be considered: first, how the Spirit of the Son is understood according to Basil, which John of Damascus also follows; second, that he calls the property natural, not hypostatic; otherwise, the Holy Spirit must necessarily be both unbegotten and begotten and offspring, and what it is, procession; third, that if the property is natural and essential of the Father and the Son and the projection, it must also belong to the Spirit, since it has according to Cyril the whole property of the Father and the Son.

14.From the same in the second of the interpretations on John: "For where shall we descend to such absurdity, to think that the Spirit exists in the naturally existing Son partaken, and not rather essentially inherent, as indeed also in the Father Himself. For just as the Spirit is of the Father, so it is of the Son; and thus we have read in the divine scriptures."

15.Behold, he has clearly shown how the Spirit is called of the Son in Scripture and what the speaker means.

f. On "the Spirit proper to the Son."

1.Again, from the fact that the Spirit is called proper to the Son, the same thing is shown: for they say it is proper to the Son as of the same nature, as not alien; they say thus referring to or translating the Spirit of the Son.

2.For Cyril, interpreting "When the Comforter comes," says: "We say that the Comforter, that is, the Holy Spirit, is proper to the Son, as not being introduced externally nor acquired in Him, as it is in those who recei ve holiness."

3.And Athanasius in the first book against the Arians understood the term proper to the Son in this way: "The Son," he says, "is from me and proper and similar to my essence."

4.And again: "Proper and of the same nature as the essence of the Father."

5.And again: "The only proper and true son from His essence."

6.And again in the third book against the Arians: "From the term giving, He means that He Himself is no t the Father; and in the term thus, He shows the natural property and similarity of the Son to the Father."

7.Since it was not sufficient for the heretics to acknowledge the Son of God to be this very Son, to show the unity in essence between the Father and the Son, they acknowledged Him to be the Son and to have His b eing from God and the Father; but of another essence, as the beings from God are not from His essence, Ath anasius necessarily shows from some scriptural passages this subsequent fact, which they denied, that is, that He is a proper, true, and consubstantial Son.

8.Therefore, the Spirit is also called proper to the Son according to the first council and Cyril, as of the sa me nature, as being of His essence, as akin, as true; the council instead of saying the Spirit of the Son, said pro per to the Son, as is clear. And Athanasius often said this and Cyril took it from both; so from this the Holy S pirit being called the Spirit of the Son indicates the same nature and kinship.

EXEGESIS OF CONTRAVERSIAL TEXT

9.Further, Cyril in the letter to John of Antioch, saying "We cannot tolerate any way of being shaken," the n adds: "But the Spirit of God and the Father, proceeding from Him, is not alien to the Son according to the reason of essence." So according to the reason of essence, he says the Spirit is of the Son, which means it is n ot alien to the Son.

10.But they say that if calling the Spirit of the Son indicated identity or equality of essence, it would be rev ersible, and the Son would be called of the Spirit. But this relative sequence does not reverse, according to Gr egory of Nyssa, and this teacher distinguishes the Son from the Spirit in this way. Therefore, it is not a relatio n of equality but rather a relation of cause, or of superiority from the cause to what is from it, and therefore n ot reversible.

11.Against this objection, we first say that the double exceeds the half. But the half is called of the double, and the double of the half; and the master much more exceeds the slave, and they are reversed; and things ha ving a relation of cause sometimes reverse; for a father is called of a son, and a son of a father. These names i ndicate a certain reference to cause. Therefore, the sequence of these names, the Son and the Spirit, because it indicates cause and superiority, not equality, does not reverse.

12.Secondly, if the Son is the cause of the Spirit for other reasons, let it be; but we should not make a pro of of the Son being the cause of the Spirit from the fact that the Son is not called of the Spirit. For the Father is not called of the Spirit, but He is no less its cause. Why does it not reverse? There Gregory of Nyssa does n ot say; so we should not understand from Gregory of Nyssa that the Son being the cause of the Spirit or not i s more important.

13.Augustine clearly teaches the reason: for he says in the twelfth book of the fifteenth of the Trinity: "W e say the Holy Spirit is of the Father, but we do not say in return the Father is of the Holy Spirit, lest the Holy Spirit be understood as His Son. And again, we say the Holy Spirit is of the Son, but we do not say in return t he Son is of the Holy Spirit, lest the Holy Spirit be understood as His Father."

14.Therefore, we also agree with Augustine that the Spirit is called of the Son as naturally belonging to Hi m; and the Son is not called of the Spirit, even though it would be said so, for the unity of nature, lest the Spir it be understood as Father. But with the former interpretation being different, according to Aristotle in the Ca tegories, and this must be done, the inversion is properly made. For if the Spirit of the Son is Spirit as consubs tantial with the Son, let it be said the Spirit is consubstantial with the Son. Therefore, the Son will also be con substantial with the Spirit, and the sequence will be true on both sides.

15.And indeed, they say, Augustine, who says this also says the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, which surely implies that the Son is the cause and principle of the Spirit. Therefore, as it pleases in the interpretation of non-reversibility, let it also please in those.

16.Therefore, one must consider Augustine and some other Western teachers, how they do not say that the Son is the cause or origin of the Spirit, nor that it proceeds from the Son, but that it goes forth; and thus they agree with the Asian teachers. But now it is enough for us that Augustine also says that we do not call the Son of the Holy Spirit, lest the Spirit be thought to be His Father, and not that the divine persons come from each other, as Gregory of Nyssa understands; rather, those who say that the Spirit is of the Son interpret it as proceeding and subsisting from the Son.

g. On the breathing and the power that proceeded from Christ.

EXEGESIS OF CONTRAVERSIAL TEXT

1.Since they also try to demonstrate their doctrine from the fact that the Holy Spirit was given through breathing and from that Gospel saying "I knew power had gone out from me," understanding the power proceeding from the Son as the essence or hypostasis of the Spirit, about which the inquiry is where it proceeds hypostatically; thinking this to be shown through breathing and that the breathing is a sign of the hypostatic procession, it is necessary to respond with one very clear saying for each of them. For our own Cyril, whom they try to mislead from us and themselves, says in the eleventh chapter of the Thesaurus about the breathing: "After the resurrection from the dead, renewing in us the ancient grace of the Spirit, the Savior breathed on the disciples, saying, 'Receive the Holy Spirit.' And explaining that saying: 'They necessarily now receive the grace of the Spirit coupled with the dignity of the apostleship.' And again: 'Someone might say, perhaps, when did the disciples receive the grace of the Spirit? When He stood among them after the resurrection and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' or at Pentecost?' About the power, he says this in the twelfth of the interpretations on John, explaining 'Then Annas sent him bound': 'The apostles, having received the grace through the Spirit, which Christ also called power from on high.' And all the teachers say the same.

2.For Basil, in the sixteenth of the letters to Amphilochius, says: 'Renewing man, the Lord gives back the grace that was lost from the breathing of God, breathing into the face of the disciples and saying, 'Receive the Holy Spirit; if you forgive anyone's sins, they are forgiven; if you retain anyone's sins, they are retained.'

3.And John Chrysostom: 'No one would be wrong in saying that the disciples then received a certain spiritual authority and grace to forgive sins; therefore, He added, 'If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven,' showing that He gives a certain kind of energy. For the grace of the Spirit is unspeakable and the gift manifold. This happens so that you may learn that the gift and authority of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one.'

4.And Athanasius in the discourse on the Trinity: 'Therefore, He breathed into the face of the apostles, saying, 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' so that we might learn that the Spirit given to the disciples is from the fullness of divinity; for in Christ, he says, dwells, that is, in His flesh, all the fullness of divinity bodily.'

5.And Gregory the Theologian says about this: 'The breathing after the economy clearly would be a more divine inspiration.'

6.And Augustine also says: 'For that physical breathing was not the essence of the Holy Spirit, but a sign through suitable expression, that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son.'

7.But Chrysostom says: 'It is necessary to understand what the heretics say the names signifying the nature of the Holy Spirit are, and what those interpreting the grace are; but they corrupted the truth, confused everything, and deviated from the truth; for the Holy Spirit is one thing, and the grace another; the king is one thing, and the gift of the king another. If you hear someone saying, 'I will send you the Holy Spirit,' do not understand the divinity; for God is not sent; these are names signifying the energy.' And these are the things about them.

h. On the saying of Athanasius, where the Son seems to be said to be greater than the Spirit.

EXEGESIS OF CONTRAVERSIAL TEXT

1.We must examine what alliance they gain from our sacred teachers of the Church, having selected what seems to them the most important, just as we have set forth the most effective of those they try to gather from the Holy Scripture.

2.First, they present Athanasius, saying that the Son is greater than the Spirit, as it seems to them. For he says in the first book against the Arians: "So the Lord spoke to the Jews as a man; but showing His divinity and greatness to the disciples, He no longer signified Himself as lesser than the Spirit but greater and equal, giving the Spirit and saying, 'I send Him to you, and He will glorify me, and will speak whatever He hears.'" They reason thus: Just as the Father is said to be greater than the Son, so must the Son be said to be greater than the Spirit, if it were said, and not in any other way. The Father is said to be greater than the Son as His cause; and the Son is therefore said to be greater than the Spirit as its cause. They take the saying that the Son is greater than the Spirit from Athanasius, as said; and they confirm the sequence from the equality of the divine persons and the necessity that just as the equal things are in the Father and the Son, and the Son to the Spirit without any difference, so if any superiority is understood among them, it must equally exist in both; and they derive from Cyril that the Father is greater than the Son because of the cause, as he says in the eleventh of the Thesaurus: "The Son, being equal to the Father in essence and similar in everything, He calls the Father greater as unoriginated, having the origin according to the source, even if He has a co-existent existence with Him." And they show something similar from Augustine. First, we will show how the saints understand the Father being said to be greater than the Son with a few of their sayings from many, and then clarify what Athanasius's saying means.

3.How the teachers understand the Father being greater than the Son. Therefore, all believe that the Father is said to be greater than the Son because of the humanity and the economy. For immediately, the holy Athanasius in the discourse against the Arians and on the incarnation says thus: "And when He says, 'My Father who sent me is greater than I,' since He became man, He says that the Father is greater than Him; but being the Word of the Father, He is equal to Him; for He says, 'I and the Father are one,' and 'He who has seen me has seen the Father.'"

4.And Cyril in the Thesaurus says thus: "Economically, He says that the Father is greater than Him, as He became man, yielding to the nature of divinity the superiority over the created." And again: "The Son, being equal to the Father, economically places the lesser on Himself, as shown."

5.Basil in the Refutations: "Greater is either by size or time or dignity or as a cause. But the Father is not greater than the Son by size; for He is without age; nor by magnitude; for He is incorporeal; nor by time; for the Son is the creator of time; nor by dignity; for the Son did not become what He was not; nor as a cause, since He is equally our cause and His."

6.And John Chrysostom: "If He says, 'The Father who sent me is greater than I,' do not be troubled; for He does not speak of divinity to divinity, but that divinity is greater than humanity."

7.And again: "They thought the Father to be great. He says then, 'If you feared for me, as not being able to support myself, and did not believe that I would see you again after the cross, but having heard that I go to my Father, you should rejoice now, as I go to the greater, who can solve all troubles.'"

8.And Gregory of Nyssa in the discourse on Abraham: "Therefore, both are true in the divine Scripture, acknowledging the greater and not denying the equal. When the Word looks to the human, He acknowledges the Father, who is not seen through the flesh, as greater; but when He leads the mind to the divine, this

comparative distinction of greater and lesser is inactive, and instead, unity is proclaimed: 'I and the Father are one.' What is unequal cannot be one."

9.And Amphilochius: "When you consider the lower birth, say that the Father is greater than the man; but when you ascend to the higher, understand the equal."

10.And Isidore: "Why did He say, 'My Father is greater than I'? He said this not for teaching but for comforting the apostles who were terrified, as they were about to be captured, going to the one they thought to be greater; for He did not say this at any other time but on the night He was handed over."

11.Thus the teachers explaining that Gospel saying doctrinally and presenting its proper and primary meaning to the faithful listeners. If anyone interprets it otherwise, they disagree with the teachers and the truth.

12.If Cyril says that the Father is greater than the Son because of the cause, but equal in essence, he says this in such a context and with such a purpose, just as the blessed Gregory the Theologian also says something similar. For Gregory also says in the fourth of the theological discourses: "The greater is of the cause, the equal is of the essence." But he adds: "And we confess this with much gratitude." And again he concludes: "These things are said against those boasting about the greater." For the heretics, he says, boast greatly about the saying of the greater and think to have us caught by it. Granting them that the Father is not said to be greater only for the economy but also in the eternal order of the hypostases, the greatness belongs to the Father concerning the Son, we no less reject the natural difference in them. For it is not unreasonable that one who is the Father with the Son and equal in essence, as His cause and begetter, may be called greater, the concept of greater and prior always applying to the cause concerning the one from it, even if they are the same in essence. If necessarily this meaning alone must be the truth of the greater said about the Father, he would not confess it with much gratitude, nor could he say anything else, being wise and having a right mind.

13.And Cyril also says in the eleventh of the Thesaurus (and I think this saying helps to understand Athanasius's saying, which we are now considering): "So then, will they say that the Spirit differs from itself or is not like itself in essence, since it appears less in lesser and greater in greater, fulfilling the capacity of the recipients? But I think you would not be so mad as to dare to say this. Therefore, since the incorporeal nature does not receive in itself the greater and lesser, when Christ says that the Father is greater than Him, the saying will again be fitting to the humanity, not an accusation of His divine essence, as if it is lesser or in what the begetter is." Therefore, if the Father is not necessarily greater than the Son because of the cause, neither is their conclusion necessary. And if it is mainly said because of the flesh united to the Son, but the Spirit has not united flesh, how can the Son be said to be greater than the Spirit? And if the saints, granting with much gratitude, confess that the Father is greater than the Son in divinity as His cause, how can we believe that Athanasius doctrinally says to us that the Son is greater than the Spirit, which is not even expressly found in the Scripture, as the Son says that the Father is greater than Him in the Gospels?

i. How to understand Athanasius's saying.

1.Although Athanasius's saying can be understood in many pious ways, including saying that the Son is greater than the Spirit in regard to the gifts of the Spirit, which might also be understood as greater, and equal

in regard to the nature of the Spirit, it seems to us more appropriate to consider the teacher's intent and the power of the whole passage.

2.The heretics, understanding "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me" as referring to Christ, rightly interpreted it to the detriment of the divine Word. But this teacher allows that the thought of this saying is humble, for what is anointed and sanctified is clearly less than the one who sanctifies. He says that this humility is fitting for the Son of God because of the assumed flesh. Then he shows that Scripture does not stop at the humble things but, just as it introduces the Son of God saying this about Himself, it also shows Him giving the Spirit to the apostles; this no longer signifies humility, but rather some superiority. Just as Christ sometimes speaks of Himself as lesser than the Spirit, saying, "If I cast out demons by the Spirit of God," to refute the blaspheming Jews, He also says, "I send Him (the Spirit), and He will glorify me," and similar things, to show Himself as not lesser than the Spirit as He had shown before, but rather greater, and from there showing the equality clearly. For it is impossible for the same one to be both greater and lesser than the same one, and showing Himself as greater than the Spirit and not refraining from saying He is lesser again, not to claim the impossible but to show the equality through these, and from there the diverse and manifold wisdom of God's economy towards us shines more clearly through each other, showing equality in all things between the Son and the Spirit.

3.If Athanasius allows each to be greater than the other, and clearly to those who pay close attention to the part of those words, and means greater by cause, as our opponents want, and wishes to be the cause of each other—this is far from being his most correct thought. For that Athanasius rightly allows that through the Spirit casting out demons some greatness of the Spirit towards the Son is witnessed, Cyril in the thirty-fourth of the Thesaurus stands as a witness for us, and especially for Athanasius before us. For he says there: "If God is glorified by expelling demons through the power of the Spirit, and the Spirit is according to some of the uneducated a creature and created, then the ability of God is in a creation. And how is it not greater than Him in which He is glorified? But it is impious to think or say this at all (that some creation is greater than God). Therefore, the Spirit is not created, in which God through the Son does all things, and through it is glorified."

4.The understanding we attribute to Athanasius's saying is not only appropriate to his purpose, as has been said and shown, but also is most true and ecclesiastical in the whole sense, and as from Scripture showing the Son greater than the Spirit, and again the Spirit greater than the Son. Their equality is established for those who can rightly understand these things and do not hunt for words nor draw everything to their own desire, and Augustine is a witness. For in the fourth chapter of the second book on the Trinity, he says: "For the Holy Spirit is able to glorify the Son, whom the Father glorifies; so if the one who glorifies is greater than the one glorified, let them be allowed to be equal to each other in glorifying." Generally, not only Athanasius in this part and everywhere, but also all the teachers would be seen using this reasoning against the heretics, who hunting for some words from Scripture, sometimes showing the Son less than the Spirit, and sometimes the Spirit less than the Son badly, and not extending their views to the whole mind of the sacred Scripture. Whenever they bring forth those showing the Son less than the Spirit, these bring forth those showing the Son greater than the Spirit, not to truly show the Son greater than the Spirit; for they aim at the opposite when they fight against the Pneumatomachi, but to refute the heretics who falsely claim that the Spirit's superiority to the Son by grasping those seeming to testify the same about the Son to the Spirit

and ignoring and passing over them. And this is an excellent way of struggle; for one proposing false things must be refuted as proposing false things themselves.

5.To establish the truth doctrinally is of secondary importance, and this method is especially needed towards those who listen piously and obediently; but the former, towards those who resist contentiously. Hence, the teachers everywhere proclaim the equality of the divine persons to the pious listeners and remove the greater and lesser from there with all their might; but those shamelessly against this truth, they strike from the very Scripture from which they wage war against the truth; for the diverse and manifold wisdom of that divine economy gives us such consistent words, from which those who want to do wrong sometimes fight against the Son of God, alas, sometimes against the Holy Spirit, not willing or not being able to balance the truth on either side. But to those who listen piously and ecclesiastically, the saving doctrine of equality shines forth and reverence towards the whole divine nature.

6.One of our opponents would marvel that they have neither Athanasius nor any other teacher saying to us that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, or that it subsists from Him, or that it has its cause of hypostasis from Him, or that the Son is its cause, or that He is its principle, or anything of the sort, with which they would very justly take us, clearly speaking the matter; but hunting some words from the struggles against the heretics, having another meaning and purpose, and misinterpreting these and combining other ambiguous positions, they think they conclude, as here, taking that Athanasius says the Son is greater than the Spirit and greater by cause, since the Father is also said to be greater than the Son only by cause, they declare that the Son is the cause of the Spirit. And they think this argument strong, although it has no true or necessary foundation; but they reject the sayings of the teachers, who clearly say that the Son is not the cause of the Spirit, as weaker than such an argument.

j. On the saying of Basil: "As the Son is related to the Father, so the Spirit is related to the Son."

1.Furthermore, they bring forth Basil in his letters to Amphilochius, saying: "As the Son is to the Father, so the Spirit is to the Son according to the order given in baptism." They attach to this that the Son is to the Father as the caused to the cause, as they are accustomed to saying, as the one from the beginning to its own origin, and they conclude that the Spirit is caused by the Son or has the origin of its hypostasis from the Son, which is the same as saying that it has its being from the Son. Suppose, then, that the teacher's intent was not clear from the preceding and following context; could it be that in "as it is" and "so it is," one could understand every similarity without excluding any, or make no distinction between one and another similarity in those comparative adverbs? According to this method, the Spirit would be a begetting of the Son, just as the Son is of the Father, and the Spirit would be from the Son alone, just as the Son is from the Father alone, and many such things would follow. If then we cannot piously understand every similarity under those adverbs, and there are some impossible similarities that one would wrongly think, what necessity is there to understand it as concerning the cause and nothing else, from only part of the saying, from which they think to conclude sufficiently? The teacher himself shows more clearly than sunlight concerning what he places this similarity and against what kind of similarity innovated by the heretics he is arguing. For the heretics, against whom his argument is directed, said that the Spirit is subordinate to the Son, and therefore it is naturally inferior, he refutes this error in two ways. He asks: "Do you say that the Son is subordinate to the Father, and

the Spirit to the Son, or do you restrict this subordination only to the Spirit? For if you subordinate the Son as well, you revive the same impiety of dissimilar essence, of inferior dignity, of later generation, and simply all the blasphemies against the Only-begotten through this one saying you will show to be recurring; to refute which more fully than in the present impulse is longer, but also done by us in other places according to our ability refuting the impiety. But if you think the subordination applies only to the Spirit, let them learn that the Spirit is conjointly named with the Lord as the Son with the Father; for the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit is equally given. Therefore, as the Son is to the Father, so the Spirit is to the Son according to the order given in the baptismal formula. If the Spirit is conjointly ordered to the Son, and the Son to the Father, and the Spirit to the Father accordingly, what place is there for saying that one is subordinate and the other is not, when the names are ordered in one and the same series? Overall, the one numbering everything according to its nature has ever been counted?" And what follows. Is it not evident that the teacher's intent is to refute the subordination introduced by the heretics, saying that the Spirit is numbered with the Son as the Son with the Father? He is not examining processions and their relations here, for that was not the purpose, but only the establishment of the deity of the Spirit endangered and attacked.

2.Such is also Athanasius in his letter to Serapion, saying: "Such an order and nature of the Spirit to the Son, as the Son is to the Father, how can one who calls it a creature not think the same of the Son?" For addressing the heretics, who admitted the deity of the Son but denied that of the Spirit, he cites Gospel and apostolic sayings from which the connection of the Spirit to the Son is shown, because the same things are said of the Son to the Father, whose unity of essence they acknowledged. Then he concludes that since the same things are said between the Father and the Son in Scripture, and again the same between the Son and the Spirit, one who says the Spirit is a creature must of necessity think the same of the Son. It is clear that in saying such he does not allow every similarity to be understood, for he does not mean that the Spirit is the Son of the Son as the Son is of the Father. It is also clear that he excludes the projection, saying in the same part: "As the Son is the only-begotten offspring, so the Spirit given and sent by the Son is one and not many." He did not say "proceeding" or "projected" or "subsisting" or "having its being" or anything equivalent that would apply to the eternal existence of the Spirit.

3.But many are caught by the term "order" and think that Athanasius means that the Spirit has the same differentiation and union with the Son as the Son with the Father, meaning it proceeds as from its cause; therefore, it is both distinct from Him and refers to Him, and yet is not less one with Him in nature. But far from this, the teacher wishes here only to refute the subordination of the Spirit as a sign of its inferiority, as Eunomius did later, deceived by the humble things said about the Spirit in Scripture, he does not deny their order as Basil did later, but allows that as the divine persons are ordered in Scripture, so they are by nature to one another; he says they are ordered successively and connectedly, and explains a certain wonderful harmony of the divine persons taken from Scripture and concludes: "Such an order and unity being in the Trinity, who would separate the Son from the Father or the Spirit from the Son or the Father Himself? Or who would be so bold as to say the Trinity is dissimilar and different in nature, or that the Son is of different essence from the Father, or the Spirit is foreign to the Son?" And after adding more, having the same power as the previously said, he concludes: "Having such an order and nature of the Spirit to the Son as the Son to the Father, as shown from the scriptural examples, how can one who calls it a creature not think the same of the Son?" As he said "order" before, now he says "nature," and what he said before as "nature," now saying

"unity." And proceeding more clearly, he says: "Why do they call the Spirit a creature, having the same unity with the Son as the Son with the Father? They did not realize that as those who divide the Son from the Father do not preserve the unity of God, so those who divide the Spirit from the Word no longer preserve the unity of the Trinity." Clearly, those who separate the Son from the Father, and those who separate the Spirit from the Son, do not deny that the Son subsists from the Father or say that the Spirit subsists from the Son. They said that the same subsists from the Son, but creatively; the same foolishness was said by others about the Son. Clearly, he is not speaking about the cause, but about the natural unity, which the heretics sought to break by misunderstanding the order of the persons and thus dividing their nature. He cleverly refutes them from what they confessed about the Son and leads them to the abyss of Arian heresy if they do not confess the same about the Spirit, for the argument is the same for both. Pretending not to be Arians, yet they were, for what they said about the Son and the Spirit, they alone blasphemed about the Spirit, and destroyed the Trinity no less. Therefore, it cannot necessarily be concluded from these sayings that the Son, along with the Father, gives being to the Spirit and is the cause of the Spirit's hypostasis as the Father is the cause and principle of the Son's.

k. On the third in order and dignity.

1.Besides this, they bring forward a saying of Basil in the third book against Eunomius, stating that the Spirit is third from the Father and second to the Son in order and dignity. In this saying, it is added that the Spirit also has its being from the Son. But regarding the Spirit having its being from the Son will be addressed later; for now, they say, it is sufficient that he states the Spirit is third in order and dignity, and there can be no other order among the divine persons except that of cause, nor other dignity, so the Spirit is second to the Son in being from the Son; for the same teacher says there that the Son is second in order to the Father because He is from Him and for no other reason; and similarly second in dignity because the Father is His origin and cause, and for no other reason. Thus, as they understand and present this saying, they may speak and write as they wish; but as we know and are fully convinced it should be rightly understood and believed, we present. Immediately at the beginning of his discourse on the Spirit, Basil says: "Having scarcely ever been sated with blasphemies against the Only-begotten, he has turned to the Holy Spirit, consistently with his whole purpose and discoursing about this as well." He writes thus: "Having said enough about the Only-begotten, it would now be proper to speak about the Paraclete, not following the unexamined opinions of the many but maintaining the teaching of the saints in all things, from whom, learning it to be third in dignity and order, we have also believed it to be third in nature." He does not think it right to adhere to the simple and unartful faith of the many but again to deceive the truth with some technical and sophistical arguments according to what seems to him. He has sufficiently shown from what he said, for dishonoring the opinion of the many who glorify the Holy Spirit, he pretends to keep the teaching of the saints, and those who handed it down to him he keeps silent about, now as he also did in the discourses about the Only-begotten. Then he says he has learned from the saints that it is third in order and dignity, but from himself believes it to be third in nature. Who are the saints, and in what writings do they teach this doctrine? Has there ever been such a bold person introducing such innovations about divine things? For if the Spirit is third in dignity and order, why must it also be third in nature? Perhaps the reason of piety teaches that the Spirit is second in dignity to

the Son; but we have not learned from the saints' writings, nor can we logically deduce from what has been said, that it is third in nature. For as the Son is second to the Father in order, because He is from Him, and in dignity because He is the origin and cause of His being Father, and because through Him is the progress and access to God and the Father; but not second in nature, because the divinity is one in both; so also the Holy Spirit, though it might be second to the Son in order and dignity, if we entirely allow this, would no longer reasonably follow as of different nature, but would rather show that it is not so. And resuming or concluding after some remarks, he says: "What then does this reasoning lead to? That not necessarily, if something is second or third in order and dignity, it also has a different nature."

l. On being second in dignity.

1.In this saying, he first objects to the Spirit being third in order and dignity. This is the assumption of the hypothetical syllogism, or the lesser of the categorical, and he says that Eunomius cannot show any of the saints saying this, calling it bold and innovative to introduce such ideas on his own. Then he refutes the consequence or the greater premise conditionally, as usual, ending the argument: "So, from such arguments, it does not necessarily show that the Spirit is second to the Son in order and dignity." That this saying must be written in this way, the multitude of books and their antiquity testify, in which it is written so, as well as the sequence of the words; contrary writings present contrary evidence. But let it be that neither side benefits from the saying, considering it ambiguous due to being falsified by either side, especially since we can find the truth from elsewhere. Without this saying, it is clear that neither Basil nor anyone else uses the term "dignity" concerning the divine, unless loosely for the grandeur of divinity, and therefore they do not admit any superiority or inferiority of dignity in the comparison with each other. For Basil himself says in the seventeenth to Amphilochius: "But those who are afflicted with Greek ideas (namely, those around Eunomius) think in terms of degrees of dignity or descending essence, and these they number. The Lord, delivering Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, did not add a number; for He did not say 'into the first and second and third,' nor 'into one and two and three,' but by the holy names gave the knowledge of the saving faith." So, the faith that saves us is the same; the number is devised as a distinguishing mark of the quantity of the subjects.

2.And again, he says: "Those placing enumeration in the first and second and third should know they introduce polytheism of Greek error into the pure theology of Christians; for the crime of enumeration leads to acknowledging a first and second and third God. But to us, the order established by the Lord suffices, and anyone disturbing this will transgress no less than their impiety."

3.And again, he says: "Greater is either in size or time or dignity or as cause. But the Father is not greater in size than the Son; for He is eternal. Nor in magnitude; for He is incorporeal. Nor in time; for the Son is the maker of them. Nor in dignity; for the Son did not become what He was not. Nor as cause, for He will be greater than Himself and us, if He is the cause of Himself and us."

4.Gregory the Theologian, in his letter to Cledonius, says that Apollinarius, while giving the name of divinity to the Holy Spirit, did not preserve the power of divinity; for forming the Trinity from great and greater and greatest, as from a ray and beam and sun, of the Spirit and the Son and the Father, which is clearly written in his words, is a ladder of divinity leading not to heaven but bringing down from heaven. But

we know God as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and these are not mere names cutting up inequalities of dignity or power, but one and the same, as the designation, so the divinity, nature, essence, and power."

5.Gregory of Nyssa in the sixth against Eunomius: "We have not yet taken this wisdom, he says, nor the second and third spoken of in sequence implying rank and subordination, which this one wants to construct degrees of dignity and differences of natures from the order of the persons as delivered."

6.But Gregory the Theologian says that the Son has dignity over the Holy Spirit when He sends it. Referring to the discourse on the Spirit, it goes thus: "And by Jesus the Trinity is revealed gradually, as you also study diligently. I will ask the Father, He says, and He will send another Paraclete to you, the Spirit of truth, lest someone thinks there is a contradictory God or speaks from another power. Then He will send it, in My name. Leaving out 'I will ask,' He kept 'He will send.' Then 'I will send,' the proper dignity. Then 'It will come,' the authority of the Spirit. Do you see illuminations shining to us gradually and the orderly theology?"

7.Where does the teacher say here that the Son has dignity over the Spirit or is superior in dignity or anything like that? But gradually, Jesus reveals the Trinity to us in order; lest He seems contradictory, He attributes superiority to the Father and humbles Himself through the asking, then removes the inferiority saying 'I will send'; for it is a word of dignity and superiority, as it was also with the Father. Then He shows the dignity of divinity and the superiority. Until then, the Spirit is humbled as being sent. Then it also shares in equal dignity; for by saying 'it will come,' its authority and authenticity are signified; for the Spirit has the same dignity with the Father and the Son. This statement agrees with Basil's in the eleventh to Amphilochius. He says about the Spirit: "And in its own dignity, it shows the majesty of the one from whom it proceeded," meaning the Father. And again: "If the essences were different, the energies would have to be different according to the impious Eunomius; but testifying to the same authority and authenticity in the Spirit, the Savior said, 'The Spirit breathes where it wills.' The great Athanasius says in the discourse on the incarnation of Christ: 'Where the dignity is equal, the worship is equal.' In equal dignity, there is no strife; inequality raises strife, equality awards peace."

8.If the Spirit is sent economically, but operates autonomously according to the divine Basil in the discourse on faith, and according to Chrysostom divinity is not sent, and according to Gregory the Son is sent by the Father as a man, just as He is sent by the Spirit, what place is there for the dignity of cause inferred here, and who reckoning the Son as the cause of the Spirit would not seem to act without reason and against the common rules of theology? We must listen again to Gregory, saying: "Even if He is sent as God (meaning the Son by the Father), consider the Father's goodwill as the sending." So, also when the Spirit is sent by the Father, we must consider the Father's goodwill as the sending, and therefore it is also sent by the Son, and it comes because the goodwill is common, or rather the good will of the three; so the sending and the manifestation and improvement to creation through it is a common work of the Trinity. Some think it is a lesser thing for the Son of God concerning dignity and greatness to send the Holy Spirit. And what could be greater in dignity than this? For if He were to send what comes from Himself as self-commanded and God, thus affirming His counsel with the Spirit to those receiving and believing, it is evident that being God and bearing the dignity of divinity, He would have the same will as God.

9.But they say again that Gregory the Theologian calls the origin or cause a dignity of the Father towards the Son and the Spirit, saying: "Or the dignity of the origin diminished as to Father and begetter." First, let

them show somewhere that the Son is called the origin and cause and projector of the Spirit, and then we will concede to them that the Son has a dignity towards the Spirit. But they would not be able to show this. The truth is this: Gregory the Theologian calls the origin of the Father a dignity as a property; for the property of each person, being unchangeable and not transferring to another person, would be the dignity of the person possessing it. And he calls the origin of the Father a property, saying: "The properties of the Father, being unoriginated and conceived and spoken of as origin, as cause and as source and as eternal light," and saying: "All that the Father has belongs to the Son except for the cause," and similar things. The same also attributes the dignity of the Son to His property, which is being begotten by the Father. For he says: "If it is great for the Father to be unoriginated, it is no less great for the Son to be begotten from such a Father." So far is it that the Son has any dignity towards the Spirit, as some think, or that the Father towards the Son and the Spirit is dignified due to the origin and cause, as much as Gregory's teaching shows otherwise. For in the discourse on baptism, he says: "I want to call the Father greater, from whom even the being equal comes, for this will be granted by all, and I fear to make the origin less and insult it by preference."

10.It is evident from these and similar sayings that even if someone says the Father is greater than the Son in divinity as His cause, and if someone says the Son is second to the Father in order and dignity, or the Spirit third in order and dignity, these were taken conditionally by the divine fathers out of much gratitude to refute the opponents; and we should not take them as confessions, introducing a doctrine never spoken by the saints. For if we were to take all the conditional statements of the teachers and in other occupations, we would have much to shake the immovable foundations of faith. But we should rather gather and preserve the worthy opinions about divine things from the teachers themselves; and those containing something unstable and treacherous, which heretics have used, we should reject, even if they were sometimes granted timely for the need of struggles, such as when heretics said that the sender has dignity towards the one sent. Therefore, the Father has dignity towards the Son as sending Him; and from this concluding the impious conclusion that He is also superior in nature to the Son, the saints allowed the dignity but said it could also be understood according to the cause. Similarly, the greatness, they said this willingly to refute the enemies of the truth, as stated.

11.We should not make this a doctrine, but rather, as we have already said, hold to what the Theologian says: "Even if He is sent as God, what of it? Consider the Father's goodwill as the sending," and what Chrysostom says: "Divinity is not sent," and what Basil says: "It is sent economically," and what Augustine says in the fifth book on the Trinity, that Scripture says the Holy Spirit was sent by the Father and the Son in that it appeared in bodily form, now as a dove in baptism, now as fire, when the sound like a rushing violent wind was heard at Pentecost; these arrangements showed the sending of the Holy Spirit, and what Cyril says in the twenty-first of the Thesaurus, that the equal often submits economically; and he adds: "For in submission, we do not define the essence," nor is the being in the submission.

12.Remembering all these things, we should not hastily declare that the Father, as sending the Son, has a dignity towards Him, or that the Father is greater in dignity than the Son and the Spirit and greatest, and the Son is greater than the Spirit only in dignity, and therefore less in dignity than the Father; and the Spirit has no dignity, or that the Father is eternally greater than the Son by the cause, or that He is first, and the Son is second in dignity or order; all these were granted for the sake of disputing with the heretics; and if someone opposes the faith, they must again be combined, as if from surplus, refuting this. For the statements

previously mentioned by the teachers about the sending or dispatch, these latter would not necessarily follow. But we should rather, according to the holy Athanasius, place an equal dignity there, since the blessed Trinity is not a numbering of unequal things, according to Gregory the Theologian. And again, according to him, we should think of the one divinity and power found in three singularly, and embracing all three jointly, neither unequal in essences or natures, nor growing in increments and decreases, equal in all, the same in all, that is, from wherever one wishes to number it and to whichever it is compared, the same and equal, and not diminished from the numbered before. And again, according to Chrysostom, overseeing that apostolic saying: "Through Jesus Christ and God the Father," he says: "So we would not say that the Son is greater than the Father because He mentioned the Son first; for this is the height of madness and impiety; nor should we consider the Son lesser than the Father because He is placed after the Father." And above all, to understand the council of Nicaea through Athanasius saying: "And in this Trinity, there is no first or last, no greater or lesser, but the three hypostases are eternal and equal in all things." If the Trinity is thus equal in all respects and the three hypostases within it, and the blessed Trinity is peaceful and without dissension within itself, not more in essence than in the hypostases, how can we dogmatize the first and second among them and the third, and the greater and the lesser, and the dignity and the inferiority; for where there is greater, there must also be lesser, and where there is dignity and superiority, there must also be inferiority; and where there is the first, there must also be the last. With these, it is impossible to preserve the unity of the majesty and divinity. And these are about dignity.

m. On the third in order.

1.They say that the Spirit is third in rank, and from this they infer that the Spirit proceeds from the Son. Thus, they affirm the addition made to the Creed and insist that it is not an addition. They also refer to the decision of Basil, who said: “Therefore, the innovation concerning the rank itself nullifies its existence and is a denial of the whole faith.” But what order does he forbid innovating? This will be shown when it is demonstrated what order he establishes. First, it must be shown that it is not due to rank, nor should we say the Spirit is third in rank. Rather, we understand and say it is third in enumeration according to the order handed down to us. The order handed down to us concerning the divine persons is to be venerated not only because it was handed down thus but also because it is necessary and preserves the sequence of the divine hypostases, which their personal word demands. Therefore, the Spirit is third in order, but not that it is ranked third or arranged in such an order. Some, taking this, attempt to show the Son as the cause of the Spirit, just as the Father is the cause of the Son, as if the order of causality extends to the end in succession, from the first to the second, and thus from the second to the third, as it is in natural beings, either according to generation in what is becoming or according to motion in existing things, in which nature, position, and time are and become causes of order. This is neither true nor was it previously refuted by the teachers.

2.Basil himself, in the eighth and tenth letters to Amphilochius, says: “But, O wisest ones, it is best if the inexpressible things remain beyond enumeration, as the old reverence of the Hebrews inscribed the inexpressible name of God with their own signs, thus signifying His supremacy over all. If, however, we must enumerate, let us not do so in a way that corrupts the truth. Let silence honor the ineffable, or let the sacred things be reverently hymned. One God and Father, one Only-Begotten, and one Holy Spirit. We proclaim

each of the hypostases singly; but if we must enumerate together, we are not led to a polytheistic notion by an unlearned enumeration. For we do not number by combination, increasing from one to a multitude, but one, two, and three.

3.Then, after many things, he adds: "The Father and the Son are united as much as the unity of the monad to the monad." Then he concludes, summarizing the main point: "Those who place the enumeration in saying first, second, and third should recognize that they are introducing polytheism of the Greek error into the pure theology of Christians."

4.In agreement with this, Cyril says in the thirty-second chapter of the Thesaurus: "Thus, there will be one God, as the identity of nature converges into one divinity in the Holy Trinity, even if in each of the names there is a unique existence conceived individually, the third number being rhythmically received." And again, he says in the seventh book against Hermias, speaking most excellently and clearly: "Therefore, due to the identity of essence, it is applied to God and the Father, although the name of the Spirit is expressed by us in the third order of names." He also applied it to the Son.

5.Nyssa, in the first book against Eunomius, says this about the Holy Spirit: "The Holy Spirit is considered with the Father and the Son, elevated to the highest degree of perfection. It is counted with the Father and the Son and grants access to the pre-conceived light in the Father and the Son to all who can participate. It is counted with the Father and the Son, but he did not say that it is ranked with the Father and the Son.

6.Just as Basil, in the letter to the Canons, says: "The Holy Spirit is counted with the Father and the Son, therefore it is above creation. It is ranked as we have been taught in the Gospel by the Lord saying, 'Go, baptizing in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' This also did not say that it is ranked third, but only that it is ranked as we have been taught, leaving us to understand the order from that teaching, namely that it is counted third according to the sequence of the names, which is no less a real sequence of the persons, rising necessarily from the personal word. Thus, Nyssa determined that the second and third names in the divine are said out of a certain sequence of the persons, as the statement was previously explained. But again, in the same speech, he agrees with himself and with the previous statements of Basil, saying: "If Eunomius, seeing the truth of the doctrine, and considering the distinction according to the succession of the things believed in the Holy Trinity, would not then have opposed himself to the contrary," saying these things, in which we also take our stand. Behold, they all call a certain sequence of the persons, the arrangement of names, and the enumeration of the series that is clearly evident. Thus, they believed the order of the divine persons to be handed down in this way, and thus they understood and said this, because the personal word of those divine names necessarily introduces such a sequence and order, but not because they believed the divine persons to be arranged thus, considering them first, second, and third according to the apparent order and seeking the progressions in them as it would fit such an order, using examples from the world, in which what connects and arranges them orderly passes from one to another. This they considered rather to be the position of the Macedonians and Eunomians, differing almost nothing from the bad order introduced by them. What is the sequence of the divine persons that the teachers say? It is this.

7.God always exists and always begets and proceeds, and what is begotten and what proceeds is God, each in the same unity of essence with the begetting and proceeding God. This is the foundation of faith. Therefore, God is simultaneously begetting and proceeding, and simultaneously there is the Word and the

Spirit, the begotten and the proceeding from Him. But since God is called Father both generally and specifically to the Son, signifying the begetter, and because the term “projector” was later devised by some teachers for clarity and distinction in discourse, just as the sequence of names is consistent, the Father is mentioned first because He is pre-conceived, then the name of the Son follows, because these names are relative and in our custom, then the name of the Spirit follows. It is not possible to conceive both simultaneously, being two, or to say them simultaneously, just as they exist simultaneously. But to be simultaneously two and to simultaneously arise from the same source, their unity of nature and the wonder gives supernaturally. But to be said and conceived simultaneously, our manner of conceiving or saying does not allow. We conceive and say one thing after another as humans.

8.Considering that God is more properly called Father than Begetter, though He is indeed the same, if the Spirit were closely named after the Father, it would be understood that the Spirit is the Son. For if the Father denotes both the Begetter and the Progenitor when referring to both preceding persons, but when referring to one specific person, it is drawn to the specific concept of the Begetter because there is one person being begotten, and another being sent forth among the caused beings. Thus, if the Spirit were closely named after the Father, it would be understood as the Son, and if the Son were named after the Spirit, it would be understood as being the Son of the Spirit. Just as some now consider the Son to be both the cause and the effect, because of the order they claim, so then the Spirit and the Son would both be understood as the same of the Father and the Son, again as Father, and such confusion would not only be in the names but indeed in the realities. For the reality of the Spirit, this particular divine hypostasis, is not that of the begotten, but of the proceeding; and the only-begotten from the Father, since it is clear that He is only and from the only, are the foundations of faith concerning them by which other things should be examined according to how they happen.

9.The Father is thus pre-conceived as the cause of both, but closely pre-conceived as the cause of the Son, since He is indeed called Father when He is said with respect to the Son; through Him and the Spirit He is also pre-conceived. Therefore, it is that the Father is pre-conceived as the cause of the Son, and the Son is pre-conceived as the cause of the Spirit not in the same way, but as Son, though this no less falls under the concept of the cause. Some, failing to understand this, hearing Gregory of Nyssa saying that the Son is pre-conceived as the cause of the Spirit, believe that he does not mean that the Son is indeed the cause of the Spirit; for they cannot or will not perceive that the teacher is indeed speaking about the principle of nature and all things at once, but that another is perceived before another according to the difference arising from the concept of the cause. Indeed, the principle of the cause is that the cause must be something, because to be caused and to be caused in such a way fall under the concept of the cause, and all these together distinguish the principle of nature according to which there is no distinction of number or pre-conception in the divine.

10.That these things are true as stated by us, Basil himself is a witness in his letter to the Canons, saying: "The Holy Spirit is counted with the Father and the Son; therefore it is above creation. It is ranked as we have been taught in the Gospel by the Lord saying, 'Go, baptizing in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' He who places the Son before the Father or speaks of the Father as elder opposes the teaching of God and is a stranger to the sound faith, not preserving the received manner of doxology, but devising his novelty to please men. For if above God, not from God. It is written, 'The Spirit is from God.' If from God,

how can it be elder than that from which it is? And what madness is it to speak of anything else as above the unbegotten, of which there is only one? But neither is it before the Only-Begotten; for nothing is between the Son and the Father. If it is not from God, but from Christ, it is not at all; therefore, the innovation concerning the order nullifies its existence and is a denial of the whole faith." Therefore, if there is nothing between the Son and the Father, for it is impossible for the Father to generate, that is, to bring forth the hypostasis of the Son through another hypostasis, what is the fulfillment of generating but not being able to generate through another hypostasis, but bringing forth through another, since these actions are equally in the Father, and the persons brought forth by them are entirely equal and proceeding from the same cause uniformly and harmoniously, though in a different manner ineffably. These things the teachers in many places later, as will be shown, say carefully as we do, that both proceed from the Father, considering the order of both, because they are caused beings, to their respective cause. And therefore there is nothing between the Son and the Father, for Father signifies the Begetter and is said with respect to the Son, and the Son is referred back, and this relationship admits nothing between them. Otherwise, if the Spirit mediates, it would be the Son, and the previously said things would follow. Therefore, it is necessary to believe the Son as the cause of the Spirit because it is thus pre-conceived before the Spirit. And how could Basil, if he had such an opinion about the Son being placed before the Spirit, which they hold, not say how can it be before that from which it is? For this would have been more drastic and proper, as the same cause prevents the Spirit from being placed before both the Father and the Son. But it is clear that Basil pre-conceives the Son before the Spirit not as a cause, agreeing with Gregory of Nyssa who says, "I want to call the Father greater, from whom being equal with the equals and being. This is granted by all, and I fear to make the beginning less by making it a beginning of lesser things and dishonor through preference. I want to prefer the Son before the Spirit, as Son, and the baptism does not permit me to complete it through the Spirit." For he intended, he says, to call the Father greater as cause and as from whom and as beginning, but fear prevents him. He intended also to say the Son greater or placed before the Spirit, but baptism prevents him.

11.Neither does he say that he intended to prefer the Son before the Spirit as beginning or cause of the Spirit, but as Son, nor that he is prevented by the same fear, by which also the former, but that the rank of the Spirit everywhere prevents him. The reminder of the beginning and the cause would be near if he intended to say that the Son should be preferred as beginning before the Spirit, and this same would be the cause and fear of the preference and awe to the teacher himself, if indeed the same manner of preference were established. For when the same things are established, the same must follow. This would also be clear and elegant, as many now think, spoken of by those who oppose us, if Gregory said that he wants to prefer the Son before the Spirit in the same manner, but fears that he may seem to make the beginning of lesser things and dishonor through preference. But because he did not know this order to be true, though it seems elegant and many embrace it for this reason, therefore he adopted what seems both easier and consistent with the apparent, and elegant otherwise to say. But also for the reason of preference and fear, which prevented him, he sets other things contrary to the former, agreeing with the order believed by us.

12.We, therefore, according to the great Basil, do not put the Spirit before the Father nor before the Son, but we preserve the manner of doxology we have received, so we do not innovate regarding the order. Those who arrange the divine names according to the sequence of the realities signified by them, inventing another order on their own, which they take from the similarity of natural things, as the heavens indeed encompass all

things being encompassed by none, while the spheres in them encompass and are encompassed, and the earth is only encompassed; and as the heavens move the sun, which moves all living things, becoming the cause of vital movement; and as Adam begets Seth, who begets Enos, and Enos begets no one else, being the last, or as Adam begets Eve, and Eve with Adam again begets Seth, which is the example used by Thomas. Thus, those who say these things and claim that the pre-generative power and energy of the divine person passes from the paternal hypostasis to the Son due to the communion of nature in them, insisting that it stands up to these points as if legislating, but that the Spirit is excluded from this due to being the last, these are the ones who innovate regarding the order and confuse everything.

13.But they say that the order according to pre-conception is not real but seems rather to be from our position; for such are the things according to our conception. Divine Basil, however, drives away the contrived or positive order from the divine but establishes it as natural and real. – We, therefore, say to this, that Basil speaks of both, that it is both natural and real, and that it arises from the sequence of the names or persons. For he says: "There is a kind of order, not constituted by our position, but happening by the sequence of nature itself." And again: "How then is it reasonable to deny the order, in which there is first and second, not according to our position, but according to the natural sequence existing in them?" Then he also sets an example, as with fire towards light that is from it; for in these we call the cause first and that from it second, not separating them by distances from each other, but pre-conceiving the cause by the reasoning of the caused. And this example is about the pre-conception that the Father is pre-conceived as cause of the Son; for there he deals with the order of the Son to the Father primarily; and from what he says elsewhere, and about the pre-conception that the Father is pre-conceived of the Spirit, it is true. For this reason, he said in the recently mentioned letter, that it should not be placed higher than God, since God is from whom it is pre-conceived; the cause of the pre-conception of the Father of the Son and the Spirit is not the same as the pre-conception of the Son of the Spirit; for the Son is not pre-conceived as cause; yet it falls under the same general reason; for the Son is pre-conceived as Son, that is, as a hypostasis closely pre-conceived as having the Father due to the immediate relation of these names, as has been said; this happens from the reason of the cause. Therefore, the order of the divine persons, as we say, following Basil and Gregory the Theologian, is real in the divine and necessary, having a real foundation; for the Son being numbered second after the Father as begotten from Him, and the Spirit, though closely from the Father, but not as Son, being numbered and spoken after the Son, and through Him also referred back to the Father, that is, not separated from the Father by the mediation of the Son, all these have a real foundation in the real distinction of the divine persons; for if these were not connected to the distinction of the persons and their properties, which cannot be altered, it would be possible to pre-conceive these in another way as each may happen. But now the distinction of the persons is unalterable, and their order is necessary and always the same.

n. In General, Regarding the Order Among the Divine Persons

1.Let us summarize the matter of order according to the common sense of the church and render it to those who wish to be pious rather than contentious, for as it is a denial of faith to abolish the existing order, so it is no less an error to innovate on a non-existent order, according to Basil. We must know that the property and existence of the divine persons, immovably preserved in each, constitute the order of the Holy

Trinity. The rest, that they are distinguished according to the reason of cause, and this or that is pre-conceived for these reasons, belongs to secondary contemplation. Therefore, Basil says that innovation concerning the order nullifies its existence. The property and existence of the divine persons, distinguished by these three names alone and sufficiently so ordered as it has been handed down, is evident.

2.For Dionysius, whom the Christian church recognizes as the first teacher after Paul, in his discourse on united and distinguished theology, first establishes the matter of unity, and having sufficiently explained this, concludes: "And I think no one nourished in the divine oracles with undistorted thoughts will dispute this, that all things worthy of God are attributed to the whole divinity according to the divine reason." Then, addressing the one who introduces confusion (for it might seem to someone that, by community extending to all, the divine persons leave nothing unique to themselves, and thus they are mixed), he adds that theology delivers some things unitedly, others distinctly. Having first stated the united things, he immediately continues: "The distinct things are the name and property of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit, with no reversal or general community introduced among them." Therefore, all things worthy of God are common to the whole divinity, as he says, but each of these three names and properties is preserved as unshared with the others, so that there is no confusion.

3.Justin says in his work on faith: "The unbegotten, the begotten, and the proceeding are not indicative of essence, but significant of the hypostases; for they suffice to distinguish the persons and to show the hypostasis of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit distinctly."

4.Following these consistently, the theologian Gregory says: "The very fact of not being begotten and being begotten and proceeding denominates the Father and the Son and what is called the Holy Spirit, so that the distinction of the three hypostases is preserved without confusion." And again, in his work on the Spirit: "The properties had to remain with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, so that there would not be confusion in the divinity, which brings all other things into order."

5.Through all the teachers, and these are sufficient for the present, it is shown that the order of the divine persons is the distinction of their properties preserved without sharing and confusion, and just as the common is undivided in them, so the particular is unmixed. They are distinguished by not being begotten, being begotten, and proceeding, and the divine nature is with each of these hypostases. Therefore, preserving the distinction of the divine hypostases and the name and property of the Father, which is to beget and to project, for this is Father as Begetter and Progenitor, placing this name and property in communion with none of the other names and properties; and likewise with the other names and properties, this is to preserve the order. It suffices to say this, but not that the divine persons are thus arranged; for only they know accurately about their order within themselves. But they wish us only to preserve immovably and confess the order evident to us from the divinely inspired oracles, as much as is permitted to us.

6.Therefore, we do not say nor would ever say that the Father is first, the Son second, or the Holy Spirit third, so as to believe from both that this is causatively, as some think more grossly, but believe they are considering something subtle. But in the highest and simplest unity of the divine essence, we believe there are three realities, or three properties, truly and distinctly without sharing, and to say the whole, existing, and we call these the three divine hypostases, which we have been taught to number and confess. And as we have been taught, so we must number and confess them; and learning first that I must believe in the name, I wait to hear from God; for faith must be rendered to God. Grace teaching that God is the Father, says of the

Father; hearing of the Father, I do not stop my mind there, but wait for the Son, nor when I hear the Son do I leave the unity of the name, but it continually holds me, so that I see the one nature and name of divinity in both. Under the bond of the one name and the Holy Spirit being added, I do not doubt concerning His unity with the Son and the Father. Knowing the whole mystery of the Trinity, I then return and relearn to refer the name of the Father also to the Holy Spirit. Therefore, we understand the Father, not according to human expression, but according to the teaching of grace; and the Son does not hinder me from believing the Spirit from the Father, as He Himself is from Him. For I know the Son with the Father, and do not believe the Spirit third, but knowing it after the Son as perfect, I unite it to the principle, the Father, and believe it and receive it through the Son and join it to the Father being enlightened. Being well enlightened and illumined by the beauty of this ineffable theology, as far as it is permitted to me, I believe this, along with the Son, of the divine nature, I say it arises from the paternal hypostasis; in the Son, being and proceeding from the Father, and as it were to say, extending and proceeding divinely, just as the Son and the Spirit are in the Father and from Him and in Him proceed. Thus, the highest unity and infinity of the divine nature and the true distinction of these divine realities compel to think, and they produce a conception in me, harmonizing with the guidance of reason and the illumination of grace. And thus, according to the theologian Gregory, I am encompassed by one light and three simultaneously.

7.Nor do I conceive of the Trinity as being defined by points set in a straight line or placed in a sequence and succeeding one another, nor in the form of circles set within one another, nor in a branch and twig structure hanging from one another, united only at the root. Under such images, I do not imagine that ineffable unity and distinction; for each of these does not present to us the whole mystery, nor suffice for our full understanding of what is sought. But they serve one need, war against another, and deceive us away from the truth. Therefore, for the guidance of the simpler or those resisting the truth to the most evident refutation, the teachers used these examples, some using one, others another, and not always the same by all nor in all cases the same. For this reason, according to the theologian Gregory, I prefer to let go of images and shadows as deceptive and lacking the truth. Holding to the more devout conception, using the Spirit as my guide, the illumination I have received from there, preserving this to the end as a genuine companion and interlocutor, I pass through this age.

8.I believe, therefore, in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and thus I confess. First, I confess the Father because He is Father; second, the Son because He is of the Father; third, the Spirit because He is neither Father nor Son, but proceeds from the Father. And I cannot confess otherwise because these things cannot be otherwise; for the Father is always Father and only Father. Therefore, I do not place the Son before the Father; for how will He be Father alone, but rather will be Father and Son to one another? And there is one Son in the divine, and therefore I do not place the Spirit before the Son; for how will He be one Son and Only-Begotten if the Spirit is moved into the rank of the Son? Or how will the Spirit not be Father of the Son if He is pre-conceived as before the Son, just as now the Son is believed by some to be the cause of the Spirit, being pre-conceived before the Spirit?

9.Therefore, I first speak of the Father, but I do not say that the Father is first, but only that He is Father. And after the Father, I confess the Son, but I do not say that the Son is second, but only that He is the Son of the Father. And after the Son, I confess the Spirit likewise, but I do not say that the Spirit is third or second to the Son, but that He is the Spirit of God and from God. If I were to say that the Son is the cause

of the Spirit, then I must say that He is first of the Spirit, just as the Father is first of the Son, and I do not know what would be more, first or second. For if I name Him second, I silence the fact that He is first and wrong the order honored by some; for if the Son were first, the Spirit would no longer be third, not being second to the Son. If I name the Son both first and second, I am cautious, hearing the sacred Athanasius saying that it would be the same cause and effect, begetting and begotten, which is absurd; and the divine Gregory the Theologian mocking the heretics, saying what a strange mixture would be begotten-unbegotten. Perhaps someone might mock my strange mixture, which may never happen, the second-first. I do not say these things, but rather I am convinced by the first synod saying: No one in the Trinity is first or last; no one is greater or lesser; and by Cyril saying of the Son in the explanation of 'In the beginning was the Word': Though He is understood and spoken of as from the Father, He is not an offspring to us and a stranger, nor will He enter second after Him, but being in Him and existing with Him and manifesting from Him in the ineffable manner of divine generation. And concerning the Spirit, saying that the name of the Spirit is brought forth by us in the third order of names only, but it is applied to God and the Father, just as to the Son.

10.Do you hear? He does not say that the Spirit is third, but the name of the Spirit is brought forth by us in the third order of names. For the sake of dialogue, I also concede the first and the greater and such terms, just as the teachers conceded. For if anyone wished to place the Son before the Father in the order of names, I will argue that nothing should be before the first and unbegotten. Likewise, if someone says the Spirit is above God, I will show that it should not be placed above the Only-Begotten, not to mention the Father. I will contend vigorously with these, as best I can, that the Father is always counted first as Father, and after Him the Son as Son, and then the Spirit after the Son, so that the clear order of the persons is not thought to be overturned by the interchange of these names, and that their properties, being displaced, do not overturn the mystery of the true Trinity. This is the faith of the saints we have been convinced of; this we have received and must preserve until our last breath. This the teachers of our church, our guides, have handed down to us; they have commanded us to remain within these boundaries and not exceed them.

11.These things have been said concerning the dignity and order among us, holding to the common doctrines of faith, cutting off and removing, as a common disease, the superfluous and useless offshoots and deviations from some inquiries, according to the theologian Gregory.

o. Because this statement of Basil has received corruption as it is presented by those who oppose us.

1.But since they attempt again, even from this very statement of the holy Basil, which we were just discussing, to show that the Son is the cause of the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit (for they say that it is added to this saying that the Spirit receives its being from the Son, and that it is kindled by that cause, namely, by the Son), we must say about this that these things have truly been added by those who have not feared divine justice. For there are many proofs that this statement has been corrupted by such people, the multitude of old books in which the statement is preserved uncorrupted without these additions, and the sequence of the words, as was said earlier, and many other things. But most of all, those who present the statement this way are refuted. According to them, the great Basil says that the pious word delivers that the Holy Spirit receives its being from the Son, that it receives from Him and announces to us, and that it is kindled by that cause.

Where, then, does the pious word deliver these three things? Nowhere, except only this one, that it receives from Him and announces to us. If they say that from this one thing those follow, but the teacher did not present the word in such a way; he did not say that the pious word delivers this one thing, and those others follow from it, or that the pious word delivers these things because receiving from Him and announcing leads to these, or that has been delivered, nor would he have prefixed the receiving from Him, from which the others might perhaps follow, but he says that the pious word delivers this, and then adds how, according to them, that it has its being from Him, behold the first; as receiving from Him and announcing to us, behold the second; and entirely kindled by that cause, behold the third. Where are these things delivered in Scripture as he says them distinctly according to them? Who would dare to say that such a great teacher is made to say things not delivered, and these so devoutly disposed towards such matters, so as to say in the first of the Apologies himself: "I do not accept the term of unbegotten, even if it seems most to correspond to our notions, but since it is found nowhere in Scripture and is the first element of their blasphemy, I would say it is rightly to be silent." For if he refrained from one word because it is found nowhere in Scripture, how would he dare to introduce such a notion expressed in so many words, not having to show where it is found in Scripture, and what is worse, to slander Scripture itself, claiming that it has received what has not at all been delivered? For if he dared to venture such things anywhere else, not in which he most vigorously refutes Eunomius as the most audacious of men, introducing innovations concerning divine matters on his own; for thus he would not refute Eunomius rather than himself by his own feathers. But to imagine such things against that devout and holy soul anyone wishing to think rightly would be far from.

2.Secondly, he says nothing of the sort anywhere else. Thirdly, everywhere rather he says that it subsists from the Father, and has the cause of its being from the Father, and has the cause of its hypostasis from the Father and similar things, as will be shown later in his own words.

3.Fourthly, John of Damascus, the great light of the Church, well acquainted with the writings of Basil and following him as he did with the others, says: "The Holy Spirit of God and the Father, as proceeding from Him, is also said to be manifested through the Son and given to creation, but it does not have its existence from the Son." How then, knowing that Basil supposedly said that the Spirit receives its being from the Son, would he say the opposite, that it does not have its existence from the Son? And yet he professes to say what seems to the saints before him; but it is said by those who wrong Basil, not by Basil himself, after John of Damascus.

4.Fifthly, Nicetas of Thessalonica, in the guise of a dialogue supporting the Latins, remembers this saying because of its significance and order, but sets it forth without this addition and as it is found in the uncorrupted books. He was ancient, so either he himself condemned this addition, or the statement of Basil was corrupted after his time.

5.Sixthly, since this statement is written in two ways, it is clearly evident that one of the writings is spurious and false; for it was not possible for the saint to have published this both ways. Therefore, if the composition of the statement, which our opponents present, is true, then we would have removed those parts of the statement which we say they added fraudulently. But it is not credible that we removed them, for we have taken nothing away from the Creed; but it is plausible that the others added, because they also added to the Creed and confirm addition by addition. We believe rather that one who has once been false in the same kind of fault is likely to be false again than one who has never done so. Moreover, we have support for

our belief from many sources, from the holy Gospels, from all the councils, from the books of the teachers; while they have the least support from these, and it would be more reasonable for them to resort to such contrivances.

6.Furthermore, if we intended to wrong the statement of Basil, we would not have left the statement of Athanasius uncorrupted, on which our opponents rely most, nor the others which they misunderstand against us. But we have never been treacherous about those, nor would it have been to our benefit to be seen as such about this one alone, even if we were inclined to take the severe risk.

7.In addition to what has been said, the third part of that addition, "and entirely kindled by that cause," if it is said about the Father, what is this concerning the Spirit being secondary to the Son in dignity? If it is said about the Son, that is, that the Spirit is kindled by the cause of the Son, it is neither true, if one rightly understands "kindled"; and Basil himself says that the Spirit has its being kindled by the cause of the Father, whence it proceeds. Therefore, those who corrupted that statement did not even know how to corrupt it intelligently.

p. Regarding the statement of Nyssa, in which the term "closely" is used and through the term "closely".

1.They also bring forward Gregory of Nyssa, who says in his discourse to Ablabius: "Acknowledging the unchangeable nature of the divine essence, we do not deny the distinction according to the cause and the caused, in which alone we understand one to be distinguished from the other, by believing the one to be the cause and the other from the cause. And of the one being from the cause, we again understand another distinction; one being closely from the first, the other through the closely from the first."

2.From this statement, therefore, they take two things, as they think, to their argument; first, that the divine persons are distinguished by the cause and the caused, from which it follows that the Son and the Spirit, if they were not distinguished by the cause and the caused, that is, if one were not from the other and proceeded, they would never be distinguished from each other. And this is almost the entire foundation of the doctrine of Thomas, who glorifies the Son as the cause and beginning of the hypostasis of the Spirit. Second, they also take the order of the progressions, that the Spirit proceeds closely from the Son, and through the Son from the Father, although they say that there is one procession from the Father through the Son, and simply one, or the order of the preceding hypostases, the Spirit, that is, the Father and the Son, although they say that the Father and the Son are one principle of the Spirit. And here they bring and fit all the statements of the teachers, in which it is found that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, and the entire foundation of the agreement of the Asian and European teachers, so as to seem that all believe the Son to be the principle and cause of the Spirit, or that the Spirit has its being from the Son just as from the Father, that is, that it closely has its being from the Son. Since the Son has its being closely from the Father, through the Son the Spirit has its being from the Father. This, they say, is the law of those proceeding closely, and not closely but through another. Therefore, they say, some saints deny that the Spirit is from the Son, saying that it is through the Son.

3.First, let us see from the context the meaning of this statement, whether those who claim it achieve it or miss it. They think the saint says that each hypostasis in the divine is distinguished only by the relative opposition according to cause, as if such a kind of distinction also distinguishes the Son and the Spirit, just as

it does the Father and the Son. But the teacher says that one is distinguished from the other; and "one" is said of two things. Therefore, the Father, as the cause, is commonly distinguished from the Son and the Spirit as the caused; in which he takes these, the caused simply, because he was about to subdivide and distinguish by the way in which they are caused; that the one is by way of generation, that is, the Son, and this is the closely; the other by another way, not precisely and specifically understood, but only known through generation, that there is another way than generation, of necessity, since the faith teaches that the Son of God is only-begotten. And they think that being closely from the Father and through the closely is the same as the Son being the cause of the Spirit closely. But it is not so; for the teacher does not distinguish the Son from the Father by this or that way of cause, but only by the caused; he distinguishes the Son and the Spirit by this or that way of cause. Furthermore, the teacher does not divide the cause into two, as he divides the caused, but leaves it undivided, for it belongs only to the Father; the caused he divides, for it is common to the Son and the Spirit, except in a different way. He should rather and primarily divide the cause, if it were common to another person besides the Father; for from the first division and the naturally first of the subdivision, it is proper to begin. Furthermore, he says there is another distinction, that of the Son and the Spirit; which, before dividing, he commonly calls caused. If this distinction were the same as the former, that is, according to cause and caused, he would not say another, but rather the same distinction is between the Son and the Spirit, or is of the Father towards them; for as He is the cause of both, so the Son is the cause of the Spirit. And at the end of the discourse, the teacher says: "Since the hypostases in the Holy Trinity are distinguished by the principle of the cause, advocating the one to be without cause, the other from the cause." What he previously called cause, he now calls without cause, as nothing differs by saying both ways; therefore, the without cause in the divine is the cause within; but the Son, being caused, could not be a cause. Moreover, it is evident that being without cause falls under the principle of the cause; therefore, being caused and being somehow caused as well.

4.Therefore, when Nyssa himself says somewhere that the Son is pre-conceived before the Spirit by the principle of the cause, he hints at the manner of the procession, that it is by generation from the Father, and the Spirit not by generation, and therefore the Son is pre-conceived before it, as said earlier. What then does it mean when he says the Spirit is from the first through the closely, and does not say it is from the closely and through it from the first? For he should have said this if he had the same understanding as they. But he feared that he might seem to agree with Macedonius. And what does it mean that explaining himself somehow he says here both the closely and through the closely, he adds: "So that the only-begotten remains indisputable for the Son, and the being from the Father for the Spirit is not doubted, with the mediation of the Son preserving the only-begotten for Himself and not obstructing the Spirit from its natural relation to the Father?" For if the Son were not closely from the Father, but the Spirit were also understood closely from the Father, the only-begotten for the Son would be doubtful, with the Spirit being moved into the notion of the Son. But the mediation of the Son preserves the only-begotten for Himself, as He is believed to be the only Son; the Spirit, however, does not obstruct its natural relation to the Father (this is that it is naturally from Him), but it is no less also closely from Him; for being closely from the Father as from a cause, it is impossible for it to be closely from the Son as from a cause; therefore, being through the closely is not the same as being closely from or from the closely, as those equating these prepositions wish.

EXEGESIS OF CONTRAVERSIAL TEXT

5.This teacher says that it is not hindered, while others say that it is united or connected. For the great Basil says in the eighteenth letter to Amphilochius: "And the Holy Spirit, united through the one Son to the one Father, and through itself completing the much-praised and blessed Trinity." For those around Macedonius and Eunomius who cast the Holy Spirit out of that divine unity and place it among the created things, and those around Macedonius especially saying that it is only the work of the Son, as sent from Him closely, speaking these things in folly because they claim that the Son of God as Son is naturally united to the Father, and this is not Son and not naturally united (for they conceded to the divinity of the Son, not daring to entirely oppose the decisions of the Church concerning the Son, but only denied the divinity of the Spirit), with those babbling thus, Basil first shows how it is naturally united to the Son; then he also says that the Spirit is not separated from the Father through the Son, the natural affinity to the Father remaining, as if only grasping and through itself completing those divine hypostases, but rather it is united to the Father through the Son, and as if it is a certain boundary of the blessed Trinity to be counted from the Father. For if the Son is united to the Father, and the Spirit is united to the Son, it is reasonably also united to the Father. This is true for all things, not only for the divine, that what is the same to the same must be the same to each other; and if the second is naturally the same to the first, and the third to the second, the third will also be naturally the same to the first. And again, he says this more clearly: if the Spirit is assigned to the Son, and the Son to the Father, then obviously the Spirit to the Father. Thus, the mediation of the Son well said by Nyssa, that it does not hinder the natural relation to the Father. Therefore, it unites what is united by itself; for the Holy Spirit is united to the Father no less than to the Son, and no less than the Son is united to the Father, the mediation of the Son only showing the only-begotten nature of the Son of God, but that the Spirit proceeds from God in another way, not by generation, though unspeakable and unnameable and unimaginable, preserving the only-begotten nature for the Son and not harming the natural relation of the Spirit to the Father. Therefore, it is not properly mediation. For mediation both divides and unites the same; the Son only unites, does not divide; for the Holy Spirit, even if closely understood as proceeding from the Father, will be no less consubstantial with the Father as the Son. Therefore, it will be immediately united by nature, and there is no need for the Son to be united to the Father, just as the Son closely distinguished from the Father is closely united, and not through another mediator. Therefore, the Son is said to unite what is united by itself, because He cannot divide them, being likewise united to each of them in order, to the one as principle, to the other as co-caused proceeding from the same principle in another way divinely. From this it is evident how to understand what Athanasius says in the third against the Arians, that the Spirit does not unite the Word to the Father, but rather the Spirit receives this from the Word, that it is united to the Father, instead of saying that the Spirit is united to the Father through the Word; for he argues against the heretics, who said that the Son is united to the Father through the Spirit, just as we are united to the divinity by partaking of the Spirit.

6.Therefore, he denies that the Son is united to the Father through the Spirit, but gives that the Spirit is united to the Father through the Word. And he seems to dogmatize from the progress of the word, that as they unite the Son to the Father through the Spirit, so he rather unites the Spirit to the Father through the Word; but this is not so; for Athanasius would be no better than they. But now he does not consider how the Spirit is united to the Father through the Son, but only says that it is so; what they say is not so; for it cannot be true what they say, this being evident, that the Spirit is rather united to the Father through the Word, if it is united otherwise than they say the Son is united to the Father through the Spirit, by participation, that is. But

neither is the Holy Spirit united to the Father by participation of the Son, so that being united to the Father is not of the Spirit, but of the Son being in the Spirit, just as it happens in the created things partaking of God; and as they said the Son is united to the Father through the Spirit, it is not so, as the Spirit cannot otherwise be in God, if not through the Word, so the Spirit is in God and the Father through the Word; rather the opposite is true, that through the Father the Spirit is in the Son.

7.But all these things are representative of the consubstantiality of the persons and the orderliness and that nothing is farther or nearer than anything else, the teachers say, since the heretics conclude from being numbered third and being third in nature, and from being separated from the Father and the divine nature. These things concerning the supervision of the statement of Nyssa should suffice.

8.But it is not true that the Son and the Spirit would not be distinguished if one did not proceed from the other; even those who hold that the Son is the cause of the Spirit could use this argument. For some of them, namely those around Scotus, reproach Thomas for claiming this. Therefore, having condemned this hypothesis as ignorant and false, they try to establish this doctrine from another foundation, namely from the generative powers in the Father and their order. But concerning this hypothesis, it will be examined later, with God's help. Now, it is sufficient to say that even the teachers of the more refined, as they call it, school admit that the Holy Spirit can be distinguished from the Son, even if it does not proceed from the Son. Their arguments need not be presented now, as the support of the teachers suffices for us, and their very words help us as if by design.

9.For Justin, in his work on faith, says: "The unbegotten, the begotten, and the proceeding are not indicative of essence, but significant of the hypostases; for they suffice to distinguish the persons and to show distinctly the hypostasis of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."

10.And Nyssa, in his work against Eunomius, says: "The property of each hypostasis, being observed, clearly and distinctly separates one from the other."

11.And Gregory the Theologian says: "The very fact of not being begotten, being begotten, and proceeding denominates the Father and the Son and what is called the Holy Spirit, so that the distinction of the three hypostases is preserved without confusion," meaning that not being confused is equivalent to being distinguished.

q. Because "through the Son" is not the same as "from the Son".

1.It is clear that "the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son" does not mean the same as "proceeds from the Son." That is, the Son is not the cause of the Spirit.

2.Maximus, in his letter to Marinus, praised the Romans of his time for properly interpreting the statements of the European fathers and Cyril, in which it is said that the Spirit proceeds from the Son. "For they have shown," he says, "from their very words, that they do not make the Son the cause of the procession of the Holy Spirit; for they recognize one Father as the cause of both the Son and the Spirit, the former by generation, the latter by procession, but they indicate that it proceeds through the Son." If someone claims that this letter has been falsified, they speak against their own beliefs. We affirm that the statements of the European fathers, in which it is said that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, are true and genuine, as those who present them assert. Their testimony is only based on this letter of Maximus. If they reject this letter as false,

how can they prove the authenticity of those statements? Nowhere, except from the confession of those European fathers themselves, who openly affirmed this in the symbol of faith, will they be able to present such evidence. Therefore, it is not advantageous for them to dismiss this letter. They should stop speaking against it and allow the current situations concerning it to stand.

3.John of Damascus, in the thirteenth book of his "Theological Chapters," says: "The Father is the source and cause of the Son and the Spirit. The Son is the Son, the Word, the Wisdom, the Power, the Image, the Radiance, the Character of the Father, coming forth from the Father, but not the Son of the Spirit. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father, proceeding from the Father, for nothing proceeds without the Spirit; and the Spirit of the Son, not as from Him, but as through Him, proceeding from the Father; for the Father alone is the cause." The same in the eighth book of the same work: "We say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and call it the Spirit of the Father; but we do not say that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, but we call it the Spirit of the Son and confess that it is manifested and given to us through the Son." If, therefore, "through the Son" means the same as "from the Son," why does he say "not as from Him, but as through Him"? For we do not usually speak this way about things that are equivalent. If "through" also means "cause," how can he say that the Father alone is the cause, and how is the Son not the cause of the procession of the Spirit, when it is said that it proceeds through Him? Or how does Gregory the Theologian speak truly, saying, "All that the Father has, the Son has also, except for being the cause," speaking about the inner matters of the Trinity? Nor would anyone dare to say that in the creation of beings, everything was brought into existence through the Son, not from the Son; for the Father alone is the cause of all beings. Therefore, just as "through" is not equivalent to "from" in the creation of beings, so it is in this case, where it is said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son.

4.But how do they say that the Father is called the first cause? For He is the first cause of everything because everything is through the Son, and thus the Son is also a cause. Therefore, "through" in "through the Son" means cause. We must say in response to this that the Father is the cause of beings, not separate from the Son and the Spirit, but the same and one cause. Because He is unbegotten and without origin, that is, uncaused, the Father is thought of before the other two Persons, and nothing is thought of before Him; for this reason, He is called the first cause as a hypostasis to which causality belongs unbegottenly and uncausedly, not because the Son is a second cause manifested in the statement "through the Son." For what would we differ from the Greeks or the Arians, positing a first cause of the whole and a second, and necessarily also a third? Besides, who does not know that for creation, the Trinity is one source and simply one, for according to Thomas Aquinas, creation proceeds from the divine Persons as they are one in essence. Therefore, the difference shown in these prepositions, in saying that everything came forth from the Father through the Son in the Spirit, is not about the creative energy but indicates the order of the divine Persons, which they have in themselves, because we must rightly praise the blessed Trinity, and when we praise it as our Creator. Otherwise, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit are one Creator and one first cause of all. Therefore, if someone were to say that the Father is the first cause even internally, the first there would not refer to what comes from the Father as if there is a second cause among the other divine Persons; for it would then be necessary to specify that the second cause is the Son, so it would not be considered that the Spirit has this as well. But in any case, the first is said more loosely there, to imply that the Father is the first

cause of what comes from Him, that is, uncaused and without origin, and to believe that the others are from Him while He is from nothing.

5.They also say that the preposition "through" in theology, according to the great Basil, stands instead of the preposition "from." We agree with them on this point, for it is true, and Basil's statements clearly confirm this. However, we assert that theology is not only the contemplation of the divine unity or the Trinity and its internal processions and relations but also the contemplation of the progression of beings from God and the relations of creation back to Him, and all that pertains to the ascent of creatures to God, whether through natural knowledge or, more so, through grace. All these matters belong to sacred theology. Since everything came into being through the Son, and whatever implies this notion, heretics understood it as a diminishment of the Only Begotten, dividing the kinds and ways of causes by which something is said to proceed or come forth from them. They interpreted the phrase "through someone" to mean instrumental cause, but the holy Basil did not simply fight against their technology because it is artless, false in all respects, and baseless. Rather, he called them small-minded concerning syllables and words, as they always contended for syllables and words in everything, and he referred to their distinctions as sophistical subtleties leading them to impiety. Therefore, he permits the distinction they made to be true concerning all other matters except the present ones. After setting forth their distinctions and the deception by which they were deceived, he says logically or by way of repetition: "Having learned these observations from vanity and empty deceit, they transfer them to the simple and unsophisticated teaching of the Spirit, diminishing the Word of God and rejecting the divine Spirit. But we," he continues shortly after, "use these words often and acknowledge the truth, yet we do not say that the freedom of the Spirit is entirely subjected to the pettiness of words, but we adapt the expressions to the needs that arise." He then shows abundantly that "through the Son" is said of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, adding that the use of these prepositions in theology is interchangeable. Often, their meanings are substituted for one another, such as when Adam says, "I have acquired a man through God," meaning "from God." Similarly, "Whatever Moses commanded Israel, through the command of the Lord," and again, "Is not their interpretation through God?" Joseph, speaking about the dreams to the prisoners, also clearly used "through God" instead of "from God." Likewise, he uses "from whom" instead of "through whom," as when Paul says, "born of a woman" instead of "through a woman." This he explicitly distinguished elsewhere, saying that "for a woman, being born of a man is appropriate, and for a man, being born through a woman," in which he says, "Just as a woman is from a man, so too a man is through a woman." Therefore, in this necessity, theology interchanges these prepositions according to this teacher and truth itself.

6.It is evident that when considering the divine persons in themselves and in relation to their own cause, the use of these prepositions is indifferent; it is neither necessary nor possible. Just as that division of causes and prepositions was not necessary to be true for the theology concerning all beings, so too this teacher does not allow this in theology. Similarly, because in this part of theology the uses of the prepositions interchange or replace each other, the teacher has taken all examples from this part of theology. Therefore, this applies to all theological material and contemplation in the same way. Basil does not specify anywhere that this applies universally to all theology, nor does he give an example from this internal theology, although the canonical Scriptures' statements were entirely clear, where it is said that the Spirit is poured out from the Father through Jesus Christ and that the Spirit is from the Father through the Son and His breathing. Similarly, the Spirit is

manifested through the Son, and such things, which those who differ from us bring up against us to support their own views. Or it is clear that it should not be claimed that this applies to all theology.

7.It is also clear from itself: who would not seem to be mad if they said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son? Or that the Spirit proceeds simply through the Father, if one wanted to indicate the cause of the Spirit's existence and nothing else. This too should be able to be said if "through" is equivalent to "from." For "through" would be equivalent to "from" for the Son because some wish it so, but for the Father, "from" would not be equivalent to "through" because it does not suit the same ones. If they say that "from" fits the first cause, it would never be transferred to "through"; and "through," being associated with secondary causes, can be transferred to "from." First, this too is false: just as the first cause can never become second as long as it is first itself, nor can the second become first as long as it has that which is before it, so too the prepositions that fit each of these would remain inseparably.

8.Then again, the division of those heretics arises, which Basil drives away from the divine persons. For there, the first and second cause has no place, nor the primary cause and the instrumental cause. All secondary causes, whatever they may be, exist in ordered creators, even if they work dissimilarly in themselves, they hold an instrumental rank towards the primary causes. Among those working or leading similarly in some order, the proximate worker is the primary cause; and incidentally and through it is the cause of what is led by that primary cause. For example, my father is primarily my cause, his father was primarily his cause, but not mine, unless through my father. Therefore, it is never true to say that Adam begat Enos through Seth. But the Father is called the begetter of the Spirit through the Word, and the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. Thus, it is not similar to those who lead the proximate cause in succession, each leading synonymously; as each form of nature receives its own cause, so too does the proximate cause receive its form from it. The Son receives the divine nature from the Father through generation, but He does not give existence to the Spirit through generation; thus, by procession, they say, the Spirit has existence from the Son. Since in such causes, the proximate and primary cause, on the contrary, the Father is primarily the cause of the Holy Spirit, and the Spirit primarily proceeds from the Father according to Augustine, it follows that the Holy Spirit is primarily from the Father and proceeds from Him, and the Son is not the proximate cause of the Spirit, but the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son for a different cause and indicates something else, which needs to be sought.

9.Furthermore, in those creative causes, different actions are found, each acting according to its own nature into what becomes, and another flowing into or moving something and disposing of the influence in some way. Also, superiority and inferiority are found in such things, and the more universal and the more particular, the proximate and the distant, the proper and the common. All these are removed from the matter at hand, since the Father and the Son lead the Spirit in a similar manner, and they are its single principle, as those who say so claim. Therefore, it follows that the Spirit is not from the Son even by likeness, but through the Son from the Father; and most of all, because in these creative things, these prepositions interchange, but in the matter at hand, it is impossible for them to interchange. Since, according to Aristotle, man generates man and the sun, some act as particular causes, others as more universal and common causes, we say that man generates man through the sun, and the sun generates man through man, because man could not generate man without the life-giving warmth of the sun, nor could the sun generate man without the particular cause by which the form is given. So too we say that the governor maintains law in the city through the king, and

the king through the governor, the former because of the king's power, the latter because of the governor's service; but no one has ever said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son through the Father, as it is commonly said to proceed from the Father through the Son. Therefore, it is clear that it is not true that in theology "through" signifies the same as "from." In the phrase "proceeds through the Son," the Son is not understood to be the cause of the Spirit, nor in all natural things is it the case that what is said to happen through something is the cause of what happens; therefore, it is not the case in this matter either.

r. What does "through" mean in the phrase "through the Son" when it is said of the Spirit?

1.What is meant by the expression that the Spirit is spoken of through the Son? This phrase does not hav e a single, simple meaning but rather a varied and manifold one, depending on the needs of the words and the purposes of the teachers of faith. All the various meanings of this expression tend toward one universal doctr ine: the unity of essence and the connection within the distinct persons (hypostases). For this is the goal of all the doctrines of our sacred theology and all the truths must be judged by this standard. The foundation of th ese kinds of expressions by the teachers, in which the Spirit is spoken of through the Son, is the apostolic sayi ng that God poured out the Spirit upon the apostles through Jesus Christ. Based on this foundation, they spe ak of the Holy Spirit through the Son in various ways, according to the needs of the words, always rightly and adhering to the aforementioned purpose and end. For they recognized the truth of that apostolic saying to be so expansive that it could encompass various meanings.

r.1. On the outpouring and granting through the Son and such things.

2. Following the Apostle's very expression, they often say that the Holy Spirit is poured out from the Father through the Son, granted from the Father through the Son, and similar things. They also say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and is granted to creation through the Son. Gregory the Wonderworker said, "The Holy Spirit is perfectly given through the Son to those who are adopted as sons." Similarly, he says again, "One Holy Spirit, having its existence from God and manifested through the Son to humans." Cyril, explaining "on that day you will know," says, "Although the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, it comes through the Son and is his own. For all things from the Father come through the Son." In the thirty-fifth of his Thesaurus, he also says, "Thus, the Spirit is God, who dwells in us in the manner of God, and, so to speak, transcends all essence. It exists uniquely and is understood as being from the Father but is granted to creation through the Son." He again, in his work against Julian, says, "The Holy Spirit ineffably proceeds from the Father and is granted to creation through the Son." Therefore, all these teachers, as well as the Apostle, did not understand the existence of the Spirit to be through the outpouring or granting of the Spirit, nor did they declare the hypostasis of the Spirit to be indicated by such terms. The divine hypostasis, proceeding timelessly from the Father and remaining in the Son, is not referred to by being given and poured out. Instead, these terms pertain to the gift and grace of the Spirit, through which the hypostasis of the Spirit is manifested to those who wish to comprehend. The activity performed externally is also indicative of each power and essence. Hence, the Apostle said, "What you now see and hear." They saw the grace of the Spirit at work in the apostles, and through this, they could understand, if they wished, that these men, favored by

God and proclaimers of truth, were thus to exist and that their faith, proclaimed by them, which was in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, should be adhered to. The teachers themselves again explain in agreement with the Apostle.

3.Chrysostom said, "Therefore, to show that what is poured out is not the Holy Spirit, but the grace of the Divine Spirit, David says to Christ, 'Grace is poured upon your lips,' and so on."

4.Cyril says, "He promised to send us the Comforter from heaven, when he would be with God the Father, which he did after going to the Father and giving the outpouring of the Spirit generously to those who wished to receive it."

5.He again said, "To whom else would it be fitting to be able to grant the grace of the Spirit except to the one who is by nature and truly God?" If the grace of the Spirit is called the Holy Spirit, it is not because it is merely a habit (then it would simply be called Spirit), but because it comes down to us from there and, so to speak, flows to us. The grace of the Spirit, understood in this way, inseparably united with the Spirit, takes the name of that blessed hypostasis.

6.Just as in the name of the Spirit, we sometimes take the essence of the Spirit without its particularity, even though these cannot be separated, when we hear that the Father and the Spirit are one. At other times, we take the hypostasis itself, that is, the essence along with the particularity, when we hear that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, or that the Father and the Spirit are two or distinct. We do not confuse the concepts because of the unity of the name. Similarly, when we hear the Apostle saying, "You did not receive the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God," we should not think that they received the hypostasis of the Spirit, even though the hypostasis of the Spirit is from God, but the grace of the hypostasis. The apostles themselves explain this, as Peter said to Simon, "Your money perish with you, because you thought the gift of God could be purchased with money." He sought the Holy Spirit, as it is said there.

7.And Luke again in the Acts says, "The Holy Spirit fell upon all who heard the word," and he adds, "And the circumcised believers who came with Peter were astonished that the gift of the Holy Spirit had been poured out even on the Gentiles." We should not mix the unmixed due to the unity of the name, as I have said, using this pretext for such wickedness. For if we did not also have a rule and measure for such interpretation, they themselves ought to have considered what is fitting from the example of the teachers to understand. But Basil himself gives us a very clear rule. He says, "And when you hear that the Spirit is given to us, or sent to us, or in us, or when you find any created condition attributed to it, understand the grace of the Spirit. But when nothing of the sort is attached, understand the divinity of the Spirit." For in the sixth of the chapters to Amphilochius, he says, "Therefore, when we think of the worthiness of the Spirit, we number it with the Father and the Son. But when we think of the grace working in the participants, we say the Spirit is in us." And what is wondrous, even the wisdom of God, the very wisdom, says of itself, "The Lord created me for his works." This, he says, refers to the wisdom in us, which is an image and type of divine wisdom. But it itself is uncreated and eternal and not communicable to us in its essence. Athanasius himself will show that this prophetic word must be understood in this way and that this interpretation of the saying is great teaching and related to the present inquiry. For in the second discourse against the Arians, he says, "Thus, the type of wisdom created in us and existing in all works, rightly the true and creative wisdom, assuming the type of itself, says, 'The Lord created me for his works.' What the wisdom in us said, the Lord himself says as his own words." And it is not that he himself is created, but he is the creator of all. Because of the image created

in the works, he says these things as concerning himself. Just as the Lord himself said, "He who receives you receives me," because his type is in you. Similarly, even though he is not of the created things, yet because his image and type are created in the works, he says, "The Lord created me at the beginning of his ways for his works." Thus, the type of wisdom was made in the works so that, as I said before, the world may know through it its own creator, the Word, and through him, the Father. This is what Paul said, "For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them. Ever since the creation of the world, his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made." Therefore, the Word is not a creature in essence, but the saying in Proverbs refers to the wisdom that is in us. If they do not believe even these, let them tell us whether there is any wisdom in the creatures or not. If not, how does the Apostle blame saying, "For in the wisdom of God, the world did not know God through wisdom"? Or how, if there is no wisdom, is there found a multitude of wise men in Scripture? For "a wise man turned away from evil," and "by wisdom a house is built." And Ecclesiastes says, "Wisdom makes a man's face shine," and rebukes those who speak rashly, saying, "Do not say, 'Why were the former days better than these?' For it is not from wisdom that you ask this." If there is, as Sirach says, "He poured her out upon all his works and upon all flesh according to his gift and gave her to those who love him." If this outpouring is not a characteristic of the essence of the very wisdom and Only-begotten, but of that which is imaged in the world, what is incredible if the true and creative wisdom, whose type is the wisdom and knowledge poured out in the world, says of itself as I have said, "The Lord created me for his works"? For it is not the wisdom in the world that creates, but the one being created in the works. According to it, the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament shows his handiwork. And men, if they bear this wisdom in themselves, will truly recognize the true wisdom of God and will know truly that they have become children of God.

8.And shortly after, "We should not again be surprised if the Son, speaking as of himself, regarding the type in us, says, where he himself was persecuted by Saul persecuting the church in which his type and image were, 'Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me?' Therefore, as it has been said, if the type of wisdom existing in the works said, 'The Lord created me for his works,' no one would be surprised. Similarly, if the true and creative wisdom of God, the Only-begotten Word, says the things of its own image as of itself, 'Created me for his works,' let no one think that it is said concerning the essence of the very wisdom, but concerning the wisdom and knowledge created in the world. So that no one mixing wine with water may seem to steal the truth. For this creates and is creative, but its type is created in the works, just as the image according to the image."

9.Therefore, when the uncreated and eternal wisdom of God, assuming the type of itself, says, "The Lord created me for his works," how should we not understand in the same way that the Holy Spirit, assuming the works and graces that come to us, says of itself to be poured out and granted and given? For it is the one who spoke through the apostles. And just as the outpouring and granting of wisdom, according to Athanasius, is not a characteristic of the essence of the very wisdom and Only-begotten but of that imaged in the world, so the outpouring of the Spirit is not a characteristic of the essence of the Spirit but of its grace, concerning which it is said, "The Spirit of the Lord has filled the world."

s. Why it is said that the grace of the Spirit is poured out or given from the Father through the Son for three reasons.

EXEGESIS OF CONTRAVERSIAL TEXT

1.Therefore, the grace of the Spirit is said to be poured out and given from the Father through the Son, understood in three ways: firstly, because the Son of God became the mediator between us and the Father through the economy, and seems to convey to us the gifts from the Father, though he is also their lord and co-sharer and co-giver with the Father. The Son of God, due to the Incarnation, has become more closely related to us and a manifest beginning of all the divine benefits to us, while the paternal hypostasis remains the eternal, hidden cause of these gifts. All our teachers are guides in this understanding; suffice it now to mention Cyril, who says this in many places, but specifically in his commentary on John, explaining that "all things are accomplished by the Father through the Son in the Spirit." Thus, as mediator and high priest, he shapes the request for good things to come to us, though he is also co-giver and co-sharer of divine and spiritual gifts with his own Father, as Christ, by his own will and power, distributes the Spirit to whomever he wills. And further explaining this, he says, "Thus, as the beginning and way of our reception of the Holy Spirit and our union with God was established upon Christ."

2.Secondly, because the Son of God is the natural and hypostatic power of God and the Father, and the Father does everything through him as through his natural and hypostatic power, according to Damascene, and Cyril says the Son is the hand of the Father. He explains this in "I am the vine," indicating that all things are through the Son, just as through the hand of the Father. "My hand made all these things," though all things came into being through the Son according to the Holy Scriptures. Thus, the Father makes all things through the Son, and it is fitting that the outpouring and granting of the Spirit for the subsistence and formation of creation is also accomplished through the Son, as previously said. Since the Holy Spirit is also the finger of God and the living and hypostatic energy of the Father, according to Athanasius and Cyril, it is fitting that the Father does the same things through the Spirit as he does through the Son, and that the re-creation or betterment of creation, which is especially the work of the Spirit, is done through the Spirit. Cyril explains, "Because it appears that the Holy Spirit, indwelling in the Father and revealed to the worthy, acts and wills through him, it is naturally present to me as well. Therefore, I have said that he takes from mine and will declare it to you." It is far from true that the Son is the cause of the Spirit's hypostasis because the Spirit is poured out through the Son. For if so, the Spirit would be its own cause as much as it proceeds by will since the Father gives us divine and spiritual gifts not only through the Son but also through the Spirit itself.

3.Thirdly, because the gifts that come to the saints, or simply the benevolence and providence of God to all creation, accomplished and preserved according to his will, are the work of the entire divine nature. Since in this divine nature there are three hypostases, and the divine graces proceed from all the hypostases together as from one cause and source, since the hypostases themselves are one by nature, it is no more the Father who is the creator than the Son and the Spirit, nor do they create in a divided manner or with any interval, as though they were considered and believed to be distinct with their properties. Thus, the work of creation or providence is not understood to be performed separately by them but as one through the three hypostases, the result of the divine nature being accomplished by the will. The sacred words signify this, saying that all things are from him, through him, and unto him—Athanasius explains, "from the Father, through the Son, and unto the Holy Spirit." Just as the divine nature is one through the three hypostases, beginning from the Father, proceeding through the Son, and resting in the Spirit, so the benevolence of the divine nature to creation is understood and believed to be one from the Father, through the Son, in the Spirit. These

expressions do not divide the grace, nor separate the giver, but rather orderly connect the hypostases according to their eternal connection and show us one grace from there, blending it with the natural union of those hypostases. Thus, we understand one cause of the grace from God—the Father, the Son, and the Spirit—and all are together the first cause, even though these are distinguished within each other by the previously mentioned distinctions.

4.But not the Father as the first cause, the Son as the second, as some wish, due to the "through," and the Spirit as the third, due to the "in." Nor as if there is no cause at all because the preposition does not clearly signify a cause unless someone forces a different meaning. These are products of ultimate ignorance, not seeing that these prepositions in this discourse do not signify a difference of cause but rather the unity of both cause and work, orderly interweaving the divine hypostases and attributing a common work to them due to their unchangeable and united will. By the preposition "from," the causative is indicated, and by the addition of the others, the sharing of the cause is shown under this bond of the word, indicating one cause of existence—the blessed unity and trinity.

5.Athanasius bears witness to this, saying in "For there is one grace given from the Father through the Son in the Spirit." Cyril agrees in his Thesaurus, saying, "Maintaining the unity of the Father and the Son clearly, he has put the direction in the singular, not as separately from the Father and separately from the Son as giving, but as from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit, the gifts from the one divinity being sent to the saints." Athanasius again in his letter to Serapion says, "For the Father does all things through the Word in the Holy Spirit, and thus the unity of the Holy Trinity is preserved, and thus one God is preached in the Church, who is above all and through all and in all; above all as Father, as principle and source; through all through the Word; in all in the Holy Spirit." And again, "The grace given and the gift are given in the Trinity from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit; for just as the given grace is from the Father through the Son, so there would be no communion of the gift in us if not in the Holy Spirit." Cyril also, explaining "believe that I am in the Father," says, "For the Spirit is truly and naturally from God, but nowhere separated from its essence, proceeding rather from Him and remaining always in Him, granted to the saints through Christ; for all things are through the Son in the Holy Spirit. This truth and orthodoxy of the doctrines we have been taught by the understanding of the holy fathers; thus we have been trained to speak and think and by the sacred writings themselves." Gregory of Nyssa in his discourse to Ablabius says, "Every activity that comes from God to the creation and is called by many different names, originates from the Father and proceeds through the Son and is perfected in the Holy Spirit; and therefore, the name of the action is not divided among the multitude of those working, because the effort concerning each thing is not divided and peculiar, but whatever comes to our providence or to the administration and constitution of the whole, is done through the three but not as three things done." And shortly after, "If every good thing and name of the unoriginate power and will is wrought in the power of the Spirit, it is brought timelessly and without interval to perfection through the Only-begotten God, without any movement or delay of the divine will from the Father through the Son to the Spirit."

6.Basil in the eighteenth epistle to Amphilochius says, "Therefore, the knowledge of God proceeds from the one Spirit through the one Son to the one Father; and conversely, the natural goodness and the natural sanctification and the royal dignity come from the Father through the Only-begotten to the Spirit. Thus, the hypostases are confessed and the pious doctrine of the monarchy does not fail." Neither does the way to God

have anything in common with the existence of the divine persons, nor does the natural goodness passing through all the persons and the natural sanctity and natural worth distinguish those hypostases by the cause, caused cause, and caused, as some wish. In this whole need, these prepositions teach us the consubstantiality of the divine hypostases and their indivisible interweaving, and thus the unity of the grace coming to us from them as from one divinity.

7.It is equally valid to say that the Holy Spirit is given to creation from the Father through the Son and that the gifts of the Spirit come to creation from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit, or that giving to creation is nothing other than coming through the Son, as Cyril says in the third of his commentaries on John, "Though the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, it comes through the Son; and coming is nothing other than giving us His good gifts and through them leading us to His participation." If the Spirit comes authoritatively and breathes where it wills and gives itself in the way it is said, this means the same as eternally coming into its own existence and putting itself forth and subsisting; some have dared to say this, hearing Cyril in the sixth of his books against Hermias saying, "The Spirit is as it were a natural quality of the holy and wise divinity understood as in the Father and the Son and in itself the Spirit." Thus, few understand and interpret the teachers and the Scriptures soundly; most judge everything by their own preconceptions. Whether it is said that the graces come to creation from the Father through the Son in the Spirit as from one divinity, or that the Spirit is given to creation from the Father through the Son, each of these statements equally attributes such graces to the one divinity, orderly accepting the divine hypostases as from all one grace is understood; for giving the Spirit implies the grace of the Spirit given in the Spirit. And through the one name of the Spirit, we understand both its grace given from the Father and the Son and its hypostasis, which through such grace creates and sustains and re-creates creation, transforming human nature to the better, doing the same work with the Father, as Cyril says in the commentary on "I am the vine," "All things are done through both in the Spirit as from one divinity."

8.We are so far from denying in this need of the discourse that in saying through the Son the Son is considered the cause of the thing signified by the word, that we also say that in the Spirit means nothing other than that the Spirit is the cause, equally the Father, not as far as these prepositions go, but as far as the one nature of the three hypostases, which is the cause of all things. Through these prepositions, which customarily signify to us the first term and the last and the middle, we signify the unity of such cause or activity in the divine persons according to the order and distinction they eternally have in themselves. Thus, the Spirit is said to be given and poured out from the Father through the Son and similar things. But none of this contributes to our present inquiry, which is whether the Spirit's being has also a cause from the Son eternally, so that the Son is also the projector or cause and principle of the Spirit and one principle with the Father, as some say.

t. That it is fitting for the Spirit to be granted through the Son, just as it would be for it to subsist through the Son, if it were so.

1. Here arises the opportunity to solve the perplexity of some who say: "What will the Son of God have more than holy men if He does not project the Spirit eternally and cause it to subsist in its own hypostasis like the Father, but only grants it to creation, distributing its gifts, which is something temporal and not

eternal?" I, on the other hand, can rightfully ask them: "And what will the Father have more than the Son, if the begetting of His own were also attributed to the Son, since everything else is in common? Or why will the Son have more than the Spirit, since everything is one except for begetting and proceeding?" Nevertheless, I respond aptly to their perplexity that the granting of the Spirit is its abundant, inexhaustible, and lavish giving. For according to human custom, to grant from one's own and not from foreign sources abundantly is to distribute or give. Thus, it is not fitting for any creature to be a grantor of the divine Spirit, since no nature has the Spirit inherently and of itself. And this is what the Son of God has more than creation in this respect, that the Holy Spirit naturally has the one hypostasis of the divinity so united and inherent in Him that He abundantly and authoritatively distributes and grants its countless and innumerable graces as His own, as is fitting for God. Therefore, they seem to think that the Son of God differs in no great way from creation in divinity, and for this reason, they are perplexed by this. But if they truly understood Cyril, they would know what it means to grant, and that this pertains only to the Son of God and to none of the created beings. For he says in his address to the queens: "See clearly and manifestly in these things our Lord Jesus Christ, receiving the Spirit in a human way for the economy of the flesh (for He, being rich, became poor for our sake), and baptizing divinely in the Holy Spirit. For to whom else would it be fitting to be able to grant the grace of the Spirit except to the one who is by nature and truly God?"

2.Cyril, explaining "He does not give the Spirit by measure," says: "For no holy person has ever been a grantor of the Holy Spirit to another holy person; the Son grants to all as from His own fullness. Therefore, He does not give by measure, nor like those who have a small portion of the Spirit, and this by participation, but since He has been revealed as a grantor, it is clear that He possesses the whole Spirit essentially in Himself." Behold, it clearly means to grant, to have the whole essentially, so as to be able to distribute abundantly and inexhaustibly. And again, he says: "Therefore, we do not say that the energy of the Spirit was given to Him from outside or introduced into Him, as it is to us, that is, to the holy apostles. So, the Spirit is from Him and inherent in Him; and a clear proof of this would be His ability to grant it to others." But those who are perplexed by this perplexity consider the abundant sending of that holy distribution to creation to be something small and possible for a created being. Cyril says this is a clear proof that the Spirit is inherent and from the Son, not given to Him from outside or introduced into Him, and which He says does not fit any created being except the one who is by nature and truly God. To further clarify that it pertains only to God to be a grantor of the Spirit and to understand what Cyril means everywhere by saying that the Son has the Spirit just as the Father does, we should listen to Cyril himself in the thirteenth of his Thesaurus: "The things called to sanctification from the partaking of the sanctifying God preserve the given holiness in themselves through washing, but they cannot impart this received holiness to others; for no human, having received the Spirit from partaking, has ever granted it to another, since he himself has received it from God; it fits only the source of holiness to grant sanctification from itself to whom it wills. The angels in heaven are holy by participation and reception from the holy God; but they have never appeared to grant sanctification to humans. Likewise, the blessed Moses, when the seventy elders were chosen for the necessary needs of the assembly, did not give the Spirit himself, but God took from the Spirit on him, as it is written, and gave it to the appointed ones. So, those holy by participation can carry the grace given by God, but not grant it to others. But the Son is not like this; as the source of holiness, He sanctifies His disciples, saying: 'Receive the Holy Spirit.' And in doing this, He appears as the Father. Therefore, the one who has equal authority and

power with the Father in sanctifying, how could He not have true likeness to Him?" Thus, concerning the Holy Spirit being granted to creation from the Father through the Son, whether after the economy or immediately in the constitution of the world, so much can be said.

u. On the manifestation through the Son temporally.

1.It also pertains to the same meaning to say that the Holy Spirit is manifested through the Son, where a c reated term is added, as in that saying of Gregory: "And manifested through the Son, that is to say, to humans . For the Holy Spirit is truly light, revealed by the Son and revealing the Son, insofar as, by the grace of the Spi rit, we are illuminated, and thus recognize the divine Spirit itself, which enlightens us, and through it, the One who promised us such grace." Similarly, Cyril, in his third commentary on John, says: "The light of Your face has shone upon us; for the face of God and the Father is the Son, who is again the character; and the light fro m Him is the grace that comes to creation through the Spirit."

v. On the manifestation through the Son eternally.

1.There are some who say that it was revealed through the Son, not by adding a created role, but rather in reference to the eternal distinction and union of the divine Persons and their existence in themselves. Many understand this to clearly proclaim the Son as the cause of the Spirit's existence, thinking that "revealed through the Son" is the same as "subsisting through the Son" and saying that the Spirit's subsistence or existence through the Son is the same as subsisting from the Son. They think this because they believe that the rank of the Son and the Father is manifested in the Spirit's procession.

2.This is not so; for revelation is not the same as being everywhere and necessarily. The Persons are made known through one another, and our theology is full of this; but they do not derive from one another, nor is the Spirit's being through the Son the same as subsisting from the Son, because it involves the notion of cause. It has been said earlier that it is impossible to take this intention of "through the Son" according to the usual human way of speaking about established causes. Moreover, some want the Son to be closely the cause of the Spirit and do not use this intention of "through the Son" in this case, leading to their belief that the usage of this preposition does not correspond to the matter being discussed, proving them incoherent and misunderstanding the matter entirely.

3.Many who think this way are deceived. However, some who adhere to the truth, without introducing a created limit, understand "revealed through the Son" to mean made known to humans through the Son and are content with this interpretation. It is not surprising, they say, that the Spirit is said to be revealed and shines forth through the Son. Likewise, Saint Dionysius clearly distinguishes the Son of God not only by his eternal attribute but also temporally, with respect to the other divine persons. It is not unreasonable for the Spirit, regarding its temporal revelation, to be distinguished from the other divine persons by being revealed through them while maintaining its eternal attribute. This is true and not inappropriate, but it does not entirely fit the teachers' purpose. One must not only consider the truth but also its appropriate application. Here, I am moved to lament our people's misery, who have fallen into such ignorance that they do not understand the teachers of the faith and are so simple-minded that anyone can easily deceive them. Such is

the case here, having been deceived by sophists because they cannot grasp what the teachers say, not only due to ignorance of theological science but also of the Greek language itself, along with indifference, unbelief, and a corrupt conscience.

4.So, what does it mean that the Spirit is revealed through the Son when this is understood eternally? It means nothing other than that it is clearly defined in its own hypostasis, with the Son pre-conceived. For the Son's hypostasis, known through his unique relation to the Father, distinctly presents to us the property of the Spirit, which is distinguished by the Son, as Gregory of Nyssa says against Eunomius: "The distinct property of each hypostasis clearly and purely separates one from another." Thus, the Spirit is revealed through the Son as being defined in its own hypostasis, which it has from the Father, and clearly known, with the Son's pre-conception giving us a clearer understanding of the Spirit. We have this from Saint Basil, who explicitly defines it in the second book against Eunomius: "The properties, like certain characteristics and forms observed in the essence, distinguish the common by their unique characteristics, but do not break the unity of the essence. For instance, divinity is common, but there are properties of fatherhood and sonship. From the combination of the common and unique, we come to an understanding of the truth, so that hearing 'unbegotten light,' we conceive the Father, and hearing 'begotten light,' we understand the Son, recognizing no opposition in them as light and light, but observing the opposition as unbegotten and begotten. This is the nature of properties, showing diversity within the unity of essence, and properties often oppose each other without breaking the unity of essence, like flying and walking, swimming and terrestrial, rational and irrational. Since the one essence underlies all, these properties do not alienate the essence nor convince themselves of contradiction, but by their clarity lead our minds to an attainable understanding."

5.Accordingly, following this great teacher, we believe that the Son of God, revealed uniquely from the Father as begotten light from unbegotten light, immediately through him, we understand the processional light which is the Holy Spirit. Since we cannot comprehend the manner of that procession (it is ineffable and incomprehensible), yet the clarity of the Son's property, being begotten light and only-begotten, infuses a kind of light into our minds, leading us to some understanding of the procession. Even if nothing else, we can at least see that it is not the Son and does not proceed in the manner of generation (for how could the Son then be the only-begotten?), but rises by another manner from the same source, inherently. Thus, we understand the saints saying the Holy Spirit is revealed or shines through the Son, and especially that, when they say this, they mean it proceeds from the Father and has the cause of being and such things from the Father, known or perceived through the Son, saying that to know or perceive through the Son is different from subsisting through the Son. For they would have said there that it subsists from the Father through the Son, or from both, or has the cause of subsistence from both. But no one has ever said such a thing. The sayings of the teachers, examined sensibly and without passion, bear witness to this.

6.Basil, in his letter to his brother, writes: "Since the Holy Spirit, from whom every good gift to creation flows, is attached to the Son with whom it is inseparably united, and has its being dependent on the cause of the Father, from whom it proceeds, this indicates its unique hypostatic property, being known with and through the Son, yet having its existence from the Father. The Son reveals and knows the Spirit, which proceeds from the Father, through himself and with himself. He alone has shone forth uniquely from the unbegotten light. Let everyone capable of following this consider: firstly, the Holy Spirit is declared the source of the distribution of goods, fitting with the previous discussion. Secondly, it is said to be attached to

the Son, as united with him, and to have its being from the cause of the Father, from whom it proceeds. This means it is attached to the Son regarding being known, and to the Father regarding existence. And again, it is known with and through the Son, and exists from the Father, repeating what was said earlier more clearly. The Son reveals the Spirit, which proceeds from the Father, through himself and with himself. And how through himself? By his own word and name; for we believe that he alone uniquely shone forth from the Father. Therefore, we neither call the Holy Spirit the Son nor say it proceeds from the Father in a manner of generation, but in another way. And what was said earlier 'with the Son,' is now said 'through himself'; and as 'with the Son' was added previously, so now 'with himself' is added to 'through himself,' to ensure the Spirit is not thought to exist after the Son in terms of being, as it is known by us after the Son."

7.Gregory of Nyssa, in his writings against Eunomius, says: "The Father is without beginning and unbegotten and is always conceived as the Father. The Only-Begotten Son is immediately conceived with the Father without any intermediary void or formless notion. Similarly, the Holy Spirit is immediately grasped through the Son, not coming into being after the Son, as if the Only-Begotten could be thought without the Spirit, but having its cause of existence from the God of all, from whom the Only-Begotten light also shines forth. Another such light shines in the same way, not cut off by a temporal interval from the begotten light, but shining through it, having the cause of its hypostasis from the original light." And again: "For the Spirit is joined to the Father according to its cause, yet is separated from him by not being Father as he is, and from the Son by its own unique property of not being begotten from the Father, but being revealed through the Son."

8.These expressions may trouble some who consider the cause of hypostasis and the cause of being, thinking the Holy Spirit has its being from the Son, but the cause of its being from the Father, because the Father is the first cause. However, Basil himself resolves this confusion when he says of the Son in his writings against Eunomius: "The Son is the one who has received his being generatively from another." And again, "We respond, that since he was begotten, he was, not having his being unbegotten; being and always existing with the Father, from whom he also has the cause of his existence." And again, "But 'begotten' indicates the cause from which he has the beginning of his being; 'was' indicates his timeless and eternal existence." No one would dare to say that the Son is not directly from the Father, and therefore it is not said that he has his being from the Father, but that he has the cause of his being or the cause of his existence. This applies similarly to the issue of the Spirit. Thus, whether regarding the Son or the Spirit, it is more fitting to say that each has the cause of their existence from the Father and the cause of their being, rather than saying they have their being, existence, and hypostasis from the Father. Let them try to understand this; for I know well, but do not wish to, as it is not relevant to the present need, and one should not aid those unwilling to benefit. However, when they are convinced of the present matters, we can easily respond to their remaining questions as divinely enabled. For now, it suffices that similar things are said of the Son; thus, these do not aim to show us the primary cause to distinguish the proximate cause.

9.It must be added to what has been said, from where the teachers derived the notion of revelation concerning the Son and the Spirit, whether they say eternally that they proceed from the Father, and the Spirit also through the Son, or temporally. It is clear they derived this from Dionysius, who calls the distinctions within the exalted Trinity processions and manifestations, so that each is distinguished in the divine Trinity, and thus proceeds or is revealed from or through him. Therefore, the teachers correctly say the Holy Spirit is

revealed or made known through the Son, as it is conceived as distinct in that it does not proceed uniquely as the Son, but in another way from the same origin. This distinction suffices for the Son and the Spirit, and one need not seek another, as shown in the writings of the saints. In another sense, he calls the creative providences and goodness processions and manifestations, common to the tri-hypostatic distinct unity, and therefore the Spirit is said to be revealed to humans through the Son. Such a revelation of the Spirit is clearly a common work of the whole Trinity, belonging to the kind of creative providence and goodness, and included within it. If they have not held Dionysius as a guide for such an opinion, nor before him the blessed Paul, but rather the Spirit of truth teaching them, which inspired Dionysius and Paul and before them, it is not possible that the earlier and later teachers were taught different things by the Spirit. For, he says, they were not speaking themselves, but the Spirit of God, who proceeds from God the Father and is not alien to the Son according to essence.

w. Concerning the procession through the Son.

1.It is also said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, first mentioned by Gregory the Wonderworker, saying somewhere that while the Father is unbegotten and the Son is begotten from the Father, the Spirit is eternally sent forth from the essence of the Father through the Son. Here, he used "sent forth" instead of "proceeds," just as the theologian Gregory also took this, saying that sending forth is unique to the Spirit; for the Greek expression does not fit well with the term "proceed," as those who are diligent in such matters think. Therefore, instead of "procession," they use "sending forth" those who are careful with the Greek expression. Also, Athanasius similarly says: "It was impossible in the glory of the Trinity for the Spirit to be glorified, not proceeding from God through the Son." Maximus likewise says: "The Holy Spirit exists by nature and essence of God and the Father, and so too is of the Son by essence, as it proceeds ineffably from the Father through the Son." In agreement with all these, Damascene in his thirteenth theological discourse says: "He is indeed the abyss of the Word, the generator of the Word, and through the Word, the sender of the manifesting Spirit." And again in the same chapter, "The Holy Spirit, the revealing power of the hidden divinity of the Father, proceeds from the Father through the Son." Tarasius also professes to believe in the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father through the Son, and recognized as God.

2.From these statements, those who hold this belief are especially convinced that the Son is the cause and origin of the Spirit; for they say these cannot be understood about the temporal mission of the Spirit, since the term "proceeds" is added, which is specifically used by the Eastern teachers to signify the procession into being by hypostasis of the Holy Spirit. They consider "through the Son" to be the same as "from the Son," except that the former is related to being known by that name, which is conceived as a proximate cause of the proceeding, having received the advancing from another; while the latter is conceived as the first cause and having the advancing from none other. Here it is especially necessary to be careful, so that no error arises from inattention and poor judgment. Firstly, we say, as said earlier, that proceeding from something through something else, in the case of synonymous and similarly advancing things, is not commonly said nor true; my grandfather advanced my father, and my father, me; but my grandfather did not advance me through my father, but is incidentally my cause, while my father is directly so. But "through which" is especially said in the case of established causes that are the cause of something else by themselves, of which the proximate cause

alone produces similarly; the others dissimilarly, being higher in kind and more universal than the proximate cause, like when we say the sun generates man through man and produces fruit through seed; in such causes the proximate and partial ones have the order of instruments to the higher causes and are like instrumental. The proximate causes are also said to act through the higher ones, because they act or advance by their power; for all things that act partially do so by the power of the general creators. Neither does the Father and the Son resemble those who dissimilarly advance or create, so that it could be said the Father projects the Spirit through the Son, as the higher and more universal causes accomplish results through partial creators; for this would follow many absurdities, nor can the same order exist in the divine Persons and in those similarly advancing. It would follow that the Son is primarily the cause of the Spirit, and through the Son also the Father would be the cause of the Spirit. Thus, it would not be said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, or that the Father projects the Spirit through the Son, as it is not commonly said in such cases.

3.Since the causes as such are briefly said to be this way, if it were possible for the Spirit to proceed through the Son as a proximate cause, as they say, it would appear similarly to the previously mentioned; it seems impossible to be likewise according to the nature of the cause or order, about which the discourse is. It remains to seek if this preposition has any other usage in common speech, according to which usage it should be understood and applied to the matter at hand. For it is clear to the one willing to examine that if "through the Son" in usage can mean cause, it does not fit to mean in this context, grasping a small start of what was said and expanding each according to such a rule. Nor is it just to resort to common speech usage; the unsuitable of things and the matters we are accustomed to, so use the word, and the divine Persons are not examined, and at the same time, the saints who say the Son has everything but the cause of the Father agree, and that the Father remains the cause and the Son is not the cause of the Holy Spirit's procession and does not have existence from the Son, and should be said not from the Son but through the Son only, and such things. For if it were possible to mean cause in this preposition "through the Son," none of such things would be true, but they should rather proclaim the Son as evidently the cause of the Spirit and say the Spirit is from the Son and such things, of which they say nothing, but rather the opposite. Since not only must the incoherent be refuted but also the suitable and true must be aimed at by those wanting to make the teaching complete on any matter, it must be added then by what usage this preposition in common speech will fit the subject and the found analogy reveal the true faith from the theology of the teachers.

4.It is found in the use of our speech that the preposition "through" signifies some union and connection, as when we say the fame of someone went through all the earth, or that the pain of the wound went through the whole body, or as Demosthenes says in his oration on the embassy: "They went through the enemy's army to Pagasae"; and Gregory the Theologian: "If there is a river flowing sweet through brine," or as Basil says in his writings against Eunomius about the holy powers: "They have the sanctification already pervading and co-natured through their whole being"; and if anyone does not recognize this broad use of the preposition and how from this is derived "pervade," "go through," "penetrate," and the like, he seems entirely ignorant of the Greek language or pretends to be. Accordingly, they say the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, to show the essential connection and unity in these hypostases. This is the necessity of such expression.

5.Some of the heretics agreed with the divinity of the Son, but wrongfully denied that of the Spirit. Some said that the Spirit was a creation of the Son and entirely separated it from the Father, except they said the Son had the power of creating the Spirit and other things derived from the Father in himself, and through this he began to create the Spirit and then the entire creation. Others said it was from God and the Father, but as creation is from God, not synonymous and natural as the Son, being misled by many other things, including that the Spirit is not called the Son; for they said the Son of God proceeds synonymously and naturally from God and is therefore called the Son. Among humans, the son proceeds from the father according to the synonymous cause and is consubstantial with the one who begot him; but if something is not a son of man but comes forth from him in another way, it would not be synonymous but would be a product of his art, wholly a work of will, not of nature.

6.Thus, they said that the Spirit is from God, meaning from the Father, but like all things from God, creatively, thus they denied that the Spirit is from God through the Son naturally. They said it is only through the Son in the way that all things were made through the Son, and they envisioned that line of the Spirit's procession from the entire divinity, which they confined from the Father to the Son only, conceptually outside the whole divinity. Just as we now imagine the line of the creation's procession from God outside of God, starting from one origin of the entire divinity, attached to its cause but not by nature. The teachers of the Church, particularly Athanasius (for he was the leader in promoting this idea to others), refuting those heretics, said that when the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, it does not make its procession outside the Son, but through and in the Son, so that the Spirit may be conceived as united with the Son and believed to be God, yet distinguished from Him by defining it in its own hypostasis. This means that it is understood as proceeding from the Son not causally, but distinctly. For it must be understood as emerging from the Son's essence, as another hypostasis distinct from the Son's, defined by its own characteristics. Its procession from the Father into itself must be understood as being in and through the Son, believed to be naturally united with the Son, mixed with His essence, as if interpenetrating, with its own unique characteristics still defining it. For thus God is a Trinity; otherwise, He would be only a Dyad, namely Father and Son.

7.Just as creation, though from God through the Son (for all things are from the Father through the Son), is not counted with the Trinity, so the Holy Spirit would not complete the blessed Trinity, but would be placed among created things, leaving divinity in only two hypostases if those heretics were correct. Even now, if through this preposition the natural connection of the Son and Spirit is understood, yet the cause only, this Spirit would risk suffering; for as much as the causality implied by the preposition and its equivalence to "from," as those who innovate on these matters understand, would render the Spirit one of the creations. Since all things are from God through the Son, and the preposition here means cause and is equivalent to "from" in truth. But it must be understood as showing the union and interpenetration of the Spirit's procession from the Father through the Son, to separate the Spirit from creation, which is causally from God through the Son but does not penetrate through the Son or from the Father in the Son, as Cyril says about the Spirit, meaning not essentially joined with it.

8.If they will say that both meanings of the preposition should be combined, they are not allowed to do so, as long as they do not risk anything from the causal meaning, they can think highly and believe they are saying something significant, not believing the preposition can mean anything other than cause. Once they learn another meaning, and themselves feel the rejection of the causal only, then they will admit many

meanings can be combined. But we cannot allow them this; as teachers separate these meanings, clearly allowing "through the Son" because of the unity of essence, yet denying that it means having existence from the Son and the Son being the cause of the Spirit, as will become clear from the teachers' words. How then can they combine cause and union in the meaning of the preposition when teachers separate them? That the unity of essence in the Son and Spirit, or rather in the whole blessed Trinity, is the intention of the teachers saying the Spirit proceeds "through the Son" against those who separate it from the divine essence, is clear from their own words, by which those holding an opposing view are also convinced.

9.Athanasius says it is impossible in the glory of the Trinity for the Spirit to be glorified not proceeding from God through the Son, but creatively, as the heretics say. And Tarasius, saying the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, adds: "and is recognized as God," because it proceeds through the Son and not outside the Son, according to Athanasius, hence it is known as God. For if the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son and has its existence, with cause understood in the preposition, it would not be known to us as God, for this is common to creation too. That the procession of the Spirit is separate from creation is clear to orthodox beliefs; heretics, saying the creation's procession from God is a form of their existence from God, indiscriminately use the term procession. Thus, they were not convinced that the Spirit's procession from God separated it from His creations. But Athanasius, not in their view but in the ecclesiastical and true use of terms, distinguishes "proceeding" from "creating," calling the procession the internal manifestation of divine fertility in divinity, and creation, the outward movement of God's good will, so to speak, into their first hypostasis, where creation, from God through the Son in the Spirit, establishes God's works outside the nature of the Trinity, but the procession from the Father's hypostasis, distinct by hypostasis, establishes their mutual existence in the same nature. Therefore, the Son, born from the Father, is in the Father and begotten in and through Him, and the Spirit, proceeding from the Father, proceeds through both and is in both no less; for it is not outside the Word according to Athanasius, and proceeds through both according to Cyril in his address to the empresses. Thus, if the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, how can it be considered a creation when it has its existence within the nature of divinity? And if it does not proceed from the Father through the Son but like creations from the Father through the Son, how could it be glorified in the Trinity's glory? For surely creation is not glorified with the Trinity.

10.But Thomas, alas, not accepting Athanasius's distinction, says that the Father and the Son create the creation as they are one; but he also says that the Father and the Son constitute the Spirit as they are one, separating only in expression but uniting in the manner of the procession of both creations and the Spirit. If creation and the Holy Spirit proceed equally from the Father through the Son and proceed similarly from both as they are one, then what necessity do we have for the distinction of words? Let him and anyone else use any word they wish, as long as the manner of procession unites the nature of those proceeding; for things proceeding from the same cause in the same manner and reason must necessarily be the same by nature.

11.If creation is from the will of God, but the Spirit from His nature, this is the different manner of procession that we seek from you and which we ourselves profess. For what is this other than saying that the divine nature produces creation by its supremely good will, while the Father's hypostasis advances the other divine hypostases by its own nature, existing in itself and in each other no less due to the perfect communion of nature, with the Spirit said to proceed from the Father through the Son alone, and not the Son through the

Spirit, because "through the Son" preserves the Only-begotten attribute of the Son, while "through the Spirit" does not protect against the misuse of the pretext of words. But these suffice to clarify Athanasius's statement. As for Damascene's, who could explain it better than he himself? He says the Spirit proceeds through the Son but does not have its existence from the Son, and calls the Father alone the cause. But regarding the existence of beings through the Son, he would never say they came into being through Him but not from Him (for the Father alone is the cause), or that they did not have their constitution from the Son but through the Son only. This would not differ at all from the Arians or Marathonians.

12.The teachers say this not only to refute the heretics but also to present to us their own true and precise theology, providing us with security where we are likely to slip. For we hear from the holy words that the Son and the Spirit come forth from God differently, yet naturally. The Son says about himself, "I came forth from the Father," but about the Spirit, "it proceeds from the Father," and thus the holy teachers want to show us the first and immediate advancement of these divine hypostases from the divine essence according to the Scriptures and through created examples. Dionysius calls these hypostases divine plants and flowers and transcendent lights of the divine begetting and primordial divinity. The theologian Gregory calls them twin rays of the sun and double-flowing rivers from the same source. They use such examples to prevent the Spirit from being thought to be merely attached to the Son and joined to Him only initially.

13.The law of sincere theology wishes that these hypostases are not only united in origin but also in their connection with each other. This agrees with the traditional sequence and order of the divine persons; otherwise, they would be considered connected only by the communion of nature, like two brothers from one father, sharing because they come from a common source and share the same nature, but otherwise separate and not in each other. To avoid such errors, they say the Spirit proceeds from the Father according to the teaching of the Savior, but through the Son, that is, in Him and with Him, not outside of Him, so that the procession is not thought to be detached but differing only in manner, nor the hypostasis from the hypostasis, except by its unique property. Thus, the Spirit is believed to be in the Son and proceeds with Him; or rather, to speak truly, believed to be in each other and proceed with each other. But let it rather prevail in words that the Spirit is in the Son and proceeds through the Son, agreeing with the sequence of the persons, observed accordingly with their properties.

14.Each remains what it is, says blessed Cyril in the seventh book against Hermias, enriching each other in their own nature by their natural unity; for the Father is in the Son and the Holy Spirit, and likewise the Son and the Spirit in the Father and each other. Though such a concept cannot be simply demonstrated (for it is impossible), it suffices for the present discourse. Just as light and heat proceed together from the sun, not separately, but heat through the light and with it; or as ray and illumination proceed from the sun, not detached from the ray, but in and through it; or light and radiance from the sun, or word from the inner man and the breath revealing the word, and such examples are used. So the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father with the Son and in Him, and this is what is meant by proceeding through Him. Damascene, in his logical proof concerning the Holy Spirit, says: "As the Word exists not in our way but substantially, of the same essence and nature as the begetter, so the Holy Spirit substantially exists, of the same essence and nature as God, proceeding from the Father and in Him and with the Word and Son accompanying and manifesting." And again, in the discourse on the Holy Trinity: "Just as the radiance accompanies the ray and is transmitted to us through it, so the Holy Spirit, accompanying the Son, is transmitted through Him to the worthy

according to the distribution of gifts; for He breathed and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit.'" He says this, following the earlier teachers, as he follows their steps everywhere.

15.Gregory the Theologian, in his discourse on the Spirit, says: "I allow Christ to speak, with whom the Spirit was present, not as an operator, but as a co-equal witness." And Gregory of Nyssa, in his Catechetical Oration, says: "Thus, having learned that the Spirit is of God, accompanying the Word and manifesting His energy, we do not think of it as the breath of air; for that would debase the majesty of the divine power, if we thought of the Spirit in Him as similar to our breath, but rather as a substantial power viewed in its own unique hypostasis, not separable from God in whom it exists, nor from the Word of God with whom it accompanies, nor dissolving into non-existence, but existing in a hypostatic likeness to the Word of God."

16.Athanasius, prior to them, in his third oration against the Arians, says: "We do not set forth the image of three suns, but one sun and its radiance, and the light from the sun in the radiance." Thus, not only does the Holy Spirit proceed from there, but also we believe it exists in God and from God through the Word. For Athanasius says, "For where is the Spirit outside of the Word, but being in the Word, it is through Him in God." And again, "The Spirit being in the Word, it would be clear that it is also through the Word in God." As Basil and after him Damascene say, "The Spirit is united to the Father through the Son." What does this indicate? The union of these hypostases, that they are from the same source and are so considered by us; for though our understanding begins from causes and is divided, the conclusion of our understanding, if sound, agrees with the reality. Therefore, we understand the Spirit in God through the Word, since it too is through the Word from God; the Spirit manifests the Word to us, and the Word illuminates us to understand the Spirit, so that we believe it is naturally from God, as the Word itself is from God.

17.If the preposition "through" signified cause here, as some want, what else would Athanasius believe than that the Son is the cause of the Spirit's being and its presence in God, or that the Son, uniting first and inherently with the Spirit, then through Himself unites it also to the Father? For the teachers do not say in these words that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, but that being in the Word and not outside of the Word, it is through the Word in God, and that through the Word it is united to the Father, so that the Son would be the cause of the Spirit being united to the Father or being in God through Him, as they would understand the Son as the cause of the Spirit's hypostasis through whom it occurs; and thus the Spirit would be in the Father through the Son.

18.But the opposite is true according to Cyril in the thirty-third of the Thesaurus, that the Spirit naturally exists in the Son from the Father, and that it proceeds naturally and essentially from the Father in the Son, anointing all things through Him and sanctifying them. And again, in his explanation of "as You have sent me into the world": "Since the Son is from the Father and in the Father by nature, being the true fruit of His essence, His own Spirit comes forth from the Father, poured out from the Father and given to creation through the Son." For if the Son brings forth the Spirit from the Father, and the Spirit proceeds in the Son from the Father, it would not be in the Father through the Son, nor would it be united to the Father in such a way as to make the Son the cause of this union or indwelling. As mentioned earlier, the teachers say this to show that the Spirit is counted as the third, mediating the Son in the order of persons, and that calling the Spirit the Spirit of the Son and in the Son does not separate the Spirit from its natural relation to the Father; for it is no less in God as the Son is in Him, and immediately from Him and inseparably. Therefore, to sum up, the teachers of the Church say the Spirit proceeds from the Father according to the Savior's words, but

include in the word "through the Son" to show the substantial union of the divine hypostases and to encompass the entire Trinity in the discourse of procession, without needing to be overly concerned about the Son's generation, but focusing on the procession only. And indeed, this is fitting for teachers to do; for in no discourse relevant to them should they leave out any hypostasis, encompassing the entire Trinity in almost every discourse; for if the discourse could not do this, the sound mind will surely accept it even unwillingly. Now, the discourse can somehow follow and conform to the mind. What then would prevent, or rather, how is it not necessary to express in words what the mind inwardly conceives?

19.I now say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father; if I am sound in mind, I immediately think of the Son; for He has the same nature numerically with the Father and the Spirit; He is the Son of the Father, and the Spirit is the Spirit of the Son. But not just in any way do I think of this, but as it is permitted and the divine words have allowed. For if the Spirit is also the Spirit of the Son, how could I not think of the Son as well? For it is called the Spirit of truth and said to proceed from the Father, believed to be naturally and inseparably in the Son. And if the Son is begotten from the Father, I must think of the Son in this discourse and pre-conceive Him before the Spirit; and if the divine persons are in each other, I must necessarily think of the Son with the Father advancing, and the Son with the Spirit proceeding, even if not conceptually advancing Him, because I conceive Him proceeding with Him. For how could it be that the same one proceeds and advances with another again? Therefore, in the discourse of procession, they pre-conceive and co-conceive the Son because of the union of essence; wanting to show the essential union, they do the same elsewhere in other ways and include the Trinity under one bond of discourse, sometimes saying that the Son is begotten of the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds, sometimes saying that the Spirit proceeds ineffably from the Father and is given to creation through the Son; and that it subsists from the Father and is revealed to humans through the Son, and such things; and by such true bonds, all leading to one goal, they weave the blessed Trinity.

20.And that they present the substantial union and do not mean the Son as the cause of the Spirit, what was said earlier is enough; but now I will present the saints clearly saying this. Cyril, in the sixth book against Hermias, says in perplexity: "Of whom do we say the Holy Spirit is? Only of God and the Father, or also of the Son?" Then resolving, he adds: "Or equally of both, from the Father through the Son because of the unity of essence." And again, explaining "He will glorify me," he says: "Since it is consubstantial with the Son and proceeds divinely through Him, having all its perfect energy." And elsewhere he says it proceeds through the Son and exists in the Son from the Father, for which reason he adds divinely, so that the passage is not thought temporary or through a pipe or vessel, but through the whole nature of the Son, removing any bodily, temporal, or improper notion for the divine nature. He says this more clearly at the end of the previous statement: "For proceeding through Him naturally as His own, it is said to receive all things perfectly."

21.Maximus, in his letter to Marinus, says: "They declare that it proceeds through Him and thus demonstrate the unity and unchangeableness of the essence." And it would be lengthy to enumerate such things. I will provide an irrefutable and sole piece of evidence sufficient for all. Cyril, in his commentary on "In that day you will know," says: "But what beauty of truth are you, being driven away, disfiguring into an ugly falsehood, extracting from the Father's essence the Son who is from Him and through Him, inventing very weak reasons and concocting absurd arguments?" Therefore, I ask those who hold the opposite opinion

to us, how does the teacher say "from Him and through Him" simultaneously? Is it parallel? But that is the way of poets, not teachers; hence they do not usually use it, but for greater clarity, because one is clearer than the other. And which is clearer, "from Him"? But he ought to have said the less clear "through Him" first, adding the clearer "from Him," not awkwardly and ignorantly reversing the order. Is "through Him" clearer? That is false even by their own standards; for the first cause is more clearly signified by "from," and the second and subsequent by "through," as having "from" pre-conceived and co-conceived. But the Son is not from the Father in such a way as to be through Him, that is, having another cause preceding Himself, as those who consider the Son a proximate cause of the Spirit think about "through Him." But rather, it should have been "through Him and from Him" if the prepositions were used as they claim. Just as "through" is clearer and more appropriate than "from" for the Son, so "from" would be clearer than "through" for the Father. Thus, they say things inconsistent with themselves and Cyril. For if "through" here means cause and is parallel, to avoid saying worse, that the Father might not be unoriginate, what more does Cyril achieve by saying "from both," that is, from the Father through the Son the Spirit is poured forth? For he says the same thing, "from both," if "through" and "from" are always the same and have no difference.

22.But all these things are impossible and inconsistent. Therefore, the teacher means something else by saying "through Him," not "from Him" again. What is that? The unity of essence, which they deny; for they extracted and separated Him from the Father's essence, conceding He is from Him as a cause, but in a way attributing to Him a common cause with all things; for all things are from God causally; thus they thought the Son was from God, but not through Him, just as creations are not through God nor penetrate or pass through God's essence, as if coming into their own hypostasis, but receive their being outside the divine essence from Him. But Cyril and the universal faith say the Son of God is both from Him and through Him, meaning not outside of Him, but having and receiving being in the Father and from the Father and existing in the same nature.

23.If we must delve deeper into the truth of the doctrine and uncover the intention of Cyril and all the teachers for those who can follow more logically and gracefully, it is said that all beings are from God. But only the Son and the Holy Spirit are from Him and through Him; from Him by the whole hypostasis of the Father, and through Him by His essence. For the hypostasis of the Father is what brings forth the Son and the Spirit, for actions belong to the subjects. The principle by which such a hypostasis brings forth is the essence and nature of the Father, sharing in those proceeding from Him and the similar bringing forth. He does not share the property which constitutes His hypostasis, nor bring forth another Father by begetting or projecting, but only God. God, with the property of projecting or begetting, is on the one hand the Son and on the other the Holy Spirit, as there is the Father with the property of begetting and projecting. And this is reasonable; for everything that brings forth brings forth through its own form, which is the essence. Thus the deity, being a communal principle in the Father, brings forth the Son from itself as cause, and through itself, as it is through His essence. Hence, "through Him" signifies consubstantiality, and therefore Cyril says "the Son who is from Him and through Him."

24.This also seems right to Thomas of Aquinas, who says it is better to say the Father begets the Son through His essence than from His essence; for "from" pertains to the primary cause, which is the hypostasis that brings forth; "through" pertains to the form, through which the bringer brings forth. Thus, "from Him and through Him" with the Father applies to both the Son and the Spirit; they are not only from Him but also

through Him. The same must be said about the Spirit; it cannot be otherwise. With the Son, "through Him" is appropriate to the Spirit because the Son is the essence of the Father, as Athanasius says, but He is not the hypostasis of the Father; He is what the Father is, but not the Father, as Maximus says. Because the Son is the essence of the Father and what the Father is, the Spirit is through the Son, meaning consubstantial with the Son; because the Son is not the Father, the source from which the Holy Spirit proceeds, it is not from the Son, but through the Son only, signifying consubstantiality. Thus it is consubstantial with the Father, naturally proceeding and subsisting from Him, as it is consubstantial with the Son, receiving the same essence and nature, proceeding from the Father, which the Son receives by being begotten. And because in the Son these prepositions are separated, Damascene says the Spirit does not proceed from Him, but through Him; the Father alone is the cause. Hence he says the Spirit is said to be revealed through the Son and imparted to creation, but does not have its existence from Him. Therefore, Maximus says the Romans of his time did not say the Spirit proceeds from the Son, making Him a cause of the Spirit's procession, but declared it proceeds through Him, thus demonstrating the unity and unchangeableness of the essence.

25.They all rightly understood Cyril and the European Fathers; those who interpret Damascene and Maximus differently, and Cyril's words too, are sophistic and hold no ecclesiastical mindset, falling into many absurdities, serving first and second principles, proximate and remote, and expelling the Spirit from some natural power or energy or property, which the Church has rightly rejected and continues to reject as Arian madness. Cyril himself clearly rebukes their wickedness, explaining "through" as stated. We do not deny that the Spirit is sometimes said to proceed through the Father and the Son when we understand the occasional causative meaning of this preposition, just as when it is used with "from." But even then, some cause is indicated, not as far as the preposition goes, but as much as the underlying matter suggests. When Cyril in his address says Christ was raised by the power of the Spirit, explaining that the life-giving Spirit proceeds through both, and when he says all things will be accomplished by both in the Spirit as from one divinity, since he speaks of God's benefactions toward creation, which are the common work of the whole divinity, we understand both "through" and "from" and such prepositions under the notion of cause, as we believe in one origin of such benefactions and the three hypostases, though united by different prepositions for different purposes of the discourse, not to divide that one origin and energy. As far as prepositions are concerned, we understand more unity and also the union of the three hypostases in that energy through these prepositions, showing their essential unity.

26.Thus, concerning those statements, but concerning those declaring the eternal existence of the Spirit, which it has from the Father, with "proceeding" or "projecting" or "being" added, there is nowhere and no way to understand "through" under the notion of cause, but rather under the notion of the union of nature and the connection of hypostases by nature. We are convinced by the said statements and many more not mentioned for brevity. Therefore, it has been said correctly that we understand the broad use of the preposition "through"; it has become clear from the said matters that in the given hypothesis, it should be interpreted so, and we see it used with many other prepositions and compounds, as Chrysostom interpreted it somewhere in his commentaries on the Psalms and Basil instead of the conjunction and compound; and "and" instead of "with" again in the chapters to Amphilochius; and "through" instead of "with" Chrysostom and Basil again; this preposition being more appropriate in conjunction with "through." To take everything always with the same meaning as Anaxagoras's confusion, not the Orthodox and canonical precision given to

us; for Maximus, as said earlier, in his commentary on the lampstand, "Not always and in everything having the same expression will be considered in one and the same way, but each of the sayings should be understood according to the underlying place in holy Scripture, if we are to aim correctly at the purpose of the sayings." Thus also the sayings of the teachers rightly understood by us will be understood.

x. Regarding the foundation, if they submit to the opinion of those around Scotus, namely the two generative powers.

1.When we examined the statement of Nyssa, and from there woven the argument to the present about the purpose, the foundation, under this opinion of Thomas, we have overturned, and those having the contrary opinion to us, having submitted another foundation, will be more confirmed from what will be said hereafter. Those from the sect of Scotus advocate for us against the foundation of Thomas's overthrow, but they submit another foundation under the same opinion. It is necessary to discuss this briefly as well. What is the foundation of this opinion of those around Scotus? They say that the Holy Spirit is mutual love of the Father and the Son and proceeds from the harmonious will of both, being given and reciprocated. Before this, they assert that there are two generative powers in God and the Father, namely thought and will. They believe both intellect and will to be generative inwardly, and they arrange these generative powers in a certain order, placing one first or prior in conception, and subordinating the other, just as they say, in the activities or powers of fire, the heating being by nature prior to the drying, and through it the latter always occurs. They also place the same order in the divine persons proceeding, necessarily, which is also of the generative powers in the Father, and from there they assert that the Spirit proceeds from God. For they say that since the Father, by the reason of causality, has the energy of the generative power of both intellect and will first, in that first point the same generative power, which is in the Father, is shared with the Son. Because in that point of causality, in which the Son proceeds through the generative power of intellect, it is shared with him from the Father, unless something is at variance with it. Such is also the generative power of the will. Therefore, in the other point of causality, when another person proceeds, through the energy of the second generative power, that is, of will, it will proceed from the Father and the Son together as from one principle due to the single reason of the proceeding principle in them. And they say such things.

2.But that the demonstration from the image of the blessed Trinity within us does not necessarily bring much constraint. For it is not necessary for everything to have the same properties. And as these things are ineffable, and must be kept ineffable until the end, in the beginning of this constitution, the teachers have been introduced saying. That if this foundation of Scotus, though it seems more appropriate than the former, is no less dangerous itself and full of much ambiguity, is evident from here. First, we have not heard from any of the esteemed teachers saying two generative powers in the Father, arranged as they arrange them. Rather, the holy Dionysius speaks of one generative power, saying in "On Divine Names": "As a Trinity through the tri-hypostatic revelation of the super-essential generative power, from which every family in heaven and on earth is named" - where Maximus explains: "He says generative power as the paternal supra-conceptual process, into the revelation of the Son and the Holy Spirit". He says that process is beyond comprehension, and truly; it is beyond comprehension because being one in the Father and conceived as singular and jointly in Him, it generates two sprouts, rising from it in a different manner, and by being placed beside them, it

takes a double name, hence generation from one, and projection from the other, as named by us. Just as one might assume the creative in God according to Cyril in the sixth book of "Treasures", that while creating many and diverse things, it is not divided into each of the created things according to the essence, although acting diversely in each, but through one ineffable power creates all things. And again, as the Holy Spirit according to him does not endure division concerning the essence, sending forth diverse ways in the gifts and distributing to each according to their measure to the worthy, but is one and the same acting variously and impassively in all. For even if the generative and the creative are altogether different, but as to the unity of both the generative and the creative power in God, they would fittingly hold, through which about each, what must be thought can be found.

3.But where is it explicitly mentioned in Scripture thus, or what is even more to be sought, the love of the Father and the Son, neither does the blessed Augustine have to show, but deduces this. This is then praiseworthy for him alone, and one must remember those posited about the teachers in the beginning of this constitution. Perhaps even for the demonstration of the mystery of the Trinity from the image within us, for those wishing to explain everything by their human reasoning, he discovered that device very well and aptly. But to draw that analogy to the present or any proposition, it is not very necessary for those following the beaten and royal road in divine doctrines, much more justly than in all other matters, and more profitably. For from such conceptions the mystery of the Trinity runs the risk of falling under necessity and being aligned with nature and not exceeding the ease of the mind. But this is difficult for any of us, from the natural or any other method to know the matter about us humans and to learn how the mind and its conceptions come to be, and our own will, what order it holds towards the mind and thought and such things. These being known, immediately also the matter about the blessed Trinity should be known, as apart from the difference in nature, all other things having the same properties both in number and process and order, and almost the same about that ineffable and inconceivable nature and our own both not knowing and knowing.

4.But these devices will not deceive us; for we know how to discern the opinion of a teacher from a common belief, divine revelation from human speculation, and an unmovable doctrine from the comfort derived from some human device in the high and ineffable doctrine. But who among us would desire to construct a doctrine that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the will of God, either in the manner of the will, or the generative power of the will, or however they wish to adorn their argument? For we believe that both the Son and the Holy Spirit proceed from the nature of God, however one might wish to call the generative power of that nature, whether as intellect or otherwise, and we hear that will or volition, being differentiated from nature, is present in both the origins and the very essence of God, not in intellect or will. For we know that what proceeds from the intellect and from the will proceeds in those possessing intellect, as it were, the will guiding. The work of intellect and will is the same in all who act through intellect; but the work of their nature is something different in itself. And where the nature of the one proceeding or acting is intellect, it makes no difference; for that intellect will initiate some things according to its nature, whatever it is, and sustain other things according to its own will. And these teachings are not from our own minds, but are proclaimed by the teachers.

5.For Cyril in his "Treasures" says: "He does not have the Word proceeding from his essence out of will, but naturally." And again the same: "If this is impious (for the essence and hypostasis of the Father is not from will), it is necessary to think and say that the Son of God is also not from will." And again the same: "It

is necessary then that things having such great difference among themselves do not have one principle, but some things are as works made by will, while the Son, being Himself will, existed eternally in the Father." And Damascene says: "The creation is a work of divine will, but not the divinity itself, perish the thought." And again the same: "For the eternal and perpetual generation and procession are the work not of will but of the divine nature." And generally, who does not know that God wills and comprehends both Himself and His other things, and as far as His intellect and will are concerned, in all things proceeding from God by nature in whatever manner, but they differ now, that He proceeds both His Son and the Holy Spirit by nature, and the creation by will; there the divine nature is intellectual and volitional, here some resemblance of the divine nature follows the varied direction of will. Thus God both comprehends and wills His Son and Spirit by His internal intellect and will, which comprehends and wills Himself; but the difference of the Son and the Spirit is not from there (how could it be, as both are similarly intellectual and volitional?), but there is another difference, which cannot be found nor is it pious to seek according to the holy teachers, as has been said; for it is ineffable and inconceivable according to them, and so it must be for us. But one should take greater care because Ptolemaeus and Valentinus, whom Athanasius often mentions, said there were two consorts of their God, intellect and will, and first God thought, then willed; and there is a fear that we might appear to be in agreement with them in this position, as they were rightly considered heretical by the church in many other aspects. But we must return to the original intention.

y. On the sayings of Cyril, where it is said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father.

1.Having shown that those statements which say the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son do not benefit those opposing us, they produce certain sayings from Cyril where it is said that the Holy Spirit is from or proceeds from the Son. But there is also a sound judgment on these matters. For not always does the preposition, as it may be connected to the concept of causality, imply causality. For some things are said to be from God by a creative cause, and others by a natural cause, and these in two ways: either as substance from substance, or as energy from the essence. Substance from substance can be either by generation or by an ineffable procession. "For to be generated," says Damascene, "is not of nature but of substance." And Nyssa says, "The Spirit proceeds from the paternal substance." Something is said to be from God not by cause but by a reason of connection, although God is the cause of everything, as in John's gospel: "He who is from God hears the words of God." And again: "For this reason you do not hear, because you are not of God." The same John in his third epistle says, "He who does good is from God"; and the opposite: and the Lord says, "You are from your father the devil." If these all meant causality, the Manichaean heresy, which speaks of two principles, would be true. And Chrysostom, explaining the apostolic statement in Corinthians: "But of Him you are in Christ Jesus," says, "Here 'of Him' does not mean regarding the cause of existence, but regarding faith." And clarifying this further: "This means, being united with God." Again, the Lord in John's gospel: "No one has seen the Father except he who is from God." Chrysostom explaining this says, "Not regarding the cause here, but in the manner of the essence; for if that were said, we all are from God." The manner of the essence implies a natural connection. Therefore, it is not correct to follow this sequence: Cyril says the Spirit is from the Son; therefore, Cyril says God is the cause of the Spirit. But perhaps he means the connection of nature. And that this is indeed his meaning and nothing else, the intent of his words shows.

EXEGESIS OF CONTRAVERSIAL TEXT

2.For those around Nestorius then saying that the Son of God and Christ were different, and believing the human nature in Christ was not personally united with the divine nature but by grace and participation, they also said reasonably that the Holy Spirit was given to the apostles from Christ, not naturally and essentially, meaning that Christ himself was not the one imparting this to the disciples from himself as from his own fullness, but having received more of the Spirit's grace than other men, he could share this with others from the grace above, thus the Holy Spirit and the Son of God together, and Christ inspired and improved by the indwelling by grace, had the function of minister and distributor, distributing what he had received and was given externally by the inspiration from above. But Cyril, believing that Christ is the Son of God himself and not another, having the human nature in himself and personally united to him, meaning in one person, says the same about the Son of God and Christ, as it makes no difference which way is said. Therefore, just as the Spirit is naturally and essentially in the Godhead of God, this being previously affirmed by the church, so too is it naturally and essentially in Christ and essentially proceeds from him, when it proceeds to the disciples and the believers through them. For in him is naturally the source of spiritual gifts and is essentially united to it, as it pertains to his divinity, or rather, it is. Therefore, he himself is also the proper, genuine, and natural source of these gifts. Such is the belief of Cyril, and thus pious, saying that the Spirit naturally proceeds from the Son, and is given by him, and essentially flows from him, and through him; and the intent of his words is about the personal union of natures in Christ and to show that Christ did not participate in the Spirit as something acquired or received from outside like some of the holy men, but inherently possessed and naturally united with him, as is proper to God by nature.

3.It seems that the arguments are about the Son of God, but this is not so; rather, it is about the Son of God being the natural giver and provider of the Spirit from the very foundation of the world and that Christ, being personally united with the Son, is the natural giver and provider of the Spirit. And he shows the personal union variously and well; and that the Spirit essentially proceeds from Christ follows accordingly through what they allow, that it proceeds essentially from the Son of God; for they were not Arians, thinking that the Son of God participated in the Spirit externally. And this is clearer from those sayings where he immediately and without distinction names Christ, having first mentioned the Son of God, or the reverse, and at the same time makes clear what the procession of the Spirit is and towards what it leads. For in the first of his expositions on John, he says thus: "Calling the Spirit dwelling in us the Spirit of Christ, he immediately adds, 'if Christ is in us,' bringing forth the unchanging likeness of the Son towards his own and from him, naturally flowing Spirit." And in the twelfth of this treatise, explaining "He breathed," he says, "They necessarily receive the grace of the Spirit conjoined with the office of apostleship, given by Christ himself, not as serving the interests of another's ambition, but rather providing from himself; for it would not otherwise flow into us from the Father except through the Son."

4.Therefore, that the Spirit naturally is and in Christ and naturally and essentially proceeds from him, that is to say, from the Son of God, according to the church's belief, who among us does not hold this? For we have not agreed with Nestorius, so as to believe that this was something added and acquired in Christ, as it is in those who are recipients of sanctity and attribute that secret power of miracles entirely to the working power of the Spirit as if in some minister and sharer, our Lord included, nor would anyone else ever so madly think; yet we understand Cyril's need for words and that he was not speaking about the eternal existence of the Spirit nor about the procession by which it eternally subsists in the Father and from the Father, but about

the energy of the Spirit which he ascribed to Christ as its participant, and not genuinely and inherently possessed, as Nestorius said, overturning the chief doctrine of the divine economy with such frivolous assertions.

5.Concerning the intent of those words, anyone having sound mind would understand well, and the one who understands correctly would indeed divide well the subjects of economy and theology and recognize the nature of Cyril's conclusions in those words from the false conclusions of Nestorius, against which these were perhaps intended. I also provide two external testimonies showing that Cyril did not intend by those words where he says the Spirit is from or proceeds from the Son to mean that the Spirit has its existence from the Son, as personally subsisting from him.

6.One thing is that Damascene, explaining the common belief of the church, says: "We say the Spirit is of the Son, but we do not say it is from the Son. Saying that the Spirit is from the Son is nearly more customary for Cyril than for anyone else. How, then, would Damascene have understood those many sayings of his? How would he not have followed those thoroughly examined by the church, unless one were to say that he was a Nestorian? But this should be turned against those who dare to say the blasphemous. Therefore, Damascene does not affirm the same meaning as Cyril does everywhere, but Damascene well recognizes that meaning of 'from the Son,' that it refers to the unity of essence and the essential and natural distribution or sharing or supply of the Spirit through Christ, as being internal rather than external. Therefore, he calls the Spirit consubstantial with the Son of God and well explains the personal union in Christ of the two natures, as we must believe according to the form of the church. But when theologizing about the eternal procession of the divine persons and their relation or order towards each other, he says, 'We say the Spirit is both of the Father and from the Father'; the former, because of the unity of essence; the latter, because of causality. We say the Spirit is of the Son, but not from the Son," that is, we confess it is consubstantial with the Son, but we do not say that the Son is the cause of it, negating what Cyril seems to negate, and affirming what he affirms.

7.For what reason, then, when apologizing to Theodoret, does Cyril not loudly proclaim and declare clearly, 'Theodoret, the Spirit proceeds also from the Son; and you are blaspheming, as you reprehend my doctrines and words as something base, you rather agreeing with Nestorius, whom you attempt to bring against me.' But he, presenting the cause that moved him to that anathema, then sets forth the apology, saying: 'For the Spirit proceeds from God and the Father according to the voice of the Savior; it is not alien to the Son, for he has everything together with the Father,' saying the same thing through other words that Theodoret required of him to say, and agreeing distinctly with Theodoret's distinction, who said: 'If Cyril says the Spirit is the property of the Son as being consubstantial and proceeding from the Father, we will agree and accept the voice as pious; but if as having its existence from the Son or through the Son, we will reject it as blasphemous and impious.' Does not Cyril appear to hold the same opinion about the Spirit as Theodoret, since he does not oppose his distinction but rather agrees and confesses the same thing, except in different wording, and shows this elsewhere more clearly, or rather everywhere the same, and what Theodoret suspected of him and what our opponents hold, nowhere? And what is more, since Nestorius himself said plainly that the Holy Spirit does not have its existence through the Son, if he had, every attempt to overthrow his vile doctrines would have been easier. How then does neither Cyril nor Theodoret, nor their council at that time, reject this but rather accept it, defining well and anathematizing the doctrines concerning the economy and incarnation of the Lord, but content with that theology, or rather agreeing with and openly

preaching it, which indeed the later Damascene also clearly preaches as the principal and sound doctrine of the church?

8.The second proof I offer is the great Basil saying in the fourth of his writings against Eunomius, that the Spirit is from the Father and not from another source. Here I ask our opponents how they understand 'from him'. If by causality, I have the argument that the Spirit is from the Father causally, not from another source; this is the same as saying that the Father alone is the cause of the Spirit. If they do not wish this, they will say that Basil means the Spirit is from the essence of the Father, not from another essence, as the heretics said. Thus, the intent of Cyril's words is clear among us, that it is customary for the teachers to use 'from him' instead of 'from his essence' and not from another source; and Cyril followed this. Since there are two uses of this expression, to use them as they wish with authority and easily switch thus, does not make the substance and intent of the words a rule of how one must use the words, and neither is it proper to do so nor to allow those who do.

z. On the sayings of Cyril, where it is said that the Holy Spirit is from the essence of the Son.

1.They also seize upon this very statement that the Holy Spirit is said to be from the essence of the Son to support their own glory, thinking that the same is true of something that is generated from something else or proceeds in any way and is from its essence. But they are unaware that proceeding from something in any way is greater than proceeding from its essence; for something can proceed from something or be made and not be from its essence, that is, not share in the essence of the one it proceeds from; but in some ways, it is lesser. For some things that are consubstantial and from their own essence are both causally related to them and only consubstantial. And the reason for this is that to proceed or to be proceeded is under the category of activity and suffering; but to be consubstantial, that is, in essence, is the same and falls under the category of relation; and such things can excel each other in some ways and be excelled by each other. This order of excelling and being excelled is only defined among those things that are in the same genus, like an animal and a human; for always one is greater than the other, like an animal is greater than a human, and never otherwise. But it is true in some way to say that a cubit is greater than white; for not every cubit is white; and it is true in some way to say that white is greater than a cubit; for not every white thing is a cubit. If these incidental things experience this and in generations that are incidents of the incidental, but in God, there is no incidental thing, this has nothing to do with the argument; for there is neither genus in God, nor species, nor general, nor particular, nor incidental, nor subject, nor essence, for he is beyond essence, and separated from all things, and most simple, and infinite, and all things that are rightly believed about him. But nevertheless, we understand many things about him in the manner of genus and species and general and particular and subject and in him, because otherwise, we cannot entirely form any propositions about God and reason, except in the manner of human understanding, which we use for all things that are somehow conceived by us. Therefore, understanding God and about him in this manner, nevertheless we subtract from him every notion of incidental and subject and genus and species and such things. And these, therefore, because to be from the essence of someone and to proceed from someone, being different, are somehow greater than each other and do not reciprocate. This has been applied according to the manner of our understanding and in the present need, when speaking about God, but we do not state that there are different things in God and some are

greater and some are lesser. But that the custom of the church, as has been said, used to be from the essence of being and to proceed, is clear to those who pay attention to the theology of the teachers.

2.What does the first council mean by adding "begotten of the Father," that is, "from the essence of the Father"? If they mean the essence of the Father generating the Son, just as they understood the Father generating, it would be false and at the same time idle talk; but if it was added for distinction from those generated by the will of God, as the Son of God was said to be by the followers of Arius, how is it not clear that being from the essence or proceeding here is as more particular than being begotten of the Father and generally from something, and that it represents not the cause, but the unity of essence? Therefore, the custom of the teachers, separating, has used this category instead of consubstantial and where the concept of cause does not apply, so that it is the same to say that the Spirit is from the essence of the Son and consubstantial with him, or from his essence, and Cyril himself will show himself to be explaining, who seems to say many times that the Spirit is from the essence of the Son; and first, that he has taken from the essence instead of consubstantial.

3.For he himself, in the fifth discourse of the acts of the third council, whose preface is "Deep, great, and admirable," thus says: And thus it will be true, henceforth, that the holy virgin has become Theotokos, giving birth paradoxically to one Christ, in a manner similar to us, sharing in flesh and blood and consubstantial with her and us according to the human nature, so that the flesh is from the Theotokos Mary; for it is not of similar essence, as some heretics thought, but consubstantial, that is, from our essence. And it is clear that to him, being from the essence is the same as being of the essence, which is what consubstantial plainly means. For in the thirty-fifth of the Treasures, he himself says: "For the Holy Spirit is not imperfect, showing these things about him, the Savior says, but rather confirms to those who hear that being of his essence, he will not speak anything other than what he wills." And again in the same: "Therefore, when the Word is the true light, the Holy Spirit will shine, it is necessary to acknowledge that the Spirit is of the essence of the Word, through which it enlightens every man, as if extending a ray of its own nature through the illumination of the Spirit." And again: "It is necessary to acknowledge that the Spirit is of the essence of the Son of God. And again: If then it seems that the Holy Spirit is doing this only for the sake of calling us to freedom, how will it not be of his essence, as he himself does everything with divine authority and power?" And again: "But if the Holy Spirit were a creature, and not of the divine essence, co-theologized with the Father and the Son, how would blasphemy against it incur such a punishment?" Therefore, since it concludes that it is of the essence of the Son, and that it is of the essence of the Son and of the divine essence, it is clear that he uses these as equivalents; and there is no need if the Spirit is to be consubstantial with the Son, also to have him as the cause of his own existence. This, they say, is clear even to the blind.

4.One must know also that the sayings of Cyril, in which it is said that the Spirit proceeds from the essence of the Son, are taken from all those discourses in which he fights for the divinity of Christ, explaining that the Spirit proceeds from him then in the time of the economy, that is, being provided and given divinely, meaning essentially and naturally, not by participation, as Nestorius humanly babbles; and after the worthiness of Christ is shown from those discourses, he fights also for the Holy Spirit. For still some remnant of the Pneumatomachians was troubling the church; and then he concludes from all those discourses, that the Holy Spirit is of the essence of the Son, and therefore of the divine essence; and nowhere does he conclude that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, or that the Son is the source and cause of

it, as the Father is; for they were not saying that the Spirit does not proceed from the Son, so that the discussion of those discourses was about this, but that the Spirit was a creature, and not from the essence of God; therefore, he reasonably concludes against them that it is of the essence of God, and such things. And it is entirely absurd to think that proceeding from the Son is the same as being from the essence of the Son; for if these were the same, then proceeding from the Father would be the same as proceeding from the essence of the Father, and it would happen that as it proceeds directly from the Son, through him, that is, indirectly, from the Father, so also it would proceed indirectly from the essence of the Father, and directly from the essence of the Son, and from the same essence (for there is one essence in the Father and the Son) it would be both direct and indirect, or not the same essence. And other such things will follow. But the previous statements of the teacher and the purpose of his words, which everywhere have great power, suffice us to blind the truth about those statements.

3. Part Three: Accord of the Eastern and Western Fathers.

† The Western teachers bring their views harmoniously and truly to the Asians and to the common rule of faith.

1.Since they finally counter the statements of the European teachers, namely Augustine and the like, we cannot dismiss the authority of those teachers entirely; for they are proclaimed saints by the church. But specifically, we can dismiss what they say about the procession of the Spirit if it does not conform to the common rule of faith, while preserving their honor. For they did not declare this concisely in a council or with the Asian teachers, but each preserved their own opinion separately. And all of them clearly agreed with the things that had been generally established by the church, and they neither contradicted nor caused division; thus, we do not accept certain similar opinions of our teachers, while preserving their honor, such as the opinion of Gregory of Nyssa about the restoration and the end of punishment, who is proclaimed as a teacher; rather, being persuaded by Augustine in those statements which we presented in the previous section, clearly teaching how to refer to the canonical scriptures or the councils and how to each of the teachers, we should leave the question of whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, that is, subsists, as a matter to be left unresolved and not to be driven as heretical because some saints have said this, if they say it, and we require the church to hold and confess the common and approved faith and not to adhere to those who wish or judge otherwise; thus we, doing well, do not adhere either.

2.This claim also belongs to the other teachers and is a common decision of the Catholic church, from when some, having broken away from it through this addition, became the cause of its meeting many times without them to consider and confirm the true and following this common decision of our and the Catholic church, we neither bring forward any blame against Augustine nor wish to move anything out of duty towards him; for indeed we do not have all the fathers from Europe clearly saying such a thing as those who now differ from us wish, but only Augustine, whom they think advocates for them in a broad and elaborated manner. Jerome, who is in no way inferior in glory to the fathers from Europe, is almost entirely of the same opinion as our Gregory the Theologian, whom he is said to have attended and drawn much from that marvelous source; yet they present us with so many statements of Jerome, Hilary, Augustine, and other European teachers, as many as seem to support the addition in the symbol; for they are the masters of the books, and they could have selected from them many things agreeing with the sayings of our teachers if they wished. But even without their willingness, we could easily find someone from there who would refute their weaknesses as some of our own, having joined them, attempted to refute our objection from our own teachers, namely Kydones and Kalekas, who, although they were previously opposed to this addition, later unwillingly adhered to it; but pretending very much. Being persecuted by our church for the heresy of the Akindynians and Barlaamites, since they had held steadfastly to it, they sought refuge with those who embraced this belief and, as a reward for their reception and at the same time for their change, they composed those varied and lengthy sophisms against the ancestral belief, which were very well refuted by us in the previous compiled section about the procession according to the faith of our holy church. But these used their change and the expected and given honors from there as provisions, while none of those who have been added to us came to us to show from their own teachers things agreeing with our opinion and belief;

and for this reason, those now differing from us bring us so many statements of the European teachers as it suits them to copy and give; but they keep silent and hide the others.

3.So here is one judgment concerning these statements, which they present us with, mostly of Augustine, and some of their other teachers; for since these are genuine of those teachers, since they do not conform to the common rule of faith, we do not accept them before the common faith, which the circle of our teachers agrees with and follows accurately; and yet we do not diminish in any way the respect towards those teachers; for it does not bring them any blame, if they did not obstinately hold this opinion, nor to the whole church; for each of the saints does not impose the laws of faith on the church, but rather the church gives each the rule of orthodoxy; and we do not believe in Augustine, nor in Gregory of Nyssa, nor in John of Damascus, but in the church of God, which the gospels of Christ and all the canonical scriptures and the votes of the holy councils of the orthodox against the heresies opposed to the truth sufficiently and reasonably constitute; we praise and accept those who teach in agreement with these and what they teach. But if someone did not aim well at the purpose of this church in something, examining and scrutinizing his opinion, if we find him to be holding an opinion contrary to his own and against the whole church, persuading him otherwise and advising him, we consider him heretical; if, however, the church has not yet clearly defined about what someone has considered, finding someone conjecturing reasonably under authority and leaving the judgment to others, which is found to be mostly done by Augustine in his so-called conjectures, we do not accept his opinion, because it does not seem to agree with the common rule and the opinion of the other teachers, but we do not have anything to accuse or blame his intention, we do not exclude him from the glory of holiness and orthodoxy. Thus Augustine teaches us to use the teachers, and thus he used, he says, those before him, and the Catholic church of Christ used each of the teachers in this way.

4.But since some do not accept such a judgment, although it is simple and just and pleasing to the teachers themselves, but demand agreement of all the teachers generally, first if we could not reconcile the European teachers with the Asians, that is, to say the same thing as the common rule of faith (for the Asians clearly follow this), we could dismiss the statements of the Westerners, which they bring forth as not genuine but also as an addition by those who made the addition in the creed. It was easy for those doing this to not depart from that, and most of our teachers, including the blessed and holy Mark, president of the church of the Ephesians, had this suspicion about those statements and those who presented them to us. For all of them, not having the skill to know the particularity of the Latin language well and knowing the aforementioned judgment about the teachers, which is not tolerable for some out of reverence, and thinking better of one of the teachers, but worse of the entire church, and these things being dangerous and inconsistent, as we have shown more broadly in another composition, and at the same time not wanting to easily accept that the fathers in Europe held an opinion contrary to the common rule of faith, for all these reasons they suspected such statements to be interpolations and spurious, even if not being able to prove this suspicion, they avoided the discussions about those statements, striving well in other matters, but in this part rather choosing silence and avoidance.

5.But since this brings not a little blame to those who caused the schism because of the addition and now to all those who adhere to the addition and the books confirming it, and since they have the letter of Maximus to Marinus as their ally, although they disavow this only ally, just to avoid admitting that the Son is not the cause of the Spirit or that the relation through the Son means connection of the essence, not the

cause, yet we, according to a right conscience, accept the testimony of this letter concerning the statements of the Westerners and what it says about the cause and the relation, and believe and accept them as genuine of the teacher, as agreeing with the common faith of Christians at that time, and we rather think it impossible that Maximus ever thought otherwise about these matters, because he found the church also confessing and teaching commonly and the previous teachers also considering the matters of the Spirit thus. Therefore, we agree that Augustine and some other teachers from Europe say this very word added in the creed, both explicitly and unquestionably; but upon examination, we find that the word "proceeds" means to them the same as to those differing from us, and through this one word they indicate both the temporal mission of the Spirit, which our teachers mark specifically as granting and giving and pouring out and the like, and the eternal procession of the Spirit into its own hypostasis through this same word; as if they were to say that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son to sanctify the creation or proceeds, they use this word, and if they were to say that the Son is eternally begotten from the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds, they use the same word again, just as Cyril used the word proceeds; for he used it sometimes for the eternal hypostasis of the divine persons, sometimes for the manifestation of them and the benefit or improvement that came to us from there.

6.We consider this happened with those teachers for two reasons, one because of the narrowness of the language, which narrowness of language also became the cause of that previous schism in the churches, which both the great Athanasius and Gregory the Theologian say about being from the essence and the hypostasis, and the other because of the custom prevailing among them; for they used more general or universal terms in theology everywhere rather than specific ones, thinking that through these the divine things are more clearly revealed; and we find Cyril also used this custom. Therefore, he often provided handles not only to those outside the faith but also to those within, who wished to curtail his opinion; but all the rest of the teachers of our church found the broadness of the language as an ally and indicated each concept in theology through each word, either arranged by Scripture to mean that concept or they arranged the words to mean each concept specifically.

7.Just as with the Spirit, finding from Scripture the word proceeds assigned to mean the hypostasis or existence of the Holy Spirit, they always used it for this, although it is a common word in the usage of other discourses; and from themselves, they appointed the word "projection" for the need of discourse, so that they might call the Father "projector" when they need to speak of him as acting towards the Spirit, since from the word "proceeds" they could not form such a name; and the teachers used this custom especially, as has been said, because of the influences from the heretics; for they did not wish to provide handles to them; for they were ready to attack the teachers from the indistinctness of the words. But even otherwise they knew this to be a more precise way of speaking both in theological matter and in all sciences generally, that is, the definite and concise way, which we leave to others to discern; for we neither wish to decide on these matters, lest we seem to be enhancing our custom out of bias; but we admit that those who fought against unbelief and heresies with teachings and writings and dangers and blood and those who expounded the teachings to all other Christians everywhere, these were all not only in the order of teachers but indeed also in the order of martyrs in the church of Christ, and it was enough for the other saints and teachers to follow these and judge the correctness of those writings by their application to the deeds and words of these, and all judged thus before and now they should be judged so.

8.Since all these things are so, whenever the European teachers say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son in this manner according to the word they use everywhere, which is “to proceed,” the pious listeners of these and those wishing to rightly reconcile them with the others must discern the indeterminate nature of the word according to the whole context of the discourse. And whenever the discourse of those teachers is about the giving or granting of the Spirit, we must not understand or interpret “to proceed” as “to emanate,” for none of our teachers used the word “to emanate” in this sense, but rather they said “to pour out” and “to grant” or something similar, or at least interpreted it as “to proceed,” which Cyril used as a general term for any sense of proceeding. But whenever those teachers say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, then interpret the word as “to emanate.” And if we do this, we will truly and scientifically reconcile those teachers with the others from Asia. But drawing what is definite into what is confused and indeterminate, and making the ambiguous the rule of the clear, and making the expansive the rule of the concise, and of the science about such things, is not only far from sound judgment. We do this also with Cyril, understanding his “to proceed” differently according to the context of the discourse. We do this also when he says the Son proceeds from the essence of the Father, and thus reconcile him with himself and the other teachers and the common doctrines. For he says in the exposition of the Gospel according to John, explaining the phrase "when the Paraclete comes": For if the Son does not proceed from the Father, that is, from his essence, how could the Spirit be understood as being from the Son? Therefore, he himself believes that the Son proceeds from the Father, and thus reproves the heretics who say that the Son does not proceed from the Father, that is, from his essence. And Cyril is proclaimed a teacher of the church and crowned with great honors by it, and no one would risk contesting him. Therefore, let someone hold this word of Cyril and believe that the Son proceeds from the Father, and then wickedly conclude that the Son of God is the Spirit of God, or that the Spirit is the Son of God, and confound those hypostases and all the other teachers who say that the Son is begotten from the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeds. Let them draw towards Cyril’s word and the apparent meaning of it. Will not such a one be impious and against the truth and the other saints and wicked and ungrateful to Cyril himself? For Cyril himself does not wish to be reconciled in this way.

9.But since Cyril was not a heretic to believe that the Son of God proceeds from God in the manner of procession and not in the manner of generation, we must understand that he used the word “to proceed” expansively, meaning simply a proceeding, not also signifying the manner of proceeding. And thus he rightly once says that the Son proceeds from the Father, and those who say that the Son is begotten from the Father, not proceeds, and the Spirit proceeds, not begotten, speak rightly; rather, they speak truly and authoritatively and cut the royal road and follow both the word and meaning of the scriptures; and Cyril, having the same mind as them but using some different manner of speaking, however this happened to him, will not for this reason be rejected; but he is not to be imitated more than those who speak the common and usual things, free of any suspicion; nor should Cyril’s word be made a proclamation, for it can be well interpreted towards the goal of truth with goodwill.

10.Which is more admirable, if Augustine says that the Spirit proceeds from the Son and uses this one word, whether he wishes to signify the eternal existence from the Father or the procession from the Father and the Son and itself into humans, that is, its temporal manifestation and granting and distribution of its gifts, both of which processions of the Spirit are said about the same Spirit; for it is the Spirit that eternally exists from the God of all and remains in divinity and is granted or poured out or manifested, although its

existence is one thing and its manifestation another, this is more admirable than if Cyril says that the Son proceeds from the Father and uses that word, which is specifically arranged to signify the hypostatic procession of the Spirit from the Father, and applies it to the Son, who is a different hypostasis and proceeds from the Father in a different manner, it is clear that Cyril's transition is greater and he more foreign in doing this, especially since he has done this with the abundance of many words and the particularity of the language having much breadth; but yet he, having listeners of goodwill, does no harm by the foreignness of his word, unless someone, being perverted, uses Cyril's word as a pretext for his wickedness and abuses the teacher's authority. Thus, we must also deal with the fathers from Europe and heal the narrowness of their expression with the breadth of our teachers, while having the common opinion of the church as an ally, to which as a kind of rule and measure we must refer the sayings of each teacher; and just as we divide Cyril's "to proceed" into two, one for proceeding generally and one for proceeding in this way, that is, not by generation, and when we hear him say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, we understand the second meaning of "to proceed," but when he says the Son proceeds from the Father, we understand the first meaning, and neither because of this manner of speaking in Cyril do we say that the Spirit is generated, because he somewhere used "to proceed" for the generated, nor do we say the Son proceeds, that is, is not generated, because again he used this word for the ungenerated Spirit, nor do we wish to mix the unmixable, thus also Augustine's "to proceed" must be divided; for example, in his work on the Trinity he says: For the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father to the Son, then from the Son to sanctify the creation, but proceeds from both at once. So, will we interpret this word everywhere as "to emanate"? And how will it not be absurd to say that the loose and eternal procession of the Spirit, which "to emanate" signifies, is also by some cause? But how should it be interpreted? In this way: For the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father to the Son, then from the Son to sanctify the creation, but proceeds from both at once. For "to proceed" is a general term according to our teachers, fitting all senses of proceeding. Just as again we must interpret his statement in the Enchiridion, that: One true God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the three are one; the Son is begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father himself. Here it has room to interpret as "to emanate"; and everywhere in Augustine's statements we must keep this rule, if we intend to interpret him in agreement with the other teachers; otherwise interpreted, he will be in no way in harmony with the others, nor even with himself, as will be shown later.

11.Thus, we demonstrate the teachers to be in agreement; and we consider this agreement to be in accordance with the Gospel, the holy councils of the fathers, the Asian teachers, and the canon of right judgment. If they, however, force it, no one with sense will ever accept that proceeding through the Son is the same as proceeding from the Son and that the Son is the cause of the Spirit. For if it were said that the Spirit also proceeds from the Son, as it is said to proceed through the Son, it would indeed be the same. But now it is not said that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, but that it proceeds through the Son. Or, to speak the truth, it is not even said that it proceeds through the Son, but that it proceeds from the Father through the Son. These things have a great difference, as has been previously demonstrated. Will they say about the Western teachers that they say the Spirit proceeds from the Son? But it has also been demonstrated about the Western teachers that they do not rightly interpret these statements; rather, both sides force everything towards the addition. And what wonder, if they also force the statements of our teachers in this way? But we do not now wish to justify ourselves; for we have chosen to theologize. And to just judges, it will be shown that they

neither acted nor act rightly even according to human judgment, whenever someone, prepared with a different argument and form, comes to them.

12.But moreover, how is "through the Son" the same as "the Son being the cause of the Spirit"? Apart from the said things, first, we are more persuasive in the interpretation of "through the Son"; for those holding an opinion contrary to ours do not even have statements of their teachers to present to us, saying the Spirit proceeds through the Son; perhaps one, as I think, which clearly has a meaning following our interpretations. But they do not even use this preposition with such a meaning, into which they force the statements of our teachers. How then could they be better interpreters of other people's words than we who have the words and know their use?

13.Then, the Westerners saying the Spirit proceeds from the Son, which they themselves interpret as emanate, do not say the Son is the cause or principle of the Holy Spirit, or that the Holy Spirit has its being from the Son or its existence or the cause of its existence; but those saying it proceeds through the Son, say the Son is not the cause of the Holy Spirit's emanation, nor does the Spirit have its existence from the Son. How then do the statements "through the Son" and "from the Son" agree in that the Son is the cause of the Spirit and the principle, which neither of the saints say, and the others even clearly deny? We are so far from calling this agreement that we think it rather an overturning of all teachers together. But our statements both agree with the canons of faith and bring all teachers towards visible and unforced agreement, which one may truly call ecclesiastical agreement, many other evidences besides the said ones testify, which we pass over for brevity, but they are clear and ready for all who aim at understanding.

14.Suppose then that "proceed" must always be interpreted as "emanate." If then even Cyril does not say the Son emanates, meaning is begotten, but that the Spirit proceeds in manner, what need is there to believe that the Western teachers say the Spirit emanates from the Son or subsists? But they do not mean this by "proceed" generally, as Cyril used it; which being general, accords with one sense of procession, and if the word "emanate" can also include generation, which by no means suits the Spirit and its procession, why should it not also include the temporal manifestation or procession of the Spirit, which perfectly suits the Spirit, since the Holy Spirit both eternally exists from God and in God and temporally manifests from the Father through the Son and moves for the benefit of the rational nature, or rather to say, with the gifts proceeding from itself and the whole divinity turns the rational creation towards itself.

THE ARGUMENT OF THE GREEKS

4. Part Four: The positive arguments of the Greek opinion.

† Of our opinion, that it is the common opinion of the teachers of the faith, demonstrative. The proofs of this through reasonings confirmed by sacred statements.

1.Since there are so many respectable arguments, and since they are treated by us with simple and just care, and have nothing sophistic or violent, but everything demonstrated by the teachers, it is our turn to present our own opinion. Although it would be sufficient for those opposing innovations to show that these are innovations and not necessary, and that we reasonably do not accept them, and that we rightly hold to the ancient teachings. However, from our abundance, since they accuse us of innovation, that we believe the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, we demonstrate this to be true, even if it is not proclaimed by us as they previously proclaimed from the Son, and now that the Son is the cause and principle of the Spirit, but only said in discussions. If they did the same with "from the Son," they might perhaps be more acceptable to us. Restricting the word "proceed" to the meaning of "subsist" and "from alone" to "from the only cause and principle," we say and insist that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, meaning the Father alone is its cause, that is, the Father alone relates to the Holy Spirit as a hypostasis causing another hypostasis, yet through the Son, because it is not without the Son, but he being with and co-thinking with both the Father and the Spirit, just as they coexist and are in each other by nature. The Spirit partakes in the property of being caused and proceeding, not the Father in the divine property of causing and subsisting; thus, understanding the Spirit proceeding from the Father alone and through the Son according to the demonstrated reasons, we in no way contradict ourselves, as some ignorant of these matters think, but rather agree with ourselves and the teachers.

2.These things, as said, we demonstrate for the sake of truth in discussions, showing ourselves to think rightly, but we do not wish it to be a proclamation; for doctrine is one thing and proclamation is another according to the teachers of the church. Although it is true and we do not wish to proclaim it, nor did we ever wish this due to our opposition to those holding contrary opinions, just as the great Athanasius dealt with those who persuaded him; for he said, "The divine things must be kept unaltered and unmodified, that is, neither diminished nor augmented. If Christ does not benefit the circumcised, who will ever hope for help, disregarding his literal words and choosing any help from such a violation, and not the devil's condemnation, if not judged even beyond this?"

3.Violation of his literal words is not only to deny what he affirms or to affirm what he denies, as those differing from us say, misinterpreting the rules of the third council, but also to devise relaxation or intensity, that is, addition or subtraction of a word or meaning, as this great teacher says. Thus, here the addition from the Son made by those differing from us is an intensification and addition to the literal word of Christ; and relaxation, that is, subtraction, would have been if we had dared to add "from the Father alone." For if it were an addition in word, it would seem to be a subtraction in meaning, although the phrase "from the Son" adds both word and meaning; for no one ever said the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit. But if we had added "from the Father alone," it would not have been an addition of meaning; for all teachers of truth call the Father alone the cause and the only source and the Son not the cause of the Spirit, but it would have been an addition of word. We, avoiding such violation of Christ's words, and considering it a transgression to add or

subtract even a syllable, thinking such transgression as deserving the devil's condemnation, subjecting the transgressors to the church's penalties as set in the conciliar decisions, would not add and proclaim so conspicuously, even if it were true that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, which is true in a restricted sense. From what we have taken and believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, that is, that the Father alone is the cause and principle of the Spirit, and the Father's hypostasis alone subsists the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit in its being, this is much.

a. From Saint Dionysius.

1.After the truth itself has said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the blessed apostle has said that the Holy Spirit is from God, the holy Dionysius, following these words, becomes our leader in this doctrine. For he says in his treatise on unified and distinct theology: "There is also a distinction in the supra-essence theologies, not only that each of the arch-hypostases is established in itself and distinct in unity, but also that the sources of the supra-essence theogony do not reciprocate to each other. The Father alone is the source of the supra-essence divinity, as the Son is not the Father of the Father nor the Father the Son, each piously preserving their proper hymns." Where Maximus the Confessor comments: "He calls the Father the supra-essence theogony and the source." Dionysius himself says, "The primal and inexhaustible cause and distribution of the divine gifts and all divine things is found in the whole divinity." Therefore, we have from this that the whole divinity, the one and first source of all, is the source of the divine gifts made in the Spirit. But the source of this divinity is the Father alone. Therefore, we reason thus.

2.Nothing that the Father alone has can also be possessed by the Son; but being the source of divinity is what the Father alone has; therefore, the Son cannot be the source of divinity. Or, alternatively: All that belongs to being the source of divinity belongs solely to the Father; nothing that belongs solely to the Father can the Son have; therefore, the Son cannot be the source of divinity. The greater premise is evident by itself; the lesser is clear from Dionysius and John of Damascus following Dionysius, stating that all that belongs to the source, cause, and begetter applies solely to the Father. Therefore, we further reason: What is the source of the Spirit is the source of divinity; but the Son is not the source of divinity; therefore, the Son is not the source of the Spirit. Or, if you prefer: Everything that is the source of the Spirit is the source of divinity; but the Son is something that is not the source of divinity; therefore, the Son is a divine hypostasis that is not the source of the Spirit. The greater premise is evident by itself. The lesser premise is the conclusion of the previous reasoning; source, cause, and principle are the same for the present need; therefore, neither the source, cause, nor principle of the Holy Spirit is the Son.

3.Those who differ from us say three main things against this: First, that the Father is the source of the whole divinity, and hence the teacher included the term with the article. Thus, it does not exclude the Son from being the source of the Spirit; for the Spirit is not the whole divinity. Second, that Athanasius calls the Son the source of the Spirit. Third, that even if the Son is not simply the source of the Spirit, he is the source of it from the source of the Father.

4.To the first, Athanasius responds and refutes the men by saying that the Father alone is the source of divinity without the article. For he says in the treatise on the eternal existence of the Son and Spirit: "We also separate from those who Judaize and corrupt Christianity within Judaism, denying the God who is from God,

saying one God similarly to the Jews, not because he alone is unbegotten and alone the source of divinity, thus claiming him to be the only God, but as barren of the Son and fruitless of the living Word." It is also possible to show their objection as absurd in another way; but it is sufficient to overturn their attempt from the article with Athanasius's saying.

5.To the second, he calls the Son the source of the Spirit in that scriptural passage, interpreting "for with you is the source of life," and it is clear to those paying proper attention to the purpose and the overall context of those words that he calls the Son the source of the gifts of the Spirit, that is, the inexhaustible and full cause of them, as having the Spirit in himself essentially, not by any participation, as the heretics said. The teachers say the whole divinity is the source of the Spirit in this manner, that is, of the gifts through the Spirit, and it would be lengthy and otherwise unnecessary to enumerate their sayings, being familiar to all. If Athanasius interprets "for with you is the source of life" thus, Cyril later follows this opinion; for he, interpreting "abide in me and I in you," says: "For with you is the source of life, and you quench them with the river of your delight. For the source of divine and spiritual life and the river of delight, who else could be understood except the Son, who nourishes and waters our souls with the life-giving and joyful grace of the Spirit, just as the branches attached to him through love and faith." It is clear from their sayings that all declare the Father to be the source of the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit. And it is equally clear that no one said the Son is the source of the hypostasis of the Spirit.

6.From this, the response to the third is also evident; for if the Father is the source and root of the Son and the Holy Spirit according to Basil, just as the Son is not a root from a root, so he is not a source from a source. Nor has anyone ever heard of a root from a root or a source from a source in the same tree or water, just as there is one and the same divinity, as the root and source are, and the branches and flowers, according to the holy Athanasius. But the teachers all call the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit the source, river, and water, respectively, and foremostly the first council. For it says to the questioning philosopher: "One nature, three persons to be named, source, river, water." And it adds distinguishing: "But no one calls the river the source or the source the river." Therefore, just as the river could never be the source as long as the source exists, nor could the flower or shoot ever be the root, neither could the Son ever be the source, that is, the projector of the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit, as long as he is the Son. Therefore, no one ever said the Son is a source from a source of the hypostasis of the Spirit, nor a cause from a cause, nor a root from a root, nor a principle from a principle, except for the theologian Gregory about creatures alone. This order of principle is not in creating but is within themselves; in creating, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit are one principle; but the Son is called the principle of creatures from the principle because, being the principle of creatures as the Father, he is also from the principle of the Father in his eternal existence, from whom he naturally has his being, and all the attributes of the divine nature, having been begotten. It is clear that the theologian calls the Son the principle of creatures, not of the Spirit; for the one who says the Son is the principle from the principle, says about the Son: "in no way without beginning, but the principle of all." Therefore, those who say the Son is the principle of the Spirit will be forced to align this with the whole, that is, with everything.

b. And again from the same.

THE ARGUMENT OF THE GREEKS

1.The same Dionysius in the same discourse says: "Since the whole divinity holds dominion over all things, it is not even to be spoken, I think, about the theogonic divinity or the filial divinity." From this, we have that the Son is not the theogonic divinity; for the teacher would not distinguish correctly if the filial divinity were also theogonic. For we do not use such a distinction for the same thing, but for different things. Therefore, we reason thus: Everything that distinguishes the Father and the Son belongs uniquely to whichever of these it belongs and is not common to both. But the theogonic is something that distinguishes the Father and the Son and is acknowledged to belong to the Father; therefore, the theogonic is something uniquely belonging to the Father and not common to the Father and the Son. Then we further reason thus: The Son is not the theogonic divinity; but to project the Spirit is theogony; therefore, the Son is not the projector of the Spirit. The lesser premise was demonstrated earlier. The greater premise is shown through Dionysius, saying that the Son and the Spirit are shoots of the theogonic divinity; thus, theogony extends to the Spirit and is not taken from generation, but from fertility, that is, from the projective power. From this, those who say that the fertility of projecting is communicated to the Son by the Father, which they call secondary and following, are also refuted; for such fertility being theogony, if the Spirit is God, would not apply to the Son for the reasons stated. Therefore, if the Son is not the projector of the Spirit, either the cause or the principle, it follows necessarily that the Father alone is the cause, principle, and projector, and that the Spirit proceeds or subsists from Him alone.

c. From St. Justin.

1.Moreover, the blessed Justin, who flourished in the times of the apostles and was revealed as the most accurate teacher and martyr of the truth, and rightly attained the highest honor for these things and for his love of philosophy, says: "As the Son is from the Father, so too is the Spirit from the Father, except in the manner of existence." By "manner of existence," he means that the Son proceeds from the Father by generation and the Spirit by procession; and he says that this is the only way in which the procession of the Son and the Spirit from the Father differs, while in all other respects they are one and the same. Therefore, we reason thus: If the Son is from the Father alone, the Spirit is also from the Father alone; but indeed the Son is from the Father alone; therefore, so is the Spirit. The assumption is clear, for the Son is called the only-begotten. The conclusion is evident through Dionysius, who says that with the only difference between them being the manner of existence, everything else must be common. Therefore, those who say that the Son is the immediate cause of the Spirit, while the Father is its cause through the Son, are refuted, as they misinterpret this preposition in "through the Son." The argument is confirmed through Dionysius, who says that from the single and indivisible good (i.e., the Father) the inner lights of goodness sprang forth, that is, blossomed or shone forth, and that no particular order is given in the procession of the lights, as some say. Again, through Gregory the Theologian, who says in his poems: "If you hear about the Son and the Spirit, that the second things of God belong to the Father, thus I command you to understand them in the words of deep wisdom." For he says that both persons are second to the Father, as immediately caused by Him, not making the Son second and the Spirit third as from the Son, as some interpret Basil's saying. Again, through Basil himself, who says that strictly, the Son is from God and the Spirit is from God, since the Son came forth from the Father and the Spirit proceeds from the Father; but the Son is from the Father by generation, and

the Spirit ineffably from God. Again, through Gregory of Nyssa, who says: "Of whom is the same person of the Father, from whom the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds. Therefore, we confidently say that the one cause with its effects is one God." Again, through Gregory the Theologian, who says: "The Holy Spirit is truly the Spirit, proceeding from the Father, not in a son-like manner (for it is not by generation), but by procession."

2.But those who differ from us, ignoring such sayings of the teachers, which primarily treat the eternal existence and order of the divine persons, attack us with Cyril's sayings, where he contends against the heretics who separated the hypostasis of the Divine Word from the hypostasis of Christ and disparaged the miracles performed by Him in the Spirit as not being truly performed by Christ, the person of the Divine Word being united with humanity, but performed by the Divine Word in the Spirit through Christ as a mere servant and man, activated by divine grace, like the saints and prophets, though more fully; and thus they did not say the Holy Spirit was essentially in Christ, nor truly and naturally given by Him, but extraneously and by participation, as those who received the Spirit from Him would also participate. Therefore, Cyril, being pious, theologizes and demonstrates that the Spirit is from Christ and in Christ naturally and essentially, proceeding from Him, saying that Christ and the Son of God are the same in hypostasis, and saying the same things about the Son of God and Christ, for he declared Christ to be the very hypostasis of the Divine Word itself, assuming human nature and subsisting in it. From these sayings of Cyril, which have a different necessity and purpose, they attack us, while ignoring the genuine sayings relevant to the issue, not only of others but even of Cyril himself, as will be shown later; just as if someone were to solve a geometrical problem, bringing in physical or dialectical arguments, while ignoring or deliberately passing over the proper ones relevant to the science at hand.

d. From the First Council.

1.The First Council is also found saying to the philosopher questioning at that time: "Accept one divinity of the Father who begot the Son ineffably and of the Son who is begotten from Him and of the Holy Spirit who proceeds from Him the Father, and who is of the Son as the Apostle says: If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to Him." From this, we have that the council did not endorse the Spirit proceeding from the Son; hence, being cautious not to give suspicion of thinking so, it said "from Him," and added "the Father," drawing that relational term to the paternal hypostasis and not allowing it to be referred to the immediate person, the Son, or ambiguously to both.

2.Therefore, we reason thus. Every relational term, along with which it is repeated, excluding the second name from the operation it speaks of, unless the discourse is wrongly or vainly composed; but here this relational term "from Him" repeats the name of the Father, surpassing the immediate name of the Son; therefore, this relational term excludes the Son from the operation of the proceeding, and it is the same as if it were said "from the Father alone." The major premise of the argument is clear; for the habit of speech is full of such examples, if it is true and accurate, as the speech of the council evidently was. For example, if we say the new Adam is begotten from the old Adam according to human nature; but from the old Adam, sin entered the world, that is, from him alone, and not from the new; therefore, the repetition occurred. Or otherwise: The Son is begotten from the Father; but the Father Himself is unbegotten, and if "the Father"

were not added, the discourse would be about the Son, and it would be false and contradictory; it would reasonably be understood so, because the relational term, without the repetition of the former name, refers only to the immediate name or sometimes to both indistinctly. Thus, we have from the First Council that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, that is, the Father alone is its cause.

e. From the Second Council.

1.Furthermore, the Second Council, expanding the article concerning the Spirit against Macedonius, says this: "And in the Holy Spirit," up to this point was the phrase of the First Council; then the expansion of the Second Council: "the Lord, the life-giver, who proceeds from the Father, who together with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified." For Macedonius, saying that the Holy Spirit is a creation and proceeds immediately from the Son, and the council refutes both: the first by saying that it is worshipped with the Father and the Son, and the second by saying that it proceeds from the Father. Therefore, we argue thus. Every affirmation, refuting another affirmation and spoken to refute it, contains implicitly also the opposing negation to the affirmation it refutes, unless it is wrongly and inappropriately brought forth. But this affirmation, "who proceeds from the Father," refutes Macedonius's affirmation that the Spirit is immediately from the Son, and it was rightly and reasonably opposed to Macedonius by the fathers of that council. Therefore, this affirmation, "who proceeds from the Father," implicitly contains the negation opposing Macedonius's affirmation, "that it does not proceed from the Son." For it is as if that council says, with Macedonius saying that the Spirit proceeds from the Son: "No, Macedonius (this is the negation), but rather it proceeds from the Father." The minor premise of this argument is clear to those who know the absurdities of Macedonius and the other Marathonians and Pneumatomachi and all matters concerning that council, as far as it is allowed. The major premise is clear from the habit of speech in all things; the example is also close at hand. This affirmation, "that the Spirit is worshipped and glorified with the Son and the Father," contains the negation opposing Macedonius's affirmation; for with him saying that the Spirit is the work of the Son, the council says: "No, Macedonius (this is the negation), but rather it is worshipped and glorified with the Father and the Son." To confirm the argument, the addition "with the Father" is sufficient for us; for Macedonius already said that the Spirit is the work of the Son, and the council, opposing, says that it is worshipped with the Son, therefore it is not a creation. This alone would suffice to overturn Macedonius; but it adds "with the Father," so that it may not seem to be worshipped with the Son alone.

2.Therefore, if the council knew that the Spirit also proceeds from the Son, it would have said "also from the Son," so that no one would think that it proceeds from the Father alone, as we now think; but indeed it wanted us to think so, because it also thought so; rather, if it knew this to be true, that the Spirit proceeds thus from the Son, it would have signified the whole by one word, "the Son." For how could it be the creation of the Son, which proceeds from the Son as from the Father, in the manner the council understands the Spirit to proceed from the Father? Therefore, those who say that when the Spirit is said to proceed from the Father in the Gospel, it is understood that it also proceeds from the Son are refuted; for if it were so, the Second Council would have expanded it. Those who call this addition an expansion are also refuted; on the contrary, it is a condensation, because it is a corruption of the proper expansion; thus it should have

expanded this phrase, "who proceeds from the Father," to "not from the Son," because this affirmation, as said, implicitly contains this negation.

f. From the Third Council.

1.Furthermore, the Third Council remained silent on the expansion by the Second Council, although hearing Nestorius say that the Spirit does not have existence from the Son, and expanding that proposition in the same way that we say it should be expanded, and did not add "and from the Son" against Nestorius, as an expansion would refute a false expansion, just as the Second Council did against Macedonius with "who proceeds from the Father" and the following. It forbade adding, subtracting, or completely altering the symbol of faith, as it is perfect and needs no addition, regarding the articles of faith. Therefore, it did not consider Nestorius's expansion to be faulty. Not only did it not add this to the symbol, but it did not even outside of the symbol contradict Nestorius about the Spirit's existence, nor did it blame his symbol, except for those errors concerning divine economy. On the contrary, those cutting short Cyril's doctrine, when he called the Spirit proper to the Son, suspected that he meant proper as proceeding from the Son and accused him. Cyril claimed to be slandered, as in all things, and acknowledged that it was proper, as not foreign to His essence, but said it proceeds from the Father, and demonstrated this to all through evidence; and those who accused him before made peace after his apologies, making it clear that they did not previously misunderstand Cyril's intent, but maliciously sought to find fault with him. Therefore, the subsequent councils anathematized the chapters against his anathemas, showing that Cyril always rightly believed about the Spirit's existence, as his accusers wanted and demanded him to believe; he was slandered, and seemed acceptable after his apologies, but always held the same correct doctrine before the apologies, believing that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, and is proper to the Son in essence, as not foreign, but consubstantial and coessential. Even Theodoret's reluctance, although otherwise wise and blessed, was not overlooked by the judgment; for although the fathers of the Fourth Council knew he had always rightly thought about the incarnation of the Divine Word and never agreed with Nestorius in any significant way, nor said or wrote as Nestorius did, as Cyril and all around John attested, yet they sought him to clearly anathematize Nestorius; and when he said he never agreed with Nestorius's doctrines nor ever held contrary to the church, they were not satisfied, but said if he did not explicitly anathematize Nestorius, they would expel him as a Nestorian. The same suspicions that Theodoret had previously raised against Cyril at the preceding council, causing that holy teacher to need extensive apologies and explanations, were used against him at the time of the Fourth Council, duly correcting and healing him as a genuine teacher, even if belatedly.

2.Theodoret was suspected of holding Nestorian views, although never caught nor having said or written anything agreeing with Nestorius's blasphemy, because he only opposed Cyril's doctrine. Some thought Theodoret, not daring to openly defend Nestorius and oppose Cyril, was secretly supporting Nestorius's affirmation by sowing evil suspicions about Cyril's other doctrines, so that knowing Cyril erred in other doctrines of the faith, none would heed him against Nestorius, thus silencing Cyril, the only bold opponent of Nestorius, and allowing Nestorius and his innovation to seem victorious. Such suspicions troubled some about Theodoret, while Cyril's apologies dispelled such suspicions from everyone's minds; knowing himself innocent and slandered, Cyril could not clearly accuse Theodoret as heretical for his doctrines, but only as a

slanderer and maliciously promoting slander, as wanting to support Nestorius's falsehood under the guise of orthodoxy.

3.Wishing to clear Theodoret of such suspicions, the fathers of the Fourth Council demanded him to anathematize Nestorius and his evil doctrines as firmly as they did Cyril. Through the anathemas, they supported Cyril's glory and freed Theodoret from suspicions, restoring his benefit to the church of Christ. Now, the church of God keeps and honors Theodoret's words and doctrines from beginning to end as a precious treasure and presents them to its children for their perfection. The church accepts his doctrine on the Spirit as its own, with all his writings being full of it, and the chapters against Cyril, as human prejudice (we must say this cautiously) condemned entirely for the honor of both. Therefore, we argue thus.

4.If the council considered this doctrine of Nestorius evil, that the Holy Spirit does not have existence from the Son or through the Son, it would have condemned it along with Nestorius's other errors about the incarnation of the Only-Begotten, calling his doctrines abominable and perverted, and would have included that doctrine on the Spirit among them; for it would be a worse error if it were an error. But the council did no such thing, nor did Cyril against Theodoret. Therefore, neither the council nor Cyril considered it an evil doctrine that the Spirit does not have existence from the Son. The assumption is clear from the council's acts and Cyril's writings. The conclusion is undeniable to those who know the council's efforts against Nestorius and Cyril's against Theodoret and the seriousness of the issue, which was not trivial.

5.Therefore, those who say that those believing the Holy Spirit does not have existence from the Son are Nestorians are refuted; for Nestorian doctrine is distinctively his own and rejected by the council; and those holding this are Nestorians. But the true doctrine of Nestorius is not Nestorian, but rather the common doctrine of the Church. Such are all the things included in the symbol of Nestorius, except for the errors concerning the divine economy, which the council specifically anathematized.

6."We believe," he says, "in one God, the eternal Father, who neither began to exist later nor was later called Father, since He always was God and Father. We believe also in one God, the only-begotten Son, who is of the essence of the Father, truly the Son and of the same essence, as He is and is believed to be the Son; and in the Holy Spirit, who is of the essence of God, not the Son, but God by essence, as being of that essence, from which the Father and God is, distinct in essence above all creation, which we believe to have received its existence from God, not by essence but by creation, and we believe it neither the Son nor having received its existence through the Son. Similarly, we believe in the Father as a perfect person, and likewise the Son, and the Holy Spirit, not considering three distinct essences, but one known by the identity of divinity. It is also necessary to understand the economy, which God executed for our salvation in the economy according to the Lord Christ," and what follows, in which indeed he errs and is refuted.

7.Therefore, just as one who believes the Son to be of the same essence as the Father is not Nestorian, because Nestorius says this, but rather the one saying this is orthodox, and the one opposing is heretical, that is, Arian, so also those saying the Son is not the cause of the Holy Spirit's existence are not Nestorians, but rather orthodox, because they say what Nestorius said without being accused, and would be accused if saying the contrary more than for other reasons; and those who say the whole symbol of Nestorius is condemned are refuted; for it was condemned as far as being the symbol of faith; for the Church did not want those partaking of the truths of that symbol along with the alienated parts to be corrupted, nor did it want any type of symbol other than the one in Constantinople to prevail in the Church. But as to the meaning of some

parts of the symbol, it is false that it is entirely condemned, for all uncontested parts are true, as all truths were not contested simply because they were true; and regarding these truths, the council defending the truth did not condemn them.

g. From the Fourth and Subsequent Councils.

1.Moreover, the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Councils held the same belief about the Spirit as the Second Council. Therefore, all of them declared its creed, and called it the perfect teaching of faith, needing no addition, subtraction, or alteration, and condemned anyone daring to do so. This is stronger than any necessity because they believed the Spirit proceeds from the Father according to the Second Council, and does not have existence from the Son according to the Third Council, and that they praised the Third Council for not opposing Nestorius's doctrine about the Spirit. If they had believed it wrong to think so or neglected to refute Nestorius on this point, the councils after the Third would have taken care of both truth and the integrity of the fathers of that council. And it is clear that they took care of Cyril's doctrine, and therefore anathematized the calumnious chapters against him. They would have taken even greater care for the whole church, which the Third Council represented, and not seemed Nestorian by passing over Nestorius's faulty doctrine in silence and not refuting it. These councils could have properly corrected what the Third Council lacked by adding what it missed, either by expanding the creed or elsewhere, and defining that the Spirit has existence from the Son. Since they did not do this, it is evident that they agreed with what the Third Council criticized and did not criticize about Nestorius, approving and disapproving the same things, so all ecumenical councils believed the Spirit does not proceed from the Son nor have existence from the Son.

2.If the Seventh Council praises Tarasius for saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, it also praises John of Damascus, who said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son but not from the Son; for only the Father is the cause, and that the Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son as being manifested through Him and given to creation but not having existence from Him. Tarasius said the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son and added nothing more; but John of Damascus, presenting this, also expounds the meaning very well; and the council praises both and rightly adorns them with the crowns of teaching, so we must consider John's exposition as Tarasius's. Therefore, Tarasius's exposition has nothing in common with the current exposition of some who expand the creed, saying that the Son is the principle and cause of the Holy Spirit's procession and that the Spirit has existence from the Son and similar things. It has been shown sufficiently earlier that the preposition in "through the Son," concerning causality, adds nothing to the procession from the Father but is said for other reasons; so the council praises blessed John of Damascus, calling him a luminary shining in the world, holding forth the word of life. And again: "He, taking up his cross and following Christ, sounded forth for Christ and His people from the East through Christ, not bearing the innovation made in a foreign land and the lawless conspiracy and raging madness against the holy universal church of Christ, but overcoming it, admonishing and exhorting all not to be led astray by those who practice lawlessness."

3.Here it would be appropriate to add the definition of the Seventh Council: "Having examined everything with all precision and deliberation, and agreeing with the aim of truth, we neither subtract nor add anything but preserve all things of the Catholic Church without alteration. Following the holy and ecumenical

councils, first the one gathered in the splendid metropolis of Nicaea, and then the one in the God-protected imperial city, we believe in one God, the Father Almighty," and the rest of the creed, as we confess and believe. Towards the end of the definition: "We keep the decrees of the fathers; we anathematize those who add or subtract from the Catholic Church." Between this definition, where it repeats the decisions of the councils before it, it says: "We also confess the Holy Mary, truly and properly the Mother of God, as having given birth in the flesh to the one Christ of the holy Trinity, our God, as the council of Ephesus previously defined, and expelled the impious Nestorius and his followers as introducing a dual personality."

4.Let those who call us Nestorians listen: the Seventh Council says that the impious Nestorius was expelled for introducing a dual personality and for no other reason, so it also believed that the Holy Spirit does not have existence from the Son, even if it accepted Tarasius saying that it proceeds from the Father through the Son, and did not value adding or subtracting anything from the creed of the councils of Nicaea and Constantinople. Before it, the Sixth Council, repeating the acts of the previous councils and mentioning Ephesus, similarly says against Nestorius: "Rejecting the babbling division of Nestorius as deprived of divine inheritance, asserting that the one Christ is both man and God separately, renewing the Jewish impiety." About the necessity of not adding, it says: the creed is set forth as we proclaim it, then at the end of the definition it says: "Having defined everything with all precision and care, we decree that no one is allowed to propose, write, compose, think, or teach another faith; those who dare to compose, propose, teach, or deliver another creed to those who wish to convert to the knowledge of truth from Hellenism, Judaism, or any heresy, or to introduce a new term or phrase for the subversion of those now defined by us, if they are bishops or clergy, to be alien from the episcopate and clergy; if they are monks or laymen, to be anathematized." So, we have it clearly from all the ecumenical councils, by what they expanded, by what they did not expand, by what they contradicted the heretics, and by what they did not contradict, in all ways, that they believed the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, that is, that the Father alone is the cause of the Spirit, not the Son; but the Son is only consubstantial with the Spirit, and because of this unity of essence, it is said to be and proceeds through the Son, as it is not apart from the Son or proceeding separately, but together with and in Him, and that they understood the evangelical voice "who proceeds from the Father" as we understand it.

5.These seven Ecumenical Councils, along with the eighth Ecumenical Council held during the time of Photios in Constantinople, were convened with the presence of representatives from the Roman Pontiff, including Bishops Paul and Eugenius, and Cardinal Peter the Elder. When our creed was read, the Papal representatives vehemently protested against any innovation to the creed in any form and strongly condemned those who dared or would dare to make such attempts. These were the grounds on which the discussions of dissolution occurred, and the Pope of that time, John, through his letter and representatives, affirmed that nothing should be added to the creed, nor should there be any other term established in the Church of God, and those who ever wish to do so should be subjected to eternal penalties.

6.The schism arose because some in the West believed the Son to be the cause of the Holy Spirit, and the Church seemed to tolerate this. Those adhering to ancient teachings were labeled as Nestorians, while they were called Arians by those for the second cause and the origin, and Apollinarians for their rank in the Trinity. Until the time of Photios and shortly thereafter, the better beliefs prevailed, and those so-called Nestorians, but truly orthodox and in agreement with us, had influence over the others. For this reason, our people

reconciled when they learned about this. However, later on, the worse beliefs prevailed, and the dominant doctrine was added to the creed. From then on, the evil became incurable and our church, as openly split from them, addressed them as strangers to the Catholic Church of Christ.

7.After this, there were some partial councils, rightly considered as Catholic among us, just as the Latins consider their councils as Catholic. These councils enacted the addition without any consecration from the East and confirmed it. These partial and Catholic councils among us, with their just and numerous arguments, declared that addition to be invalid and no one should believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, meaning the Son is the cause and origin of the Holy Spirit's existence. Many such councils also took place during the reign of the Komnenoi and later in Asia under the Laskarids, and finally under Andronikos Palaiologos against Bekkos, composed of a sufficient number of hierarchs and bishops distinguished in wisdom and virtue. They even issued a decree containing the conclusions of Bekkos and anathematizing them, along with his confession which he later overturned, showing his triple failure and shamelessly rejecting the second denial of the ancestral doctrines. The end of the decree reads as follows verbatim:

8.We do not stop with mere advice but also add a warning and fear for the security of the future. What is the warning? Since the recent action has utterly confused the church, which they called economy and peace, contrary to its true nature, and brought dangerously and perilously those strange doctrines that enriched Bekkos John, we firmly decree that if any of the present or future people dare to renew that well-extinguished action, or proclaim those already profitably abolished doctrines in our church, or secretly and wickedly introduce or suggest holding such views or praising them, or engage in any way to support their open expression among us, placing vile teachings above the genuine doctrines of the ancestral church, and against the spurious and alien ones, they should be cut off and alienated from our pious assembly and communion, and we subject them to the terrible penalty of anathema. For, that person cannot be accepted among humans, who after such an experience of past evil and condemnation justly imposed, still dares to engage in such actions, and ignores the established rules of the Fathers, and does not remain a student and follower of the church forever. We declare and conduct these things for the sake of security, as we said, and for the common benefit of the souls of all who now and hereafter are under our pious church. But remain true to God, rejecting and detesting the heretical doctrines and the offspring of Bekkos, rejecting him no less than the blasphemous names mentioned above who favor and shamelessly support them. In doing so, the Paraclete will remain with you, protecting you from such corruption and making you worthy of the eternal blessings and the prepared blessedness for the righteous.

9.So, may you hold fast and remain as you are; the written decree and decision are now promulgated by the Church against the apostates and violators of the Church, and shortly thereafter it will also be issued by the Great Judge, unless before His great and glorious day arrives, they reach repentance with tears and inexhaustible mourning, freeing themselves. For if they do repent and turn to the light of our Mother Church with sincere eyes of their souls, just as Christ does not cast out anyone coming to Him, but rather turns to and embraces those who turn back to Him—even if they are prodigals or have squandered their paternal inheritance, or have strayed sheep from the saving fold, or have otherwise distanced themselves from grace—so too will the Church gather and embrace them and restore them again to the rank and order of the children, only if they ever lament and repent for what we now suffer for their sake. For if we cut them off from us and exile them from the Church of the pious, if we subject them to the dreadful and great

condemnation of excommunication and alienation from the Orthodox, it is not because we take pleasure in their sufferings or rejoice in the expulsion of men. On the contrary, we grieve and bear the separation as something distasteful. But necessity compels us to this action for two reasons: that those who have been embittered and cast out may return through repentance, condemning their folly and thus saving themselves by the Church, and that the others may be admonished and instructed not to ever dare to attempt similar actions or offend against the untouchables or act against the saints, lest emboldened by such acts, they suffer the same fate according to the example.

10.These things we have from the holy councils. If any other council after these legislates contrary to these, let those who wish, forsaking all these, adhere to that one alone; they will see for themselves. For if it even adheres to its own decisions, it would be difficult for it to be persuaded before others; much more, as it has also been overturned by itself. For except those who always insisted that the Son is the cause of the Spirit even before the council, no one among those seemed to be persuaded, as it became evident to all. They remained in their opinion, but all together lived with denial and repentance and tears for the rest of their lives until the end, knowing themselves to be misled, some by having been persuaded badly, others by having already been disposed to other deceptions and sophistries. After this, by the forced desertion of some consciences towards what they considered alien due to the honors proposed to them, which they could not have hoped to attain within the Church, some attempt to establish a conclusion with such so-called economies, which those who care about this matter have overturned and widely discredited. For they do not want to strengthen the union, far from it, but rather to show their ancestors as Nestorians and the most foolish of all people, because, having served a rotten heresy for so long, they did not accept the truth proclaimed by others, but showed themselves wiser than them because they alone realized the truth, without even knowing rightly what lies at their feet.

11.But they enjoy such impudence towards their ancestors; for the honors they bestow on them, falsely attributing wisdom and virtue to them, they themselves are rewarded by those who seize the honors by their wicked agreement. For having taken the honors, they subject those who gave them to anathema, so that they may be accepted by others and not pursued as scandals. And those who gave them, knowing these things, tolerate them. Alas, now we would need the laments of Jeremiah, for even they would not be enough for such a great sorrow. For what could be worse than this ecclesiastical confusion? What is more hateful to God? What is more harmful to all souls? What is worse is that they do not even want to lend their ears to those who can advise them on the best things, but sit as if they know what is necessary from God, considering those who know better and think rightly as inferior to their opinion, and deeming their own opinion as the only true one, and those who approach them for honors as wise. Those who agreed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son all went away immediately, fleeing from that belief, as said, except for two who remained in the opinion, being held by the honors given abroad.

12.They do not want to listen, but they defend themselves differently and pursue it, extending the conciliar rod. But we are not so sinful as to subject ourselves to a just council and those true councils' footsteps, nor so hostile to our own salvation. Knowing it otherwise than necessary, we choose to pay attention to those truths and many things instead of it. For I testify before God of our conscience that I do not lie. If I had thought those Ecumenical Councils progressed in the same way as the decisions given by it, knowing this, I would not have believed any of them. I testify this before God and you many times, knowing

I do not lie. I am convinced that I do not wrong the truth by thinking thus about those things done at that council, but all understand and none are ignorant. Only those who have corrupted their conscience deny, and for whom it is not difficult to do and say many things contrary to their conscience.

13.By saying these things, I am not advocating for union, nor do I wish for the churches to be divided; on the contrary, I abhor such a prospect, and I pray and desire the opposite. But I shun and reject as common enemies those who bring such shame upon our Church and our Fathers and will continue to do so in the future if we yield, and if their ignorance and wickedness prevail. For they only see one thing, as I have said. If they had sense and good intent, and if they were not puffed up like novices, perhaps there would be someone to prevent these ecclesiastical confusions, as God would send it down from above to the prayers of the pious and sensible. Perhaps all necessities for revealing this matter would be driven together, and those who now differ from us would come to the decision of the doctrine that pleases all, clearly establishing and commonly forbidding the rashly defined things there. We all hold the same beliefs as before and, with a single mind, strive to uphold the ancestral doctrine, which is that the Son is not the cause or origin of the Spirit and does not have from Him the existence of the Spirit as from a cause, until these matters are better examined and judged. Given the faithful assurances of those now upholding the ancestral doctrine, they will become more agreeable to us and, in the struggle against the opponents, will stand with us and defend the glory and honor of our Fathers and fight back against the ill-conceived defeat. Our entire effort is directed toward them. They are like jars, echoing and sending back what others say, adhering to the immovable doctrines taught to them, unable to examine properly. I believe that regardless of the outcome of the inquiry, something favorable would result; either the actions taken would be confirmed, removing all the doubts troubling us until now from the inventors of the opposing doctrine, or they would learn from us, seeing our objections were reasonable, and be placed in the rank of the benefitted or at least in the rank of those not condemned. If we can hope for either, more likely the latter, there are sufficient pledges of this good hope, but neither should the former be dismissed if, having learned something, we too may benefit.

14.It is necessary, therefore, for those among us to join us in such just matters. They, however, relying on the decision of the recent council, which has no certainty and has been refuted by its very issuers, rather pressure us and force us to accept a doctrine we do not know its origin or find or learn any firm reason for it, nor is there anyone who can reasonably persuade us. The council that examines this doctrine has no convincing power from the matters themselves. But God will surely care for their correction. As for us, we adhere to what is laid before us. From the holy councils and those ancient teachers, whom we consider second to the apostles in reverence, we have these things. And from the teachers of the Church who followed, speaking in harmony with the canonical Scripture, the aforementioned teachers, and the common councils in all their writings, we have the same.

h. From the Great Basil

1.Divine Basil, in his treatises against heresies, states that all things common to the Father and the Son are also common to the Spirit, following Dionysius in his work on divine names, which states: "Whatever belongs to the Father and the Son is also attributed to the divine Spirit in a communal and united manner." From this, we argue as follows: If the act of sending forth is common to the Father and the Son, it will also be common

to the Spirit; but it cannot be common to the Spirit, therefore it is not common to the Son either. It is clear from the nature of things and does not require much investigation that the act of sending forth is not common to the Spirit. The sequence is very clearly established by Basil and Dionysius, as previously stated, making the conclusion very true. Thus, all the arguments of those who differ from us, attempting to conclude that sending forth is common to the Father and the Son, are invalid, for if this were true, it would follow that sending forth would also apply to the Spirit. Since Dionysius states that whatever is common to the Father and the Son is also common to the Spirit, this would be impossible, not because of the teachers' authority, but because of their established position. We argue further: when Dionysius speaks of things common to the Father and the Son, he later specifies by saying "the divine works, the worship, the source and distribution of the good gifts." Then he summarizes by saying "all things divine." Therefore, all divine things, as belonging to the entire Godhead, are not limited to the Father alone but also apply to the Son; whatever is not divine or fitting to the entire Godhead is not applicable to the Son. Among these is the act of sending forth, for it is personal and not appropriate to the entire Godhead. We thus formulate the argument: Nothing that is not divine and fitting to the entire Godhead can be common to the Father and the Son; but the act of sending forth the Holy Spirit is such a thing; it is not divine nor appropriate to the entire Godhead; therefore, the act of sending forth is not common to the Father and the Son. Or rather, thus: Whatever belongs to the Father that is not divine or fitting to the entire Godhead, belongs to the Father alone; but the act of sending forth the Holy Spirit is something belonging to the Father that is not divine or fitting to the entire Godhead; therefore, the act of sending forth the Holy Spirit belongs to the Father alone.

2.They say in response to this that the act of sending forth could also belong to the Spirit if it were not contrary to the principle or the property of the Spirit; but because it is not contrary to the principle or the property of the Son, it is therefore common to the Son. Whether the act of sending forth is contrary to the principle of the Son or the Spirit will be examined later; for now, it suffices to examine what they say about the Spirit. They say that the act of sending forth could also belong to the Spirit if it were not impossible due to the property of the Spirit being sent forth. But this is not a refutation of our arguments, rather a confirmation. For it is indeed impossible, even according to them, for the act of sending forth to belong to the Spirit; this impossibility follows from the Son sending forth, according to the words of Dionysius and Basil. Therefore, it is impossible for the Son to send forth; for anything impossible is such until the hindrance is removed, and all impossibilities are such due to some hindrance. They seem to assert that whatever is common to the Father and the Son, if it belongs or could belong to the Spirit, is also common to the Spirit. But this addition and specification are neither from the teachers, and it makes the argument trivial; for they only say that whatever belongs to the Spirit belongs to the Spirit.

i. From Gregory the Theologian:

1.Gregory the Theologian also says: "This is, he says, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit for us; the Father is the begetter and the projector, without passion, timelessly, and incorporeally. Of them, one is the begetting, the other the projecting." Dionysius further says that the names and distinctions of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are separate, with no interchange or complete commonality between them." He explains that the Father's property is not the essence but the characteristic that makes him be called Father. Gregory

further explains when he says, "This is the Father," he refers to the name of the Father, not the nature underlying the characteristic, so to speak. From this, we reason as follows: The name and property of the Father are incommunicable to the other divine persons and distinct. The property signified by the name of the Father is to be the begetter and the projector; therefore, to be the begetter and the projector is distinct in the Father and incommunicable.

2.In this progression of the argument, everything is irrefutable, for the conclusion follows from the words of Dionysius and Gregory the Theologian. Therefore, those who say that to be the projector or to project does not distinguish the Father from the Son are mistaken due to the name of the Father, which specifically signifies the begetter and thus stands in opposition to the Son, and the Son has this opposition only in relation to the Father. They should remember that it is not the name of the Father that is said to be incommunicable, but also the property; and the teachers say that the paternal property is to be the begetter and the projector. Therefore, not only is the Son distinguished from the Father by not being the Father, but also the Spirit, as Nyssa says in his writings against Eunomius, "The Spirit is associated with the Father in the aspect of being uncreated but distinguished from Him by not being the Father." Just as the Spirit is distinguished from the Father by not being the Father, it is distinguished not only by not begetting but much more by not projecting. Thus, the Father has this opposition to the Spirit specifically, just as the Son is distinguished from Him by not being the Father, that is, not being the begetter or the projector. If the name of the Father contained only the begetting, it would be false to say that the Spirit is distinguished from the Father by not being the Father or not begetting; for the distinction is primarily by not projecting, though it is also by not begetting. Hence, we also deduce that the Father alone is the projector of the Spirit and thus the cause and origin of His subsistence, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him alone and subsists personally.

3.Similarly, we argue about the Son: Nothing more should be thought about the Son of God than what the teachers say He is, the Son; and the teachers say He is only the begotten according to His property and nothing else. Therefore, He should not be believed to be the projector. If they say He is only the begotten, it is clear from the aforementioned words of Gregory: "This is, he says, the Father, the begetter, and the projector, and this is the Son, the begotten, and this is the Spirit, the projection." If the Son were to be the projector as well, just as he said the Father is the begetter and the projector, he would have said that the Son is the begotten and the projector; and if he had said this, it would not be difficult to understand immediately that the Spirit, being the projection, belongs to both the Father and the Son, if both were projectors. Now, since he says the Father is the begetter and the projector, and of them, one is the begetting and the other the projection, just as the begetting is only from the begetter, so the projection is only from the projector. The begetter and projector alone is the Father, as the Theologian rightly distinguishes and accurately defines these matters.

4.We further argue about the Son thus: Nothing personal should be attributed to a divine person which does not arise from its property; but to project is not from the property of the Son, being personal and not essential; therefore, to project should not be attributed to the Son. The first proposition is clear; the second is shown by Gregory himself; for he says in his discourse to Heron: "Truly the Son is the Son, for He alone is uniquely the Son and not the Father, and entirely Son." Having said that He is only the Son, he left nothing more to be sought; and saying, "not even the Father," he further confirmed the statement; for the Father is the begetter and the projector according to him. Therefore, the Son is not the begetter and the projector.

Adding that He is entirely the Son, he again indicated the same, that His entire being and hypostatic reality is in being begotten. Saying "entirely," he left nothing outside.

j. From the same and other theologians concerning the personal property:

1.Every personal property among the divine persons is immovable and does not transfer to another person. But the beginning and the cause are properties of the divine person of the Father. Therefore, the beginning and the cause are immovable in the Father and do not transfer to another person. The greater proposition is clear through Gregory the Theologian, who says, "For the property is immovable; how could it remain a property if it were moved and transferred?" The lesser proposition is clear through the same Gregory, for he, delivering the properties of the divine persons, says, "The properties of the Father are of one who has no beginning and is the origin; as a cause, source, and eternal light. The Son, however, is in no way without a beginning but is the origin of all things." It is also very clear from itself: for the Father is pre-conceived among the divine persons as the cause; and to the first in everything belongs the name and concept of the beginning uniquely; but it is least fitting for one from the beginning to be the beginning of those of the same rank, as both Plato asserts that every beginning is unbegotten, and Aristotle in the Metaphysics says that in every beginning there is the first, and Cyril in the thirteenth of the Treasures says, "How then will the Father be found to be the beginning of all things, being composite according to you and not simple? For nothing can be pre-conceived before the beginning." And Basil in the writings against Eunomius says, "For it is not possible to conceive anything prior to the beginning; for it would not be the beginning if it had something before it." Therefore, if nothing is pre-conceived before the beginning, but the Father is pre-conceived within the Godhead before the Son, then the Son within the Godhead is not the beginning, but only the Father, before whom nothing is pre-conceived.

2.But they say that the teacher also calls the Son of God the beginning; for he says, "The beginning from the beginning, the light from the light," and similar things in the discourse on Pascha, referring to the Son. Therefore, he says that the property of the Father is the beginning without a beginning, not simply the beginning; thus, both share the term beginning, but they differ in that the Father is the beginning without a beginning, while the Son is the beginning from the beginning. To this, it has been said before and must be said again: first, that the Theologian does not call the Father the beginning without a beginning, but without a beginning and the beginning, which, even if they wish to mean the same thing, do not in the same way; for the former is absolute, being without a beginning, and the latter implies a certain reference. He uses the term beginning specifically because every beginning that is properly called is without a beginning and unbegotten. He calls the Son the beginning from the beginning, not because he is a beginning created, but because he is the beginning of the creatures and, in relation to them, is without a beginning as the Father, but in himself and in relation to the Father, is from the beginning of the Father, having everything by being begotten and having been begotten with everything.

3.Therefore, the Father is simply the beginning, being both without beginning and the origin of all things, both external and internal. The Son, however, is so with qualification, being born of the Father and not the beginning of the Godhead, but of all external things. Thus, the distinction of being the beginning in the Father and the Son does not lie in being without beginning, but in the number and nature of their respective

preeminences. The Father is the beginning of the Godhead, and through it, the beginning of creation; the Son of God is the beginning of beings only, not of the Godhead. This does not diminish the Son of God in any way, on the contrary; being begotten and having all the good things of the Father and the characteristics of the divine nature does not allow him to be the beginning of the Godhead, but only the beginning of beings, because he is truly God. If the name of beginning surpasses and extends beyond the Father, as he is also the beginning of the Godhead, but in relation to beings, it is equally in the Father and the Son and one beginning of all beings, the Father and the Son together, and without beginning. Likewise, the Spirit, as Gregory says, "Without beginning, the beginning, and with the beginning, one God." Then he explains, "The name of the Father is without beginning, the Son is the beginning, and the Spirit is with the beginning." Therefore, he says that the three persons are the beginning of beings. If the Spirit is with the beginning, it is clear that it is not from the beginning; for those from such a beginning are later than the beginning. The Father, being without beginning, is the beginning; for being without beginning belongs to being the beginning of all things. Therefore, he says that the Father, the Son, and the Spirit are one beginning, and in relation to creation, one without beginning, for they are not aligned with creations, nor did they proceed for the existence of creation, but the Trinity, in itself, is without beginning and from the beginning. In relation to creation, they hold the concept of the beginning unchangeably, being the entire, first, and uncaused beginning.

4.Gregory himself teaches us that these things are true. Concerning the Father, he says, "It would be a small and unworthy beginning if he were not the cause of the divinity seen in the Son and the Spirit." And again, "As much as God is more honored than creation, so much more magnificent is it for the first cause of divinity to be the beginning than of creation, and to come to creation through divinity rather than for divinity to exist for the sake of these things, which seems to those who examine too much and are lofty." Concerning the Son, he says, "He is by no means without beginning, but he is the beginning of all things," clearly distinguishing from the Father, if he had said the beginning of the Godhead. And concerning the Spirit, saying it is with the beginning, what else does it mean but that the Son is not referred to the Spirit as its beginning, but in relation to creation, to which the Holy Spirit is also referred as the beginning along with the Son, or rather to which creation is similarly referred? If the Spirit were to be referred to God as the beginning, it would not make sense to say "the Spirit with the beginning," but rather "from the beginning." To this Gregory, both Athanasius and Basil agree, the former anticipating the truth, the latter harmonizing genuinely. Athanasius, in the forty-sixth chapter on the natural equality of the divine persons, says, "What is God? The beginning of all things, according to the Apostle saying, 'One God the Father, from whom are all things.' For the Word is from him by birth, and the Spirit from him by procession. Then all creation was made through the Word in the Spirit." Here, he clearly calls the Father the beginning of the Son and the Spirit alone, but the Son and the Spirit, along with the Father, the beginning of all creation. Therefore, he also calls the Father the beginning of all things, specifying that he is naturally the beginning of the Son and the Spirit. Basil, in the writings against Eunomius, says, "He who denies the Son removes the beginning of the creation of all things; for the Word of God is the beginning of the existence of all things, through whom all things were made." Where, then, is the Son called the beginning of the Spirit? Nowhere. If they call the Father the beginning of the Godhead and the Son the beginning of the existence of all things, through whom all things were made, and the beginning of all, those who conclude from this that the Son is also the beginning of the

Spirit and mean by the phrase "through the Son" the cause in everything, should consider where they are leading. We do not wish to reason against them, avoiding absurdities, but it is clear what one would reason knowing these things to those who know, even if we remain silent.

k. And again from the same and other theologians concerning "except for the cause":

1.Gregory the Theologian, in his work entitled Kataplus, says, "All that the Father has belongs to the Son, except for the cause." He says this concerning the inner relationships and speaks unqualifiedly, not giving way to those who want to resolve the matter by creation or the cause of begetting. Therefore, if the Father is the cause of the Son and the Spirit as begetting and projecting, and the Son is not the cause, according to the teacher, he would be neither begetter nor projector. Maximus confirms this by saying that the Romans under him did not make the Son the cause of the Spirit's procession, and he greatly accepts this. He says thus in his letter to Marinus: "The conciliar acts of the current most holy pope did not involve many chapters as you wrote, but only two, one concerning theology, stating that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, and the other concerning the divine incarnation, that the Lord was without sin as a human being. And they provided concordant uses of the Roman Fathers, even Cyril of Alexandria from his sacred commentary on the Evangelist John, showing that they did not make the Son the cause of the Spirit. They know only one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the Father, the one in begetting, the other in procession, but to show through him proceeding, demonstrating the unity of essence and unchangeableness." And the rest. John of Damascus says, "Not as from him, but as through him, from the Father proceeding; for the Father alone is the cause." And again, "Whatever suits the source, the cause, the begetter, must be attributed to the Father alone." Gregory himself confirms that he always speaks consistently, for he says in the Homily on Pentecost, "All that the Father has belongs to the Son, except for unbegottenness." And in On the Holy Spirit, "Why is the Spirit not called God except for unbegottenness and begetting?"

2.If the Son and the Spirit are distinguished from the Father by unbegottenness, nothing else distinguishes them from him except the beginning and the cause, that is, begetting and projecting. For the uncaused, unbegotten, and without beginning in the Father equally means the cause and the beginning, and as such, are said to be the properties of the Father. Otherwise, it would not be so, for no negation or privation would be a property and could be said of something, much less of the supersubstantial. He further confirms himself by saying in On the Establishment of Bishops, "All that belongs to the Son and the Spirit, except for sonship." And in the Homily on Pentecost, "All that the Son has belongs to the Spirit, except for begetting." These things could not be truly said if the Son were also the cause of the Spirit or projector; but he should have added "except for sonship" or "begetting" and "except for the cause" or "beginning" or "projecting" or something similar. From all these, it is well demonstrated that the Son has all that the Father has, except for projecting and begetting, that is, except for the cause; and thus only the Father is the cause and beginning of the Son and the Spirit, and consequently, from him alone the Son is begotten and the Spirit proceeds and subsists.

l. From the property of the Holy Spirit through the sayings of the teachers:

THE ARGUMENT OF THE GREEKS

1.It is evident not only from the property of the Father, who is the beginning and the cause, nor from the property of the Son, who is to be Son and begotten, and nothing else, nor the cause, but also from the very property of the Spirit. The teachers say that the property of the Spirit is not only to proceed but to proceed from the Father. Athanasius in his discourse, which begins with "We believe in one God," says, "The Holy Spirit is an emanation of the Father, always in the hands of the sending Father and the bearing Son." Gregory the Theologian says, "Therefore, standing on our doctrines, we introduce the unbegotten, the begotten, and that which proceeds from the Father, as the Word of God Himself says." Nyssa says, "The Spirit is an emanation from the paternal hypostasis." Basil, in his confession of faith in the Holy Trinity, says, "We must believe as we were baptized; we were baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The Father is unbegotten; the Son is begotten, as light from the sun and reason from mind; the Holy Spirit is an emanation from the Father. The property of the Father is unbegottenness and being called Father; the property of the Son is being called Son and being begotten from the Father; the property of the Spirit is being called Holy Spirit and proceeding from the Father." The same is said by Nicephorus the Patriarch, Theodore the Studite, the blessed John of Damascus, and all the teachers of our Church together. The aforementioned explicit statements suffice. These all follow the first councils, which said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, so that no one would assume it says from the Son because the name of the Son preceded closely. Thus, they say the Spirit is an emanation or projection, and it is called the Spirit of the Son, so that no one would assume it is an emanation or projection of the Son, and for this reason, they add the Father, saying "an emanation of the Father" or "proceeding from the Father." Hence, those who say that the property of the Spirit is simply to proceed from anyone are refuted, and those who say the Spirit is the projection or emanation of this or that person are also refuted.

2.Therefore, the teachers say that to proceed or to be an emanation is the property of the Spirit in relation to both the Father and the Son, of whom the one is Father, that is, begetter and projector, and the other is the begotten and the Son, and neither of them is an emanation; they attribute the activity of projecting the Spirit solely to the Father. For this reason, they say the property of the Spirit is to proceed from the Father alone; no one has ever called the Spirit an emanation or projection of the Son. These are more clearly refuted by Basil and John of Damascus. Basil says that the Spirit is from God, as proceeding from God not by begetting but by procession. Of Christ, he says it is naturally akin to Him; and John of Damascus says, "This we worship: the Father, unbegotten begetter; for He is from none; the Son, begotten of the Father, as born from Him; the Holy Spirit of God and the Father, as proceeding from Him, which is also said of the Son, as manifested through Him and given to the creation, but does not have existence from Him."

3.This must also be specified according to the teachers, as many overlook and miss it, that the Holy Spirit is called not only from being breathed but also from breathing; "The Spirit, he says, breathes where it wills." The breathing, which the Spirit breathes or is breathed, is the vital and sustaining energy of all beings or the regenerative energy towards adoption by God, occurring in and through the Spirit from the one divinity. For this reason, the teachers call the outpouring of the Spirit's gifts "holy distribution" and "holy transmission" and "participation." Hence, they call it the Spirit of the Son and the Spirit of God, following the Scripture, that these do not refer to the existence of the Spirit, but rather signify the natural relation of the Spirit to the

Father and the Son and the kinship of the divinity. How could that which holds and sustains and inspires all things and through which all things are held together by God, not be God?

4.The Spirit is also said to search the depths of God, as the spirit of a man knows what is in man, for it is considered an inward movement or impulse of God's goodness and His good will. The Spirit, even though its name is one hypostasis in the Trinity, signifies not something substantial, but rather is indicative of a relationship, not revealing its own activity, but demonstrating the one activity of the Father and the Son and itself, by which all beings live and are good and partake of being and life and goodness. Since the progress of the Spirit, through which it eternally has existence as a hypostasis in a different manner than the Son of God, is indicated by the name of procession from the One of the Trinity, and for this reason, the holy teachers preserved this term for such a procession and did not want to use this term elsewhere, doing the work of the most precise teachers. Therefore, whenever they want to show whence the Spirit has its existence, they say it proceeds from the Father, and since the term emanation is derived from proceeding and is akin to that activity by which the Spirit is a hypostasis in the divinity, they call it the emanation of the Father, but they do not say it proceeds from the Son, nor do they call it the emanation or projection of the Son, for they do not believe this to pertain to the Son, who is such a hypostasis in the divinity, to project another divine hypostasis; they believe this pertains solely to the unbegotten Father, and rightly so. Therefore, it is that the Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son, but not the emanation of the Son or proceeding from the Son; it is called the Spirit and the emanation of the Father, and proceeding from the Father; and the Father is the projector, and the Spirit is again the projection of the Father, with the same meaning of the term.

5.Therefore, having laid out all these points, we argue as follows: If the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well, it would be incorrect to say that the property of the Spirit is to proceed from the Father and to be the emanation of the Father. However, the consequence is absurd, as it is clear blasphemy against the teachers, who speak very precisely on such matters and did not speak ambiguously about the emanation or proceeding, but specifically about the emanation of the Father and proceeding from the Father. Therefore, the premise is also absurd and impossible. The sequence is clear according to the opponents; for they say that the property of the Spirit is to proceed from the Father and the Son, or to be projected by them, and thus they distinguish it from the Father and the Son. And if it is impossible for something to exist without its specific property distinguishing it from others, it is impossible for the Spirit's hypostasis to exist according to them if it does not have this property, which is to proceed from the Father and the Son. Therefore, those who say that the property of the Spirit is to proceed from the Father, without adding anything, present an incomplete property of the Spirit, and neither distinguish it well nor sufficiently establish the hypostasis of the Spirit. They do the same as if, while it is established and agreed by all that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, and this is its property, they were to say that the property of the Spirit is to proceed from the Father and the Son. And just as if the Son were also begotten from the Spirit, it would be false to say that the property of the Son is to be begotten from the Father, unless the Spirit were considered the Father, so too it would be false to say that the property of the Spirit is to proceed from the Father if the Spirit also proceeded from the Son, unless the Son were considered its Father and it proceeded from both as from one Father. Since the Son is not called the projector of the Spirit, but the Father is called so, since the Father is called the beginning of the Godhead, and the Son is not called so; since the Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son, but not from the Son, and since it is called the emanation of the Father and not the emanation of the Son, since its

property is to proceed from the Father, it is evident that it proceeds from the Father alone and is the emanation of the Father alone. Those who say it is the same to be the Spirit of the Son and to be from the Son do not speak well, as Chrysostom says, "It is one thing to be of God and another to be from God," and Basil says in his letter to his brother, "He who said only the Spirit included in this confession both the one to whom it is the Spirit (of Christ) and the one from whom it is (from God, as the Apostle says)." And John of Damascus says, "We say it is the Spirit of the Son, but we do not say it is from the Son; just as we say it is of the Father and from the Father," he says, "but we do not call the Father the Father of the Spirit."

m. From Saint Augustine, through the primary proceeding from the Father with the corroboration of other teachers:

1.Augustine himself says that the Spirit primarily proceeds from the Father. What does he mean by this "primarily proceeding"? This is what the teachers from Asia mean by "proceeding." Both say generally that the Spirit proceeds from the Son as well, but Augustine says that it primarily proceeds from the Father. However, since none of the teachers from Asia say "primarily proceeding" from the Father but simply "proceeding," Augustine's "primarily proceeding" means the same as "proceeding" among others. To what end did Augustine say "primarily proceeds from the Father"? It is clear he said this to differentiate it from "proceeds from the Son," indicating that this belongs only to the Father. Therefore, Augustine also understood the Spirit to proceed from the Father alone. But our opponents, interpreting Augustine according to their position, say that he meant "primarily proceeds from the Father" to elude us by the phrase, acting as masters not only in explaining, which would indeed be wisdom in these matters that few possess, but also in interpreting as they wish, which is the task of all who know either language, even if they happen to be not quite proficient in other respects.

2.We must examine their interpretation to see if it can be true. The Spirit primarily proceeds from the Father; this means that the Spirit primarily has its being from the Son, primarily has its existence from the Son, and primarily has the Father as its cause. What could be more absurd than this, if the same being, the Holy Spirit, truly God, primarily derives from the Son in one sense and from another source in a different sense; and if of those divine hypostases one gives the Spirit its being primarily, and the other does not give the same primarily, and these are presented as a single beginning toward the Spirit, as those innovating in this way and advancing or establishing this with a single projecting power and activity within the unity of the same essence, even though blessed Nyssa does not allow that which is not primarily to exist at all in divine matters? For he says in the tenth book against Eunomius, "He constructs what truly exists either not to exist at all or not to exist primarily, which is equal to not existing at all; for what is not primarily is not at all." And again, "How can one truly say that something exists, to which primary existence is not attested? For necessarily, what is not acknowledged as primary must fall into the class of non-being; what is not primary is entirely invalid; thus, the construction of what is not primarily is evidence of complete non-existence." These are the words of Nyssa, who is no less holy and a teacher than Augustine. Then I ask, if Augustine says that the Spirit primarily proceeds from the Father, did he mean this to distinguish it in some way, or not? If not, it is in vain; but either the Spirit primarily proceeds from both, or it proceeds from the Father and not at all from the Son; in either case, the term "not primarily" is added in vain. But not in vain? Therefore, it must be for

distinction. Thus, he means that it proceeds from the Son but not primarily, and for this reason, he distinguishes by saying primarily from the Father. But Nyssa says that what is not primarily does not exist at all. So Augustine, agreeing with Nyssa, says it does not proceed from the Son at all, contradicting himself in saying elsewhere "the Spirit proceeds from the Son" as our opponents interpret, or agreeing with himself, he disagrees with Nyssa about primarily and not primarily; and either Nyssa is wrong in thinking this way about not primarily, or Augustine is wrong in using primarily and not primarily where it is not appropriate. But whoever takes either side, will certainly err more than necessary.

3.Since many absurdities follow from such an interpretation, it is right not to interpret it this way, but that the Spirit primarily proceeds from the Father, as existing from Him, since it is also found proceeding from the Son as manifested through Him and given to creation. It is more appropriate to distinguish the progressions by primarily and not primarily than to separate the same progression from a single beginning, as they say, again by the beginning; for this would be an enigma and otherwise not true. Let us consider by analogy: the Father and the Son are one beginning of creation, as is the Spirit with them; but the Son has both existence and creative power and activity from the Father. Shall we then say that the Father is primarily the creator, and not primarily the Son? And what would be worse than Arius? Again, the Son has existence from the Father; shall we then say that the Father is primarily, and the Son is not primarily, because He has existence from another? But this is also of the same madness. And generally, all things that exist naturally and substantially in God, existing from the Father inherently and eternally, and the same without variation for both, if we attribute these primarily to the Father and not primarily to the Son, we will neither agree with ourselves nor avoid utter absurdity.

4.Just as the distinction of being from nothing and being from the Father does not make the former primarily the creator or God or being and the latter not primarily, so neither will the Father primarily be the projector or cause or beginning of the Spirit, and the Son not primarily. The absurdity applies equally to all. It would have been the same with those previous statements, as well as with this latest one, if it were possible. Thus, this is not what Augustine means by "the Spirit primarily proceeds from the Father," as they say, but much rather what he means, "the Spirit proceeds from the Son and through the Son, as manifested through Him to creation and given, but primarily proceeds from the Father because it has its being from the Father." According to Dionysius the Areopagite, there are two such progressions and manifestations of the divine persons, the one in themselves and the other towards us, that is, the manifestation of the begetting in the Father and the manifestation of the hidden goodness of the suprasubstantial Trinity. The former primarily applies to the procession, as the divine hypostasis proceeds into being distinctly in itself, distinguished as a hypostasis proceeding from the hidden stability and position into being known in various dispensations. And in the former manifestation, the divine hypostasis, which is said to proceed, receives, in a godly manner, the taking from which it is understood to proceed; in the latter, it gives to those to whom it proceeds, even if sometimes it is said to take what it gives economically.

5.Since proceeding is the hypostasis of a divine person primarily subsisting uniquely within the unity of the essence, and thus the Spirit proceeds from the Father, Augustine says it primarily proceeds from the Father because it is found in Scripture proceeding from the Son as well; but that procession means something else. How could anyone agree better than Augustine and our own John of Damascus, the one saying, "the Spirit primarily proceeds from the Father, because it is found somewhere that the Spirit proceeds from the

Son," and the other saying, John of Damascus, "the Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son as manifested through Him and given to creation, but does not have existence from Him."

6.Does not Basil clearly say the same? He says, "The Son proceeds primarily from the Son and the Spirit from God, since the Son came forth from the Father and the Spirit proceeds from the Father." Even if it is said that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, it is primarily from the Father because it proceeds from the Father. He does not say this because the Father is its first cause; otherwise, it would be understood similarly about the Son, that He primarily comes from the Father, because the Father is His first cause. This would be blasphemous since the Son, even according to our opponents, does not come from the Spirit as its source. Therefore, it is clear that "primarily" applies to both due to the eternal manifestations and progressions of the divine hypostases. According to temporal manifestations, the Son was somehow begotten from the Spirit, and the Spirit came forth from the Son. And not only Augustine and Basil, but also all the teachers agree, none of whom say the Spirit proceeds from the Son. Knowing that the Father alone is the cause and source of divinity, they say the Spirit proceeds from the Father, that is, subsists, teaching us to believe the Spirit proceeds only from the Father, that it proceeds from the Father alone, and never from the Son.

7.The teachers do not say once or twice that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, but countless times, and nowhere do they say it proceeds from the Son. They add those things by which it is shown that the Spirit has another relationship to the Son, not that of the caused to the cause. Summarizing a few among many, we will conclude the composition.

8.Athanasius, in his letter to Serapion, says, "Those who think wrongly about the Holy Spirit do not think rightly about the Son; for if they thought rightly about the Word, they would think healthily about the Spirit, which proceeds from the Father and is given by the Son to His disciples and all who believe in Him."

9.The same Athanasius in the dialogue between the Orthodox and the Montanist says, "Just as there is nothing between mind, word, and breath, so there is nothing between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; we must understand the Spirit as perfect in perfect hypostasis proceeding from the Father."

10.In another dialogue, he says, "Nothing exists before the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but from the Father the Son is begotten and the Spirit proceeds."

11.And again, "He did not appoint an angel to the deity nor attached a creature to Him and the Father, but the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father."

12.Basil in his letter to his brother Gregory says, "Since the Holy Spirit, from whom all the supply of good things flows to creation, depends on the Son, with whom it is indivisibly comprehended, it has its being from the cause of the Father, from whom it proceeds. This is the distinguishing sign of its personal property, that it is known with the Son and through the Son and subsists from the Father. The Son, recognizing the Spirit proceeding from the Father through Himself and with Himself, being the only-begotten shining forth from the unbegotten light, has no shared property with the Father or the Holy Spirit in its distinguishing marks, but is known by the aforementioned signs."

13.Gregory the Theologian says, "Where will you place the proceeding one, tell me, appearing in the midst of your division and introduced by a theologian greater than you, our Savior? Unless you have removed that voice of your Gospels through your third testament, 'The Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father,' who, as it proceeds from there, is not a creature; as it is not begotten, it is not the Son; as it is between the unbegotten and the begotten, it is God."

THE ARGUMENT OF THE GREEKS

14.Maximus in the explanation of Dionysius says, "The radiance of its own image coming into existence as a living icon, and the most holy Spirit proceeding venerably and supremely from the Father, as the Lord initiates."

15.The same in the same place: "That is, the ineffable radiance of the Son from the Father and the inconceivable procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father."

16.The same in the discourse to a certain Macedonian: "But the Son is begotten from the substance of the Father; therefore, He is the only-begotten Son; the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father."

17.The same in the dialogue between the Orthodox and the Manichaean: "The Spirit proceeds from the substance of the Father."

18.Cyril in his commentary on Luke says, "But we say this: the Word was not baptized naked and by Himself, and He was a partaker of the Holy Spirit. For we know that He is God and incorporeal and holy among the holy. They confess that from His fullness we all received. For the Holy Spirit proceeds from God and the Father and is also proper to the Son. And indeed, it has been said many times, the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit proceeding from God and the Father, and Paul testifies, saying sometimes, 'But you are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you; if anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His.' And again, 'Because you are sons, God sent the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' Therefore, as I said, the Holy Spirit proceeds from God and the Father, and the only-begotten Word, His Son, who by nature and truly is the Son and excels in the Father's dignities, supplies it to creation and gives it to the worthy."

19.The same author, in the writings against Julian, says, "The Holy Spirit ineffably proceeds from the Father, but is granted to creation through the Son."

20.In the explanation of "when it comes," he says, "Therefore, dear to us is the truth and the doctrines derived from the truth, and we will not betray them. Following the faith of the holy fathers, we say that the Paraclete, that is, the Holy Spirit, is proper to the Son and not something externally added or acquired, as it is with those who are receptive to holiness, whose genesis is among the non-existent. But it is consubstantial with Him, as it is with the Father. Thus, the power of ecclesiastical doctrines does not lead us into a polytheistic mythology, but binds the Holy Trinity into one word of divinity. Therefore, demonstrating the unity of the essence, he says that the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, is his own and the Spirit of God and the Father, stating that it proceeds from the Father. This clearly and unambiguously refutes the entire Christomach party. For anyone who intended to insult the Son would reasonably be thought to have sinned against Him who is from Him. When the Paraclete comes, the Spirit of truth, that is, mine, who proceeds from the Father, he will testify about me."

21.In the resolution of the ninth criticism of Theodoret, he says, "The Holy Spirit proceeds from God and the Father according to the voice of the Savior, but it is not alien to the Son; for it has everything with the Father."

22.In the letter to John of Antioch, he says, "We do not tolerate any alteration of the defined faith, that is, the creed established by our holy fathers who convened in Nicaea at various times, nor do we permit ourselves or others to change a single word or syllable of what is set forth there, remembering the saying, 'Do not move the ancient landmarks which your fathers have set.' For it was not they who spoke, but the Spirit of God and the Father, who proceeds from Him, and is not alien to the Son according to the essence."

THE ARGUMENT OF THE GREEKS

23.Explaining the phrase "if I cast out demons by the finger of God," he says, "Because what you say is not true, but rather false and slanderous, it is clear that I cast out demons by the finger of God. The finger of God, he says, is the Holy Spirit. For he himself is called the hand and the arm of God and the Father; for he does everything through him; and similarly, the Son acts in the Spirit. Just as the finger is attached to the hand, not alien to it but naturally in it, so the Holy Spirit is united to the Son by the concept of consubstantiality, even though he proceeds from God and the Father."

24.This was Cyril's opinion; and those who misunderstand his other statements and force them to fit their own views wrong the teacher, as some did even more boldly while he was still alive. Refuting the distorted intentions of all these, in his letter to Antioch, he says, "When some of those accustomed to pervert the truth twist my words to suit their own ideas, let not your piety be surprised at this, knowing that all heretics collect the sources of their errors from the God-inspired Scripture, corrupting what is rightly said through the Holy Spirit with their own evil thoughts and drawing the unquenchable flame upon their own heads." Thus, even now, those who falsely claim the teacher as their own draw the unquenchable flame upon themselves; but they would convince no one of sound mind, as his opinion is clearly evident from many places, that he did not consider the Son of God the cause of the Spirit's hypostasis, even if he used every means and method of argument to establish the unity of essence in the Son and Spirit against those who oppose it.

25.This was the opinion of the entire Church of Christ before the Romans added "and from the Son" to the Creed. This was also the belief of our Church afterward, by which I mean the four patriarchal sees, which did not acquiesce to the peculiar innovation of the Romans. Whenever some within her ranks would join this innovation, the Church either corrected them or cut off those who were incurable from the body of the faithful. Our fathers fought valiantly for this faith, some with words, those adorned with the gift of eloquence, and others with their blood. The Church honored these martyrs and teachers until yesterday and the day before, bearing many proofs of their holiness, and even now, those with understanding honor them and are not betrayers of their fathers. They truly deserved such honor because they were not the cause of the Church's schism (how could they be, as they adhered to and loved the ancient faith?). Instead, those who tampered with the common symbol of faith and those who upheld an unknown doctrine were the cause. Our leaders willingly died for this ancient and true doctrine, as well as the entire faith, and nothing human or temporary persuaded them to abandon this noble stance. Two or three perished to fulfill the Scripture that says, "Scandals must come," such as Kydones, Kalekas, and Bekkos before them, who tampered with the writings and thoughts of the teachers like money changers defrauding currency. Some were persecuted for other heresies and suffered this fate from a Church that had already condemned them, attempting to establish a doctrine previously despised by them. Bekkos, however, did so for the patriarchal throne, hoping, it seems, to remain perpetually in the seat. But he could not enjoy the throne throughout his life, more so the shadow of human glory, for such is the sacred throne to those who thirst for it wrongly. Yet, while alive, he deposed himself, with the laws and justice of all concurring, and Gregory most admirable restored the Church of Christ to its former glory. The books of those innovators, preserved by many in our times, misled those who could not detect their flaws. Hence, the current confusion arose, with ignorance finding an ally in external necessity and the flawed conscience of some, leading to the destruction of the long-standing Christian reputation and the false and ignorant attachment of Nestorian disgrace to our Church.

26.But may you, good Paraclete, establish us alongside those who taught and preserved this faith from those holy councils, the teachers of the faith, the holy patriarchs of our Church, the other bishops, and all our leaders, who prophetically proclaimed this glory before it appeared and advanced it with all their might once it appeared, knowing the sophistries by which some now seek to strengthen it, showing a mind and will stronger than such sophistries. Establish us with those who condemned Bekkos and his followers, not allowing us to be defeated by the sophistries or transient matters that deceive many, as we have not been defeated until now by your grace. And if we must die for the true and ancestral faith, do not permit us to be found more cowardly than our ancestors or to abandon our shields. But either keep temptations far from us and do not let us be tempted, or give us endurance and a hatred of this present life for the sake of truth and a wholly Christian mind, and restore your Church to the ancient stability of true doctrines and give her that former freedom. Do not allow her to praise and advocate your procession and hypostasis otherwise than as the Church's teachers taught, having been instructed by you. Adorn and secure her with true stability and genuine doctrine for the glory of the Father, the Son, and you, the all-holy and life-giving Spirit of the blessed Trinity, to whom all glory is due forever. Amen. †

OBJECTIONS AND RESPONSES

5. Part Five: Objections and Responses.

Objection 1

1.Some ask if, in saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son, the saints do not imply that the Son is the cause of the Spirit. If the Trinity is consubstantial, how do the Greeks say that it is the doctrine of the third council that the Son is not the cause of the Spirit, because Nestorius said that the Spirit does not have its existence through the Son, and the council approved this, as the Greeks claim? Did it not mean the cause in the phrase "through the Son"? Therefore, was not Nestorius Greek in his speech and the fathers of the council also Greeks and wise, understanding the cause in the phrase "through the Son," and thus more reliable than those who now interpret the phrase differently? Or did Nestorius mean the unity of the essence in the phrase "through the Son," as the Greeks now understand "through the Son"? And consequently, did Nestorius blaspheme even in the articles of divinity, thinking and saying that the Trinity is not consubstantial, since he denied that the Spirit has its existence through the Son according to them, and that council, accepting this doctrine of Nestorius and not refuting it, was heretical?

2.Those perplexed by these matters think they entangle us in contradiction; for they say it is a contradiction that Nestorius said the Spirit does not have its existence through the Son, and said it rightly; for he thought the Son was not the cause of the Spirit; and that in "through the Son" the Spirit is projected, the Son is not understood as the cause of the Spirit, but something else.

3.Another contradiction is that the saints rightly say the Spirit is through the Son because it is consubstantial with the Son; and that Nestorius rightly thought, saying that the Spirit does not have its existence through the Son, meaning it is not consubstantial with the Son; and if not caught in the first contradiction, the Greeks must necessarily be caught in the second by interpreting "through the Son" this way.

Response 1

1.To this, it must be said that they themselves fall into contradiction. On the one hand, they say that John of Damascus followed Nestorius's Creed, in which it is said that the Spirit does not have its existence through the Son, and on the other hand, they bring him forward against us, saying that the Father through the Word is the projector of the manifesting Spirit. If "through the Word the Spirit is projected from the Father" meant that the Son is the cause of the Spirit, then John of Damascus would not be a Nestorian, unless they say that John of Damascus did not see himself contradicting. But they have not yet dared to throw this dart at him, but preferred to say that he aligned with the Nestorian Creed. It is clear that there is no contradiction in our position.

2.Nestorius clearly meant the cause in "through the Son," just as those who favor the addition now understand it. Therefore, even if they do not agree with him on this doctrine, they agree with him on the meaning of the phrase. Just as they use it now, he used it then; and denying that the Spirit has its existence through the Son, he denied that the Son is the cause of the Spirit. To use the phrase this way, in negation, is not problematic, for there are instances where "through" signifies the cause, which our opponents now

wrongly attempt to exploit. Thus, Nestorius did not greatly err in using the phrase this way in negation. But in affirmation, it is impossible, as it remains clear that the Father alone is the cause and source of the Godhead. Therefore, if Nestorius had said in his Creed that the Holy Spirit has its existence through the Son and the council had not reproved this, not only would this have supported our opponents' position, but also their interpretation of the phrase. The council's consent would have been an irrefutable explanation of those doctrinal interpretations which say that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son.

3.But since Nestorius said in negation that the Spirit does not have its existence through the Son, meaning that the Son is not the cause of the Spirit, even if the council agreed with this doctrine of his, this does not necessarily mean they endorsed the cause being signified by "through," as our opponents claim to ensnare us in contradiction. The council did not need to correct Nestorius's phrase as long as they found him denying that the Son is the cause of the Spirit, which they believed to be true. They did not fear that Nestorius believed the Spirit was not consubstantial with the Son, as they understood "through the Son" in affirming that the Spirit proceeds through the Son to mean the unity of essence. And they did not fear this because they found him in that Creed confessing the Son as consubstantial with the Father, and the Spirit of the same essence as the Father, and necessarily consubstantial with the Son. It was impossible for him to deny the unity of essence by saying the Spirit is consubstantial with the Son while using the phrase "through the Son" affirmatively. The council fathers thus believed that he meant the cause by "through the Son," just as in "through the Son, all things are made" the phrase is understood. They believed that he understood that the Son is not the cause of the Spirit, just as we do. If we heard our opponents say suddenly, "The Spirit does not have its existence through the Son, yet it is consubstantial with the Father and the Son and co-worshipped with them," saying this in the confession of faith, we would not argue with them about the phrase in negation. However, since they affirm it now, we do not tolerate it if they take "through" causally. When they bring forward those sayings which state that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son as evidence for their case, we refute their misinterpretation of these sayings. To allow a phrase to confirm the truth and to allow it to overturn the truth is not the same now, nor would it have been then if Nestorius had affirmed what he denied.

4.If the Son were the cause of the Spirit, it could be said that the Spirit proceeds through the Son. However, if "through whom" something exists does not mean it is the cause, it is not necessary to think the Son is the cause of the Spirit because it is said to be through Him. The use of "through" in this sense has been well shown to be broad and extensive. Even if "through" does not always imply the cause, it could still be said that the Spirit does not have its existence through the Son by those who do not believe the Son to be its cause. In such a case, the Spirit would not have its existence through Him, as it is impossible otherwise, and "through" does not imply the cause. Therefore, if the council understood "through" not to mean the cause, and they believed Nestorius meant that the Son is not the cause of the Spirit, as he understood "through" causally, they would have rightly accepted his statement that the Spirit does not have its existence through the Son. They did not hear him affirm it, when it would have been necessary to scrutinize the use of the phrase, but rather denying it, when the misuse of the phrase was more consistent with the denial's purpose. If Nestorius could have expressed this more precisely, the council, acting rightly, did not worry as long as they found his intention healthy; otherwise, it would have been sophistic pettiness, not a doctrinal examination.

5.Theodore's distinction resolves this perplexity more simply, which Cyril did not at all challenge. The Spirit being proper to the Son and proceeding through the Son, and what Cyril dared to say more boldly, "if he wishes to maintain the consubstantiality, guarding the cause of the Spirit to the Father, is well said. But if he wishes to assert these things as from the Son or through the Son having its existence, they must be rejected as blasphemous." It seems that Theodore, Cyril, Nestorius, and the council had a common opinion that the Son could never be the cause of the Spirit. As for the expressions Cyril used, which could indicate either the unity of essence or the cause of existence, they debated with Cyril how he used these expressions. Those around Theodore bothered Cyril more minutely; for the latter's intention was clear if they wanted to understand his expressions better. The council, acting appropriately, did not bother Nestorius on what needed to be rightly understood; it was enough for them to see in his confession that he believed the Spirit to be consubstantial with the Son. Hence, they took his expression to apply to secondary matters.

6.Therefore, it is evident that calling the Spirit proper to the Son and saying it proceeds or is sent through the Son could indicate either the unity of essence or the cause, depending on the context. Those who argue from "proceeds through the Son" and "called the Spirit of the Son" do not argue entirely irrationally. However, the Church, with strong and noble proofs at the third council, showed that these expressions are understood as indicating the unity of essence and allowed them to be taken as such; but not at all as indicating the cause, that is, not as meaning it has its existence through the Son or from the Son. The phrase "has its existence through the Son" was not understood as capable of indicating both meanings but was clearly understood to mean that the Son is the cause of the Spirit. Therefore, some deny this clearly, others agree and do not contradict. No teachers, either before or after those struggles, ever said the Spirit has its existence through the Son, or is constituted through the Son, or has its being through the Son, or anything similar, at least as far as we know.

Objection 2

1.They ask further: If the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, as the Greeks say, how do they also believe that it proceeds from the Father through the Son? They seem to contradict themselves.

Response 2

1.To this, it must be said that these statements would indeed be contradictory if by saying that the Spirit proceeds through the Son, we understood the Son to be the cause of the Spirit. However, since the teachers, when saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father according to the Savior's voice, add "through the Son," showing that we must consider the Son of God also in the procession of the Spirit, just as in all other matters, both to maintain the proper distinction of the persons and the unity of essence. Therefore, it benefits both doctrines to place the name of the Son in the discourse with that phrase, which fits the established order of the divine persons. Given this, there is no contradiction in saying that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and through the Son, meaning the Father alone is the cause of the Spirit. It would only be contradictory if "through the Son" were understood to truly separate the Son from the Father and the Spirit from the Son in such a procession. But none of us say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone in

this way; for in no matter, whether internal or external, are the divine persons apart from each other, but they are understood to be united and in each other, according to the doctrines of faith.

2.To make the statement clearer, we say that the Son of God is alone, and this is true; for He alone is the Son among the divine persons, and for this reason He is called the only-begotten. Again, we say that He is not alone; for He is always with the Father and the Spirit. The Son of God Himself says about Himself: "The hour is coming, indeed it has come, when you will be scattered, each to his own home, and will leave me alone; yet I am not alone because the Father is with me." Therefore, even here, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, and yet not alone, but through the Son. It proceeds from the Father alone, because the Son is not its cause, but the Father alone is rightly attributed as the cause concerning the Holy Spirit and the entire divinity. It proceeds through the Son and not from the Father alone because the Father is not alone in projecting the Spirit, even if He alone is the projector; but He has the Son with Him. For the Son is one with Him by nature, both when He is conceived as begetting and when He is conceived as projecting. The Son is always with Him, and He always begets the Son and always projects the Holy Spirit. Therefore, even if the Father alone projects the Spirit or constitutes it in subsistence, He is not alone in projecting it; for the Son is not separated from Him in projecting the Spirit. Thus, if it seems difficult for some to so easily declare that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone because such a statement may harbor a suspicion that the Son might appear separated from the Father and the Spirit in such a procession, those who are pious feel a certain fear. No one professing that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, for the sake of the unity of essence and the inseparable connection of the divine persons, will then as if in regret consider the Father alone and somehow separated from the Son in projecting the Holy Spirit. But in saying that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, they define the projecting activity to the hypostasis of the Father, for the Father alone is the projector, just as He alone is the begetter, yet when begetting the Son, He is with the Spirit, and in projecting the Spirit, He is not separated from the Son.

3.If they consider it necessary to avoid saying that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone because it also proceeds from the Son and because the Son is its cause, and a contradiction would result if someone holds both beliefs, then these are clearly contradictory, and therefore incompatible with our belief. We do not consider the Son to be the cause of the Spirit. Those who differ from us on this matter contradict themselves; for they hold that the Son is the cause of the Spirit and, conversely, what agrees with the teaching that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, as taught by the teachers, they must also believe. Therefore, they contradict themselves or oppose the teachers of the faith. Our position is entirely consistent and sound.

4.Just as we say that God the Father was not united in hypostasis with humanity, even though He was with the Son, as He says Himself, but only the Word of God was incarnate, so the Son of God does not share in the personal action of the Father, even though He is inseparably with Him by nature and in Him. Only the Father is the cause of the Spirit, to whom alone it belongs to be the source and beginning of divinity. Just as in that case, the Son being alone and not alone are not contradictory or mutually exclusive when understood as stated, so too there is no contradiction in saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and from the Father through the Son. For the Spirit proceeding from the Father alone signifies that the Father is its cause and not the Son; and the Spirit proceeding through the Son from the Father signifies nothing other than that it is in the Son and not apart from the Son, and that the Son is conceived

together with the projecting Father and the proceeding Spirit, and all else pious minds attribute to this phrase, agreeing with the teachers' thoughts.

The End

THIRD TREATISE ON THE PROCESSION OF THE SPIRIT

III. Third Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (after 1446).

† EXPOSITION OF THE HEALTHY AND ORTHODOX FAITH OF LORD GEORGE SCHOLARIUS, WHO LATER BECAME PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AS IN THE FORM OF A CONFESSION.

1.Part One: George Scholarius, the most humble creature of God, for the eternal information of those who come across this text.

1.Since it is difficult for some to comprehend what has been written about the Holy Spirit and its procession from God the Father, due to a lack of experience or due to laziness in examining the multitude of useful things found within, especially in the second part, it is likely that some who encounter these writings, either out of ignorance or driven by other passions, may misinterpret and criticize many things said within, as being in opposition to each other, or even against the teachings of the ancient teachers.[1] This has been dared by many in the past and even now. Since I am not being slandered directly, I cannot confront these false accusations, but I can show that in all things I have played the same note of truth and have not contradicted myself anywhere, gathering the meaning, as much as possible, into one summary of those many words. Additionally, from the discussions I have had, either written or unwritten, I provide the briefest proof of my opinion and belief, as if a confession of my faith, which I have received in accordance with the definitions and words of the Fathers, enlightened by the grace of God, and which I will hold until my last breath, for the benefit of those who share the same beliefs and those who are of a different mind. And whether a council is held or not, whether it consists only of those who agree with us, as we seek to examine and correct those who disagree with us if they wish, and to gather the children of our mother church, or whether it also includes those of different beliefs, as some desire, for the confirmation and strengthening of the true and ancestral doctrine against the hastily agreed upon in Florence, whether from both sides or in any way; whether I am present alive, or have passed away, or am not present while alive; and whatever may be concluded, whether it supports our ancestral belief or another ancestral belief, I give to God and the angels, and to all the saints, this confession of my faith as follows:

2.Presupposing the Creed of Faith in Constantinople, or rather that in Nicaea, and the determinations concerning it in the third council, that nothing should be added to it, nor anything should be taken away from it, either in meaning or in word, which determinations were repeated by the other ecumenical councils and were preserved in practice. And presupposing the conclusions of all the ecumenical councils, to which I subscribe as divine decisions with reverence; and also presupposing the last councils of Constantinople, the great and catholic council against Beccus, consisting of all the Orthodox councils, and what it defines and

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[1] Του Κυρίλλου. Όταν δέ τινες τῶν τὰ ὀρθὰ διαστρέφειν εἰωθότων τὰς ἐμὰς παρατρέπωσι φωνὰς εἰς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτὰς, μὴ θαυμαζέτω τοῦτο ἡ σὴ ἐσιότης, εἰδυῖα ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ πάσης αἱρέσεως ἐκ τῆς θεοπνεύστου Γραφῆς τὰς τῆς ἑαυτῶν πλάνης συλλέγουσιν ἀφορμάς, τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὀρθῶς εἰρημένα ταῖς ἑαυτῶν κακονοίαις παραφθείροντες καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις κεφαλαῖς τὴν ἄσβεστον ἐπαντλοῦντες φλόγα". P. G., 77, 181 B.
[By Cyril. When some, accustomed to twisting the right doctrines, pervert my words to suit their own views, let not your silence be astonished at this, knowing that those from every heresy gather the bases for their errors from the divinely inspired Scriptures, corrupting what was rightly said by the Holy Spirit with their own evil thoughts and drawing the unquenchable flame upon their own heads. P.G., 77, 181 B.]

declares, and the council against Barlaam and Akindynos, whose decisions of these councils I accept with all my soul and intention. Furthermore, presupposing all that the catholic Church of Constantinople holds, and what the whole Church previously held concerning the holy mysteries of the Church, through which the life hidden in Christ of those who rightly believe is perfected with love. Concerning the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit, about which we have disputed with the Latins for almost five hundred years, so I believe and so I confess that God the Father, as He brings forth His Word into a distinct hypostasis, likewise brings forth His all-holy Spirit into a distinct hypostasis[2], which both proceed naturally from Him and in immediate succession, the Son being generated, and the Spirit proceeding in another manner, unspeakable and incomprehensible to us[3], indicated by the term "proceeds" by the Truth[4], both being referred to the Father as the sole cause, in the unity of essence[5]. Not as with humans, in whom all have their being not from the same person in immediate succession, and therefore they are many, both the caused and the causes[6].

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[2] Τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου ἐν τῇ ἐξηγήσει τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου · Οτιπερ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ κινηθεῖς ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀγαπητικῶς, προήλθεν εἰς διά-κρισιν ὑποστάσεων ἀμερίστως καὶ ἀμειώτως, μένας ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἁπλότητι ὑπερηνωμένος καὶ ὑπερηπλωμένος, τοῦ οἰκείου ἀπαυγάσματος εἰς ὕπαρξιν προελθόντος, ὡς εἰκόνος ζώσης καὶ τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος προσκυνητῶς καὶ ὑπεραεννάως ἐκπορευομένου ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, ὡς μυσταγωγεῖ ὁ Κύριος". P. G., 4, 221 A.
[From Saint Maximus in the explanation of Saint Dionysius: "Because God and Father, being moved timelessly and lovingly, proceeded into the distinction of hypostases without division and diminution, remaining in His own simplicity, being raised and extended above Himself, His own radiance having come into existence, as a living image, and the all-holy Spirit worshipfully and super-abundantly proceeding from the Father, as the Lord initiates." P.G., 4, 221 A.]

[3] Ιουστίνος · Ὡς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, πλήν γε δὲ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ὑπάρξεως". P. Θ., 6, 1224 A. Ἡ ἕκτη σύνοδος · Αἱρετικῶν ἐστιν ἴδιον, τὸν τρόπον περιεργάζεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν τῶν προόδων τοῦ Γοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος". Ο Δαμασκηνός · «Ὅτι μέν ἐστι διαφορά γεννήσεως καὶ ἐκπορεύσεως, μεμαθήκαμεν · τις δὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς διαφορᾶς, οὐδαμῶς". P. G., 94, 824 A. Ὁ αὐτὸς · Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γεννητῶς λέγομεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκπορευτῶς, ἄλλος τρόπος ὑπάρξεως οὗτος ἄρρητος καὶ ἀνέκφρατος". P. G., 94, 816 C. Αὐγουστίνος ἐν εἰκοστῷ ἑβδόμῳ τοῦ ἴεου · Ἐν τῇ Τριάδι χαλεπώ-τατόν ἐστι τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος διακρίνειν ἢ διαστέλλειν". P. I., 42, 1095 B.
[Justin: "As the Son is from the Father, so also the Spirit is from the Father, except only in the manner of existence." P.G., 6, 1224 A. Sixth council: "It is characteristic of heretics to investigate and seek the manner of the processions of the Son and the Spirit." Damascenus: "That there is a difference between generation and procession, we have learned; but the manner of the difference, not at all." P.G., 94, 824 A. He also: "For although we also say that the Spirit is from the Father, yet not begotten, but proceeding, another manner of existence, unspeakable and inexpressible." P.G., 94, 816 C. Augustine in the twenty-seventh of his work: "In the Trinity, it is most difficult to discern or distinguish the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit." P.I., 42, 1095 B.]

[4] Κατὰ Ἰωάννην · Ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος, ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ἢ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, ἐκεῖνος μαρτυρήσει περὶ ἐμοῦ". Iohan. 15, 26.
[According to John: "But when the Paraclete comes, whom I shall send to you from the Father, the Spirit of Truth, who proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness about me." John 15:26.]

[5] Γρηγορίου του Θεολόγου «Φύσις δὲ τοῖς τρισὶ μία, < θεός > ἕνωσις δὲ ὁ Πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ πρὸς ἃν ἀνάγονται τὰ ἐξῆς, οὐχ ὡς συναλείφεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἔχεσθαι". P. G., 36, 476 B.
[Gregory the Theologian: "The nature is one for the three, the union is the Father, from whom and to whom the following are referred, not as being fused together, but as being connected." P.G., 36, 476 B.]

[6] Γρηγορίου Νύσσης · Τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πρόσωπα πάντα οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσώπου κατὰ τὸ προσεχές ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τούτου, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα εἶναι πρὸς τοῖς αἰτιατοῖς καὶ τὰ αἴτια · ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος οὐχ οὕτως · ἓν γὰρ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸπρόσωπον τοῦ Πατρός, ἐξ οὗπερ ὁ Υἱὸς γεννᾶται καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται · διὸ καὶ κυρίως τὸν ἕνα αἴτιον μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ αἰτιατῶν ἕνα Θεὸν φαμεν τεθαρρηκότως". P. Θ., 45, 180 C.
[Gregory of Nyssa: "All human persons do not have their being from the same person in immediate succession, but some from one, some from another, being many and diverse in both the caused and the causes; but not so with the Holy Trinity. For the same person of the Father, from whom the Son is begotten, and the Holy Spirit proceeds; therefore, we confidently say one God with His causes." P.G., 45, 180 C.]

THIRD TREATISE ON THE PROCESSION OF THE SPIRIT

3.Concerning the divine Word, now it is not the purpose, but rather concerning the all-holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit proceeds, or rather exists, from the paternal hypostasis[7], which is like the original light[8], from which the cause of being and the hypostasis of both the coeternal and consubstantial lights, namely the Son and the Holy Spirit, is derived due to the manifestation of the superessential fecundity[9]. The paternal hypostasis is unbegotten and uncaused, existing in the same unity of essence, supernaturally and beyond reason, of its Word and Spirit, as the root and as the source[10], and as the originating and God-bearing divinity[11], and as the Father of lights[12], because these things belong solely to the Father, neither to the Son nor to the Spirit. Thus, we believe that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone by cause and by hypostasis,

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[7] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Πνεῦμα τὸ τῆς πατρικῆς ἐκπορευόμενον ὑποστάσεως". Μαξίμου ἐν τῇ Ὀρθοδόξου καὶ Μανιχαίου διαλέξει · «Τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἐκπορεύεται τοῦ Πατρός". P. G., 28, 1208 D.
[From the same author: "The Spirit proceeds from the paternal hypostasis." Maximus in the dialogue of the Orthodox and the Manichean: "The Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father." P.G., 28, 1208 D.]

[8] Τοῦ Νύσσης · Ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχον τοῦ εἶναι, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ μονογενὲς ἐστι φῶς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτὸς ἐκλάμψαν". P. Θ., 45, 336 BC., Καὶ αὖθις · «Δι' αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐκλάμπον, τὴν δὲ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αἰτίαν ἔχον ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου φωτός". P. Θ., 45, 416 B., Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὰ τοῦ Νύσσης τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοφυλάκτου Βουλγαρίας · Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκπορεύεσθαι τρόπος ἐστί, καθ' ὃν ἔχει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ ἰδιότης αὐτοῦ γινώσκεται · τὸ δὲ πέμπεσθαι καὶ χορηγεῖσθαι καὶ μεταδίδοσθαι οὐ τοῦ πῶς ἐστι τὸ Πνεῦμα δηλωτικά, ἀλλὰ πλουτισμός τις ἐν τούτοις δηλοῦται καὶ οἷον χύσις τῆς ἀγαθότητος, τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μὲν ἐχούσης τὸ εἶναι, παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἀξίους ἐκχεομένης, οἷς καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ πεφηνέναι λέγεται. Ὅτι δὲ τοῖς τὸν λόγον δεξαμένοις ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἀλογίστοις τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐμφαίνεται, καὶ ὅτι τὴν τούτου θεότητα, μὴ πρότερόν τινι γνωσθεῖσαν τρανῶς, διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ με μαθήκαμεν, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ἑαυτῷ τοῦτο συντεταχότος ἐν τῷ θεοποιοῦντι βαπτίσματι Παυσώμεθα τοίνυν εἰς ταὐτὸν ἄγοντες τὰ ἀσύμβατα, μετάδοσιν καὶ ἐκπόρευσιν, καὶ συγκλώθοντες τὰ ἀσύγκλωστα". P. G., 126, 228 BCD.
[Gregory of Nyssa: "From the God of all things and it has the cause of being, from which also the only-begotten is the light, and through the true light it shines." P.G., 45, 336 BC. And again: "Through him it shines, and the cause of the hypostasis is from the original light." P.G., 45, 416 B. Explanation on the words of the blessed Theophylact of Bulgaria: "The proceeding is the manner by which the Spirit has its being from the Father, which is also recognized as its property; but being sent, granted, and communicated does not indicate how the Spirit is, but a certain enrichment and as a pouring out of goodness, which has its being from the Father, and is poured out through the Son to the worthy, to whom it is said to be manifested through the Son. That the Spirit is manifested to those who have received reason, and not to the irrational, and that its divinity, not previously known to anyone clearly, we have learned through the Son, the Father and Himself being united in the deifying baptism. Let us then cease leading the incompatible things to the same, transmission and procession, and entangling the things that are not entangled." P.G., 126, 228 BCD.]

[9] Διονυσίου · Ὡς τριάδα δέ, διὰ τὴν – τρισυπόστατον > τῆς ὑπερ-ουσίου γονιμότητος ἔκφανσιν", ὅπου φησὶν ὁ Μάξιμος · Γονιμότητά φησι τὴν πατρικὴν ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν πρόοδον εἰς ἔκφανσιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος". P. G., 3, 592 A.
[Dionysius: "As a Trinity, for the manifestation of the superessential fecundity, which Maximus says: 'He calls the paternal fecundity the supra-essential procession into the manifestation of the Son and the Holy Spirit.'" P.G., 3, 592 A.]

[10] Βασιλείου κατ' Εὐνομίου · Ὡς Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πεφηνὸς, αἴτιον αὐτὸν ἔχον ὡς πηγὴν ἑαυτοῦ κακεῖθεν πηγάζον · πηγὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τῶν προειρημένων ἀγαθῶν". P. Θ., 29, 772 C. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · «Ἔστι γὰρ ὁ Πατὴρ τέλειον ἔχων τὸ εἶναι καὶ ἀνενδεές, ῥίζα καὶ πηγὴ τοῦ Γοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος". P. G., 31, 609 B, et 28, 116 B.
[Basil against Eunomius: "As the Spirit of God, and from him revealed, having him as the cause like a source, springing from him; and also the source of the previously mentioned goods." P.G., 29, 772 C. From the same author: "For the Father having perfect being and without need, the root and source of the Son and the Holy Spirit." P.G., 31, 609 B, and 28, 116 B.]

[11] Διονυσίου · «Ὅτι μὲν ἐστι πηγαία θεότης ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς θεογόνου θεότητος, εἰ οὕτω χρὴ φάναι, βλαστοὶ θεό φυτοι καὶ οἷον ἄνθη καὶ ὑπερούσια φῶτα". P. G., 3, 645 B.
[Dionysius: "That the Father is the originating divinity, and the Son and the Spirit are, if we must say so, divine plants and like flowers and superessential lights." P.G., 3, 645 B.]

[12] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Ἐκ τοῦ ἄλλου καὶ ἀμεροῦς ἀγαθοῦ τὰ ἐγκάρδια τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἐξέφυ φῶτα". P. G., 3, 1033 A.
[From the same author: "From the other and partless good sprang forth the innermost lights of goodness." P.G., 3, 1033 A.]

as all those who say that the Spirit proceeds and exists from the Father as the cause and source[13], and not at all from the Son, as we have known from the saints. None of those known in the Church, whose books we possess and whose voices we heed, have hidden this from us.

4.It is indeed sometimes said that the Spirit proceeds from the Son[14]; but it is chiefly believed to proceed from the Father[15], because it is said to proceed from the Father, that is, to exist from Him[16] and to receive its being. For by this term, the existence of the Spirit is distinctly marked, according to the tradition in the Gospels. It is also said to proceed from the Son and from both, that is, from the Father through the Son, just

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[13] Κυρίλλου · «Εἰ γνώρισμα τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑποστάσεως ἡ καρ πογονία εἴτουν θεογονία φυσικὴ τις ἐστὶ πάντως ἰδιότης αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὕστερον ἐπιγέγονε., Διονυσίου · «Μόνη δὲ πηγὴ τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεότητος ὁ Πατήρ, οὐκ ὄντος Υἱοῦ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐδὲ Πατρὸς τοῦ Υἱοῦ, φυλαττόντων δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα τῶν ὕμνων εὐαγῶς ἑκάστη τῶν θεαρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων". P. G., 3, 641 D., Αθανασίου · «Χωριζόμεθα δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαΐζόντων καὶ τὸν χρισ τιανισμὸν ἐν Ἰουδαϊσμῷ παραφθειρόντων, οἱ τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Θεὸν ἀρνούμενοι Θεὸν ἕνα παραπλησίως Ἰουδαίοις λέγουσιν, οὐχ ὅτι μόνος ἀγέννητος καὶ μόνος πηγὴ θεότητος ὁ Πατήρ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄγονον Γιοῦ καὶ ἄκαρπον ζῶντος λόγου". P. Θ., 28, 97 BC., Διονυσίου · π'Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὴν κυρείαν ἔχει τῶν ὅλων ἡ ὅλη θεότης, περὶ μὲν τῆς θεογόνου θεότητος ἢ τῆς υἱϊκῆς οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν ἔστιν, οἶμαι". P. G., 3, 637 B. – Ὅρα οὖν ὅτι τῷ διαζευκτικῷ οὐ βούλεται τῷ Υἱῷ προσείναι ὅλως τὸ θεογόνον., Δαμασκηνοῦ · «Ὅσα ἁρμόζει πηγῇ, αἰτίῳ γεννήτορι, τῷ Πατρὶ μόνῳ προσαρμοστέα". P. G., 94, 849 A., Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγομεν καὶ Πνεῦμα Πατρὸς ὀνομάζομεν · ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα οὐ λέγομεν". P. Θ., 94, 832 B.
[Cyril: "If the begetting or rather the divine generation is a natural property of the paternal hypostasis, and it is certainly a property of his and not added later." Dionysius: "The only source of the superessential divinity is the Father, there being no Son of the Father nor Father of the Son, preserving each their own hymns reverently in each of the thearchic hypostases." P.G., 3, 641 D. Athanasius: "We are separated also from those Judaizing and corrupting Christianity in Judaism, who, denying the God from God, say one God similarly to the Jews, not because only the Father is unbegotten and the only source of divinity, but as barren of the Son and fruitless of the living Word." P.G., 28, 97 BC. Dionysius: "And that the whole divinity has authority over all, about the divine-generating divinity or the filial it is not even possible to say, I think." P.G., 3, 637 B. - Therefore, observe that the generative property is not assigned to the Son at all. Damascenus: "Whatever belongs to the source, the cause, the generator, must be applied to the Father alone." P.G., 94, 849 A. From the same author: "We say that the Holy Spirit is from the Father, and we call it the Spirit of the Father; but we do not say the Spirit is from the Son." P.G., 94, 832 B.]

[14] Κυρίλλου. Ὅτε τοίνυν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν ἡμῖν γενόμενον συμμόρφους ἡμᾶς ἀποδεικνύει Θεοῦ, πρὸεισι δὲ ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, εὐ-δηλον ὅτι τῆς θείας οὐσίας ἐστίν, οὐσιωδῶς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς προϊὸν". P. G., 75, 585 A.
[Cyril. "When, therefore, the Holy Spirit being in us shows us to be conformed to God, it proceeds from the Father and the Son, it is evident that it is of the divine essence, essentially in it and from it proceeding." P.G., 75, 585 A.]

[15] Αὐγουστίνου · Ὁ Γἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγέννηται καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς κυρίως πρόειsιν". P. L., 42, 770 et 1081.
[Augustine: "The Son is begotten of the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds chiefly from the Father." P.L., 42, 770 et 1081.]

[16] Βασιλείου · «Τοῦτο γνωριστικὸν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἰδιότητος σημεῖον ἔχει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γνωρίζε σθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑφεστάναι". P. G., 32, 549 C.
[Basil: "This is the distinctive mark of the hypostatic property, which the Holy Spirit has, to be known after the Son and with Him and to exist from the Father." P.G., 32, 549 C.]

as it is sent, granted, given, breathed, and poured out[17], but into the hypostasis and form of creation [18], not into its own hypostasis, meaning one thing by this and another by that[19]. For the Holy Spirit gives itself in the process and manifestation understood by those words, and it breathes itself, sends, and grants[20], but in the eternal procession, it does not proceed from itself, for it does not even establish itself. In the eternal process, it receives, and in the temporal mission, it gives; and in the former case freely, in the latter case for a cause [21]

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[17] Κυρίλλου ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπίσεως. «Ἀναληφ-θεὶς τοίνυν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ἐχέγγυον τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰρήνης προσαγαγὼν τῷ Πατρί, πέμπει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος". P. Θ., 75, 1473 C., Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Τίνι γὰρ ἂν πρέποι τὸ χορηγεῖν δύνασθαι τὴν τοῦ Πνεύ ματος χάριν, πλὴν ὅτι τῷ φύσει τε καὶ ἀληθῶς ὄντι Θεῷ"; P. G., 76, 1316 A. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ · «Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀρρήτως ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, δι' Υἱοῦ δὲ χορηγεῖται τῇ κτίσει". P. G., 76, 556 C., Βασιλείου ἐν τῷ τέλει τῶν Ἀντιρρητικῶν · Τις δὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς χορηγίας τοῦ εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα ἔν τε τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον, σκοπείτω διάνοια, ἀξία τοῦ ζητεῖν γενομένη καὶ νοείτω τὰ πάντα πληρού μενα καὶ πάντοθεν εἰς αὐτὰ ἐστὼς τὸ Πνεῦμα, οἷον εἰσρέον καὶ εἰσχυθὲν καὶ πάντοθεν εἰσιὸν καὶ εἰσλάμπον", καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. P. G., 29, 769 AB., Κυρίλλου. Ὅτι δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς φαίνεται Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς πέμπειν ἤτοι διανέμειν ἐπαγγελομένου τοῖς ἁγίοις, αὐτὸ διαδίδωσι πάλιν ὡς ἴδιον ὁ Υἱὸς διὰ τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς οὐσίας, ἧς ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα". P. G., 74, 541 A. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · «Ἐπηγγείλατο μὲν γὰρ καταπέμψειν ἡμῖν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸν Παράκλητον, ὅταν ἄνω γένηται παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί, ὁ δὴ καὶ πέπραχεν ἀποδημήσας πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ δαψιλεστάτην τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐλεῖν τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἔκχυσιν ἐπιδούς". P. G., 74, 713 BC.
[Cyril in the discourse on the Incarnation of the Lord: "Having ascended to the heavens, the Lord Christ, as it were, presenting Himself as a pledge of the peace of men to the Father, sends the grace of the Spirit to men." P.G., 75, 1473 C. From the same author: "For who else would it be fitting to grant the grace of the Spirit, except He who is by nature and truly God?" P.G., 76, 1316 A. From the same author against Julian: "The Holy Spirit ineffably proceeds from the Father, but it is granted to creation through the Son." P.G., 76, 556 C. Basil in the end of the Refutations: "Let the mind, worthy of seeking, consider the manner of the grant of the being of the Spirit in all and in each, and let it think that the Spirit fills everything and stands in it from every side, as if it flows in and is received and enters and shines from every side," and so forth. P.G., 29, 769 AB. Cyril: "That the Spirit of the Father appears to be the Spirit of the Son, and the Father promises to send or distribute it to the saints, the Son again grants it as His own through the identity of essence, which He has with the Father." P.G., 74, 541 A. From the same author: "For He promised to send us the Paraclete from heaven when He should be with God and the Father, which indeed He accomplished, having gone to the Father, and granted the most abundant outpouring of the Spirit to those willing to receive it." P.G., 74, 713 BC.]

[18] Βασίλειος ἐν τετάρτῳ τῶν πρὸς Εὐνόμιον · Ο Υἱός, Θεοῦ καρ πός, ἅγιος ἐξ ἁγίου, ἀίδιος ἐξ ἀϊδίου, Πνεύματος ἁγίου χορηγὸς εἰς ὑπό-στασιν καὶ μόρφωσιν κτίσεως. PP. G., 29, 736 D.
[Basil in the fourth to Eunomius: "The Son, the fruit of God, holy from holy, eternal from eternal, the giver of the Holy Spirit into the hypostasis and form of creation." P.G., 29, 736 D.]

[19] Αὐγουστίνου · Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ θείου προσώπου ἀποστολὴ νοεῖται κατά τι ἐν τῇ κτίσει ἀποτέλεσμα, ὅπερ ἀφ' ὅλης ἐστὶ τῆς Τριάδος, ἐν τῇ ἀποστολῇ οὐκ αἰτία τοῦ πέμποντος νοείται πρὸς τὸ πεμπόμενον πρόσωπον, ἀλλ' ἡ πρὸς τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα αἰτία, καθ' ὁ ἀποτέλεσμα τὸ πρόσωπον λέγεται ἀποστέλλεσθαι".
[Augustine: "Since the mission of the divine person is understood as a result in the creation, which is from the whole Trinity, in the mission, the cause of the sender is not considered towards the sent person, but the cause towards the result, as the person is said to be sent as a result."]

[20] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν δεκάτῳ ἐννάτῳ τοῦ δεκάτου πέμπτου περὶ Τριάδος · Οὕτω γὰρ δίδεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὥσπερ τοῦ Θεοῦ δῶρον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ διδόναι ὥσπερ Θεός". P. I., 42, 1086 A. Ἀποστόλου · «Τὸ Πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ". Ioh. 3, 8.
[From the same author in the nineteenth book of the fifteenth on the Trinity: "For the Holy Spirit is given as the gift of God, and it also gives itself as God." P.I., 42, 1086 A. Apostle: "The Spirit blows where it wills." John 3:8.]

[21] Κυρίλλου ἐν τρίτῳ τῶν Θησαυρῶν · Εἰ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐ διὰ τι λέγεται (ἔστι γὰρ δι' οὐδέν), ἡ δὲ ἀγέννητος φωνή, διὰ τὸ πάν των αὐτὸν εἶναι κρεῖττω καὶ ὑπερέχειν, οὐκ ἔσται ἄρα ταὐτὸν ἡ μὴ διά τι λεγομένη τῷ δι' αἰτίαν λεγομένῳ". P. O., 75, 33 B.
[Cyril in the third of the Treasures: "If the essence of God is not said to be for anything (for it is not for anything), and the unbegotten voice, because it is superior and above all, will not be the same as the one said to be for a cause." P.O., 75, 33 B.]

and in the former case into itself, in the latter case into and within us[22]. Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father[23], that is, it exists. But from both and through both, it proceeds temporally[24], that is, it is poured out, granted, given, and partaken of; not partaking of itself alone, but through itself by spiritual grace, along with it, evidently, both the Son and the Father are partaken of[25], as human nature allows, that is, into the attainable communion of the whole divinity[26], through its common grace that lifts us up and enlightens us.

5.Therefore, proceeding, that is, existing, from the Father, it is also said to be manifested through the Son, with the term "manifested" being understood in two ways by us and by those who said it; first and foremost, it is known through the Son, that is, with the Son being known, it is known. For the property of the divine person, which the name indicates, distinguishes it from another divine person[27]; and by

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[22] Βασιλείου ἐν ἔκτῳ πρὸς Ἀμφιλόχιον · «Ἡ παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις οἰκοῦντος ἐν τοῖς ἀξίοις καὶ ἐνεργοῦντος τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς ἐνυπάρχειν τοὺς δεκτικοῖς αὐτοῦ λέγεται · ἡ δὲ προαιώνιος ὕπαρξις καὶ ἄπαυστος διαμονὴ μετὰ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς θεωρουμένη τὰς τῆς ἀϊδίου συναφείας προσηγορίας ἐπιζητεί". P. G., 32, 184 B., Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα · Ὥστε ὅταν μὲν τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐννοῶμεν, μετὰ Πατρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ Υἱοῦ ἀριθμοῦμεν · ὅταν δὲ τὴν εἰς τοὺς μετόχους ἐνεργουμένην χάριν ἐνθυμηθῶμεν, ἐν ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγομεν". P. G., 32, 184 C.
[Basil in the sixth to Amphilochius: "The grace from the Spirit dwelling in the worthy and effectively working its own is said to be in those receiving it; the eternal existence and unceasing abiding with the Son and the Father seeking the names of eternal connections." P.G., 32, 184 B. And a little later: "So when we consider the worth of the Spirit, we number it with the Father and the Son; when we consider the grace working in the participants, we say the Spirit is in us." P.G., 32, 184 C.]

[23] Αὐγουστίνου · «Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς πρόεισιν ἀϊδίως".
[Augustine: "We believe in the Holy Spirit, who proceeds eternally from the Father."]

[24] Τοῦ Θωμᾶ · „Ἡ ἀποστολὴ καὶ ἡ δόσις ἐν τοῖς θείοις χρονικῶς μόνον λέγονται, ἡ δὲ γέννησις καὶ ἡ προβολή, μόνον ἀϊδίως · ἡ δὲ πρόοδος καὶ ἡ ἔξοδος καὶ ἀϊδίως καὶ χρονικὼς λέγονται". I. P., qu. 43, a. 2., Κυρίλλου ἐν τῷ προσφωνητικῷ, ὅπου ἐξηγεῖται τὸ ἀναστῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν δυνάμει Πατρὸς · «Πρόεισι δὲ δι' ἀμφοῖν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ « ζωοποιοῦν". P. G., 76, 1408 B., Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην, ὅπου ἐξηγεῖται τὸ Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος" · «Πάντα δι' ἀμφοῖν ἐν Πνεύματι ὡς ἐκ μιᾶς θεότητος ἐπιτελεσθήσεται". P. Θ., 74, 336.
[From Thomas: "The mission and the gift in the divine are said only temporally, but the generation and the projection only eternally; the procession and the exit are said both eternally and temporally." I.P., qu. 43, a. 2. Cyril in the Homily, where he explains the resurrection of Christ by the power of the Father: "And the Spirit of life proceeds through both." P.G., 76, 1408 B. From the same author in John, where he explains "I am the vine": "All things are perfected through both in the Spirit as from one divinity." P.G., 74, 336.]

[25] Κυρίλλου ἐν δεκάτῳ τρίτῳ τῶν Θησαυρῶν · «Μετοχὴ δὲ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ ἐν Πνεύματι κυρίως τε καὶ πρεπόντως ἂν γένοιτο, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἡλίου μετέχομεν διὰ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τικτομένης αὐγῆς, οὐ δίχα θερμότητος, ἢ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνεργείας εἰκόνα φέρει". P. G., 75, 228-29.
[Cyril in the thirteenth of the Treasures: "Participation of the Father through the Son in the Spirit would be proper and fitting, just as we partake of the sun through the light that comes from it, not without warmth, or bearing the image of the activity of the Spirit." P.G., 75, 228-29.]

[26] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν τριακοστῷ τρίτῳ · Οὐκοῦν εἰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον υἱοὺς ἀποδεικνύει Θεοῦ τοὺς ἐν οἷς κατοικεῖ καὶ θείας ἐργάζεται φύσεως κοινωνούς, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς ἡνωμένους < ὄντας > τῷ ὑπὲρ πάντα ὄντι Θεῷ μετὰ παρρησίας ἀναβοᾶν · Ἄββα ὁ Πατήρ, οὐκ ἐν δούλοις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι τετάξεται", καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. P. G., 75, 569 B.
[From the same author in the thirty-third: "Therefore, if the Holy Spirit makes those in whom it dwells sons of God and works them as partakers of the divine nature, thus united with the God above all, with boldness they cry out: 'Abba, Father,' it will not be placed among slaves or creatures," and so forth. P.G., 75, 569 B.]

[27] Τοῦ Νύσσης Γρηγορίου πρὸς Εὐνόμιον · «Ἡ ἐπιθεωρουμένη ἑκάστῃ τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἰδιότης τρανῶς καὶ καθαρῶς τὸ ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου διίστησιν". P. Θ., 45, 336 B. Βασιλείου ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν πρὸς Εὐνόμιον · „Αὕτη γὰρ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων ἡ φύσις ἐν τῇ τῆς οὐσίας ταὐτότητι δεικνύναι τὴν ἑτερότητα, καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν πρὸς ἄλληλα ἀντιδιαιρούμενα πολλάκις τὰ ἰδιώματα πρὸς τουναντίον μεθίστασθαι, τὴν γε μὴν ἑνότητα τῆς οὐσίας μὴ διασπᾶν". P. Θ., 29, 637 C.
[From Gregory of Nyssa against Eunomius: "The property attributed to each of the hypostases clearly and distinctly separates one from another." P.G., 45, 336 B. Basil in the second against Eunomius: "For this nature of the properties shows the distinction in the unity of essence, and the properties themselves often being opposed to each other, they remain in unity of essence without division." P.G., 29, 637 C.]

distinguishing, it makes both it and that from which it is distinguished clear[28] in its operation, like a light[29], enlightening and guiding our natural darkness of mind towards the understanding of the divine hypostases given to us by revelation. Thus, the hypostasis of the Son, recognized by the property of being named in relation to the Father, presents more clearly to us the property of the Spirit, which is distinguished by the only-begotten Son. Just as the pre-eminence and pre-expression of the Son in the Word gives us a clearer understanding of the Spirit, so too does our knowledge and belief that it proceeds from the Father in a different manner and not by generation, unspeakable and inconceivable, and thus preserving the manner of its procession. Therefore, because of this, it is well said that the Spirit is manifested through the Son[30]. Additionally, it is with the Son and proceeds with Him from the Father[31]; just as the Son is begotten from the

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[28] Βασιλείου · Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο γνωριστικὸν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἰδιότητος ἔχει σημεῖον, τὸ μετὰ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γνωρίζεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑφεστάναι · ὁ δὲ Γἱὸς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον Πνεῦμα δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίζων" (ἡμῖν δηλονότι). P. G., 32, 329 C. – Σημείωσαι ὅτι τὸ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔλαβεν ὡς ἰσοδυνα μοῦν προδήλως τῷ σὺν αὐτῷ, οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἰσοδυνα μοῦν τῷ μετὰ τὸν Υἱόν.
[Basil: "This is the distinctive mark of the hypostatic property, which the Holy Spirit has, to be known after the Son and with Him and to exist from the Father; the Son knows the Spirit proceeding from the Father through Himself and with Himself (evidently to us)." P.G., 32, 329 C. - Note that the phrase "with Himself" is understood as equivalent to "with Him," so also "through Himself" is equivalent to "after the Son."]

[29] Καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα · Τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ τῶν γνωρισμάτων, ὥσπερ τι φῶς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ἐντιθέντα, πρὸς τὴν ἐφικτὴν ταῖς διανοίαις σύνεσιν ὁδηγεῖ. Ibid., C., Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα · Τὸ δὲ γεννητὸν καὶ ἀγέννητον γνωριστικαί τινές εἰσιν ἰδιότητες · εἰ γὰρ μηδὲν εἶη τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν χαρακτηρίζον, οὐδενὶ ἂν τρόπῳ πρὸς τὴν σύνεσιν ἡμῶν διῆκνοῖτο". Ibid., 640 A.
[And a little later: "Through the operation of the properties, like a light placed in our souls, it guides us to the attainable understanding with our minds." Ibid., C. From the same author a little later: "The generation and the unbegotten are distinctive properties; for if there were nothing characterizing the essence, it would not reach our understanding in any way." Ibid., 640 A.]

[30] Τοῦ Νύσσης Γρηγορίου · «Δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Υἱοῦ δηλονότι), πρίν τι καινὸν καὶ ἀνυπόστατον παρεμπεσεῖν νόημα, εὐθὺς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ συνημμένως καταλαμβάνεται, οὐχ ὑστερίζον κατὰ τὴν ὕπαρξιν μετὰ τὸν Υἱόν, ὡς ποτε τὸν μονογενῆ δίχα τοῦ Πνεύ ματος νοηθήναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχον τοῦ εἶναι, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ μονογενές ἐστι φῶς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτὸς ἐκλάμψαν". P. G., 45, 369 A., Ὁ αὐτὸς · Ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐκλάμπον (τοῦ Υἱοῦ δηλονότι), τὴν δὲ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αἰτίαν ἔχον ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου φωτός". P. Θ., 45, 416 B. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἔκτῳ τῶν πρὸς Εὐνόμιον · «Τὸ γὰρ μαθεῖν ὅτι ἐκεῖνός ἐστι τὸ ὄντως ὄν, ᾧ διὰ τῆς σχετικῆς ἐννοίας ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μεγαλειότης συναναφαίνεται, ἡ τελειοτάτη διδασκαλία τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐστίν, τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καθὼς εἴρηται, συνημμένως μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς ἀλη θείας ἐνδεικνυομένου, ἐπειδὴ αὐτός ἐστι ζωὴ καὶ ἀλήθεια". P. G., 45, 473 C.
[From Gregory of Nyssa: "Through Him and with Him (the Son evidently), before any new and unsubstantial idea intervenes, immediately the Holy Spirit is comprehended through the Son conjointly, not following in existence after the Son, as sometimes the only-begotten is thought of without the Spirit, but from the God of all things and having the cause of being, from which also the only-begotten is the light, and through the true light it shines." P.G., 45, 369 A. The same: "But through Him it shines (the Son evidently), and has the cause of its hypostasis from the original light." P.G., 45, 416 B. From the same author in the sixth against Eunomius: "To learn that He is truly existent, to whom through the relative concept the greatness of the Son appears, is the most perfect teaching of piety, the Son, as it is said, showing the Spirit of life and truth conjointly with Himself, since He Himself is life and truth." P.G., 45, 473 C.]

[31] Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου · Ἄναρχον, ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰς Θεός". P. Θ., 36, 467 A., Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Ονομα δὲ τῷ μὲν ἀνάρχῳ, Πατὴρ · τῇ δὲ ἀρχῇ, Υἱός · τῷ δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον". P. G., 36, 476 B., Ἀναστασίου ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ὀρθῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων · «Λόγος γὰρ χωρὶς Πνεύματος οὐκ ἔστιν, ὡς οὐδὲ νοῦς χωρὶς λόγου · νοῦν δὲ φαμεν τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Λόγου · νοῦν, ἐν ᾧ Λόγος, μεθ᾽ ἂν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον". P. G., 89, 1317 C.
[Gregory the Theologian: "Unoriginate, origin and that which follows the origin, one God." P.G., 36, 467 A. The same: "The name for the unoriginate, Father; for the origin, Son; for that which follows the origin, Holy Spirit." P.G., 36, 476 B. Anastasius in the discourse on the correct doctrines of the Church: "For there is no Word without Spirit, just as there is no mind without word; and we say that the mind is the Father of the Word; mind in which is the Word, with which is the Holy Spirit." P.G., 89, 1317 C.]

Father, so too does the Spirit proceed from the Father. The mediation of the Son[32] (for we confess Him as such in the divine baptism and are baptized into the arrangement of these divine names) shows Him to be the Only-begotten; but it does not exclude the Spirit's natural relationship to the Father, that is, its immediate reference to the cause. For it is neither said nor can it be said that the Spirit exists directly from the Son, as heretics thought, asserting it to be third in nature and worth, and created from the Son creatively, being third only in the arrangement of names[33], and according to the order of names[34], believing it to be third in degree of nature or worth, as though separated by the Son and thus existing from Him alone, by preactive or creative power. They said the Spirit would proceed to the Son, with all its preactive power emptied and consumed from the Father. Thus, they grossly misunderstood the mediation of the Son and the third naming of the Spirit, not less than wickedly, as though considering beings third by time interval, place interval, generative succession, power activity, dignity of status, or such other things among themselves. For they did not perceive what should have been perceived by those intending to maintain the immovable doctrines of faith. For the Son of God and the Spirit from God, like a twin ray from the sun, or a bifurcated river from one source[35], or divinely planted sprouts from one root, or two branches[36], and whatever else might be added to show the Spirit and the Son rising together and carrying the secondaries in view of the common cause from which they

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[32] Τοῦ Νύσσης · «Τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς θείας φύσεως ὁμολογοῦντες, τὴν κατὰ τὸ αἴτιον καὶ αἰτιατὸν διαφορὰν οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα, ἐν ᾧ μόνῳ διακρίνεσθαι τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου καταλαμβάνομεν τῷ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον πιστεύειν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αἰτίου · καὶ τοῦ ἐξ αἰτίας ὄντος πάλιν ἄλλην διαφορὰν ἐννοοῦμεν · τὸ μὲν γὰρ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου · ὥστε καὶ τὸ μονογενὲς ἀναμφίβολον ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ μένειν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα μὴ ἀναμφιβάλλειν, τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ μεσιτείας καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὸ μονογενὲς φυλαττούσης καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς φυσικῆς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα σχέσεως μὴ ἀπειργούσης". P. G., 45, 133 BC.
[From Gregory of Nyssa: "Confessing the unchangeable nature of the divine, we do not deny the difference according to cause and effect, in which alone we understand the one to be distinguished from the other by believing the one to be the cause and the other from the cause; and we understand another difference in the one from the cause; for the one directly from the first, the other through the one directly from the first; so that the only-begotten certainly remains with the Son, and the Spirit from the Father is not doubted, the mediation of the Son preserving the only-begotten for Himself and not excluding the Spirit's natural relationship to the Father." P.G., 45, 133 B-C.]

[33] Κυρίλλου ἐν ἑβδόμῳ πρὸς Ἑρμείαν περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος · «Τοι-γάρτοι διὰ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας ταὐτὸν ἐφήρμοσται μὲν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί, καίτοι τρίτη κατὰ μόνην τῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν σύνταξιν ἐκφερομένη παρ' ἡμῶν ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος κλῆσις, ἐφήρμοσται δὲ τῷ Υἱῷ. P. G., 75, 1085 A.
[Cyril in the seventh against Hermias concerning the Spirit: "Therefore, because of the unity of essence, it applies to the God and Father, although the Spirit's naming comes third in the arrangement of names by us, it also applies to the Son." P.G., 75, 1085 A.]

[34] Τοῦ Νύσσης ἐν ἕκτῳ κατ' Εὐνομίου · «Ἀλλ' οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν ταύτης ἠκούσαμεν τῆς σοφίας, ἣ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἔκ τινος ἀκολουθίας λεγόμενον εἰς τὴν τῶν ὑποχειρίων καὶ ὑποτεταγμένων ἀπωθεῖται τάξιν, ὅπερ οὗτος βούλεται, τὴν τῆς παραδόσεως τῶν προσώπων ἀκολουθίαν ἀξιωμάτων καὶ φύσεων ὑπεροχάς τε καὶ ἐλαττώσεις κατασκευάζων ἐνδείκνυσθαι". P. G., 45, 312 A.
[From Gregory of Nyssa in the sixth against Eunomius: "But even now we have not heard of this wisdom, which speaking second and third in order pushes it into the arrangement of the subordinates and subjected, as he wishes, constructing the order of the persons from the tradition as differences and inferiority of dignities and natures." P.G., 45, 312 A.]

[35] Θεολόγου πρὸς Εὐάγριον · Οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱονεί τινες τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀκτῖνες ἀπεστάλησαν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ τε φεγγώδης Ἰησοῦς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον". P. Θ., 46, 1105 C., Καὶ παρακατιών · Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ σωτὴρ ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἡ δίδυμος τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀκτῖς, καὶ μέχρις ἡμῶν διϊκνεῖται τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ φῶς καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ συνήνωνται". Ibid., Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα · Δίρρυτόν τινα τοῦ τε Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν νοητὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀποστείλας χάριν". Ibid., 1108 A.
[The Theologian to Evagrius: "Thus, indeed, certain rays from the Father were sent to us, the radiant Jesus and the Holy Spirit." P.G., 46, 1105 C. And later: "In the same way, both our Savior and the Holy Spirit, the twin ray of the Father, reach even to us, uniting with the Father the light of truth." Ibid. And a little later: "Sending the perceptible grace of both the Son and the Spirit to us." Ibid., 1108 A.]

[36] Τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου · Ὅτι μέν ἐστι πηγαία θεότης ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς θεογόνου θεότητος, εἰ οὕτως χρὴ φάναι, βλαστοὶ θεόφυτοι καὶ οἷον ἄνθη καὶ ὑπερούσια φῶτα". P. G., 3, 645 B
[From Saint Dionysius: "For the Father is the originating divinity, the Son and the Spirit of the divine-generating divinity, if we must say so, divinely planted sprouts and like flowers and superessential lights." P.G., 3, 645 B.]

rise, remaining as effects, in no way differently from everything else, thus they are understood to proceed from God and the Father. But neither does our understanding and speech serve to simultaneously consider and speak of them both functioning together, nor in the very act of thinking and speaking that they are together, are we able not to also first think and express one before the other, since they are two according to the hypostases; nor does it allow the Spirit to be placed before the Son in the enumeration of the divine persons. For it would be considered that there is a Father, and the Son would not be believed to be the Only-begotten, that is, begotten from the one and only, and the so innovated mediation of the Spirit would lead to greater absurdity, if the true mediation of the Son became a stumbling block to those not understanding correctly and continues to be another way now[37]. Therefore, the Son is not said to be of the Spirit[38], as the Spirit is said to be of the Son, nor is the Son said to proceed through the Spirit, neither eternally, although they are in each other[39] so that it would not hinder saying them through each other, as long as it is distinguished by sonship and generation[40], with the Spirit proceeding from it, but from the cause and divine generator, neither temporally, although the Son of God was sent by the Father and the Spirit[41]; so that one might say that He was sent from the Father through the Spirit fittingly. But for the reasons stated and to avoid the absurdities that would follow from it, it is not said, but by considering and expressing the Son before the Spirit, the properties and all the immovable doctrines of faith are preserved. For the Son is considered before

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[37] Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν · «Εἴπερ ἀκούσαις περὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος, ὡς ῥα Θεοῖο τὰ δεύτερα Πατρὸς ἔχουσιν, οὕτω νοεῖν κέλομαί σε λόγοις σοφίης βαθυκόλπου, ὡς εἰς ῥίζαν ἄναρχον ἀνέρχεται, οὐ θεότητα τέμνει". P. G., 37, 412 A.
[Gregory the Theologian in his poems: "If you listen about the Son and the Spirit, as those having the second rank of the Father, so I instruct you to think with the words of deep wisdom, as they ascend to the unoriginate root, they do not divide the divinity." P.G., 37, 412 A.]

[38] Αὐγουστίνου ἐν δεκάτῳ πέμπτῳ περὶ Τριάδος · «Λέγομεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ λέγομεν καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἵνα μὴ πατῆρ αὐτοῦ νοηθείη τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον". P. L., 42, 1095 A.
[Augustine in the fifteenth on the Trinity: "We say the Holy Spirit is of the Son, but we do not say the Son is of the Holy Spirit, so that the Holy Spirit would not be considered the Father of Him." P.L., 42, 1095 A.]

[39] Κυρίλλου ἐν ἑβδόμῳ τῶν πρὸς Ἑρμείαν · ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τὴν ὅλην θείαν νοεῖσθαι φύσιν, μετὰ τοῦ προσεῖναι καὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ, δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τὸ καθ' ὑπόστασιν · μένει γὰρ ἕκαστον τοῦθ᾽ ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἑνώσει τῇ πρὸς τὰ ἕτερα φυσικῇ κἀκεῖνα πλουτοῦν ἐν ἰδίᾳ φύσει · ἔστι γὰρ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν τε τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἔν τε τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοιν". P. G., 75, 1092 D.
[Cyril in the seventh to Hermias: "So that in each, the whole divine nature is understood, along with its own property, clearly according to the hypostasis; for each remains what it is in unity with the others naturally, and they enrich each other in their own nature; for the Father is in the Son and the Holy Spirit, and similarly, the Son and the Spirit are in the Father and in each other." P.G., 75, 1092 D.]

[40] Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου · «Πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, τοῦ Υἱοῦ, πλὴν τῆς αἰτίας · πάντα ὅσα τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, πλὴν τῆς υἱότητος". P. G., 36, 252 A., Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, τοῦ Υἱοῦ, πλὴν τῆς ἀγεν νησίας · πάντα ὅσα ὁ Υἱός, τοῦ Πνεύματος, πλὴν τῆς γεννήσεως. P. G., 36, 441 C.
[Gregory the Theologian: "All that the Father has belongs to the Son, except causality; all that belongs to the Son also belongs to the Spirit, except sonship." P.G., 36, 252 A. The same: "All that the Father has belongs to the Son, except unbegottenness; all that the Son has belongs to the Spirit, except generation." P.G., 36, 441 C.]

[41] Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀναστασίου · „Ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν ἀπεστάλθαι μανθάνομεν οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύ ματος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη διὰ Ἡσαΐου (48, 16) · Καὶ νῦν Κύριος ἀπέσταλκέμε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ". P. G., 89, 1325 A., Τοῦ Θωμᾶ δὲ Ἀκίνο · Ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἀποστέλλεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ὡς ἐν τῷ μὴ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου ·, Καὶ νῦν Κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ. I P., q. 43, a. 8., Ὁ αὐτὸς φησι περὶ Αὐγουστίνου, ὅτι Αὐγουστῖνος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ περὶ Τριάδος φησίν, ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς ἀποστέλλεται καὶ παῤ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Ibid., cf. Aug. de Trinitate, II, 5. P. L., 42, 848 sq.
[Saint Anastasius: "For we learn that even the Son Himself was sent not only by the Father but also by the Holy Spirit, as He said through Isaiah (48:16): 'And now the Lord has sent Me and His Spirit.'" P.G., 89, 1325 A. From Thomas Aquinas: "On the contrary, the Son is also sent by the Holy Spirit, as in the prophecy of Isaiah: 'And now the Lord has sent Me and His Spirit.' I.P., q. 43, a. 8. He says about Augustine that Augustine in the fifth on the Trinity says that the Son is sent both by Himself and by the Holy Spirit. Ibid., cf. Aug. de Trinitate, II, 5. P.L., 42, 848 sq.]

the Spirit[42], not in the way of the natural reason, but in the way of the reason of cause, distinguishing the divine hypostases in the same unity of essence. I mean by the way of the reason of cause, both the uncaused being and the caused, and in some way caused, and all those related to the cause. These are all equally divided by the reason of nature, neither as the cause, but rather as caused in some way, as the Son, because the appellation of Father and Son admits nothing intermediate due to the reasons stated[43]. The Father is preconsidered to the Son by the reason of cause as the cause, because the Son has His being from Him, and likewise the Spirit is considered to have the Father as its cause, who projects it. But the Son is preconsidered to the Spirit by the fact that the Spirit is not begotten like Him from the Father as caused and existing, but in another way, which would be signified by not being confessed immediately after the Father by us, and thus we distinguish the contradictions of Eunomius against the unity in the Trinity, who brought the Trinity believed by the reason and manner of cause in unity of nature into the difference in nature, and took the preconsiderations and pre-enumerations according to the reason and manner of cause, made for the sake of the unconfused hypostases, as subordinations and superordinations of dignities and natures ignorantly and wickedly; and he constructed a ladder of natures, like different dignities, and others again of progressions, applying to the doctrine something extraneous by certain machinations.

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[42] Τοῦ Νύσσης ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ πρὸς Ἀβλάβιον λόγου · ποὺ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν < ἄν > τις αἰτίας καὶ φύσεως ἀποδοίη λόγον. P. Θ., 45, 133 C. Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ · „Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τὰς μὲν ὑποστάσεις ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ὁ τοῦ αἰτίου διακρίνεται λόγος, τὸ μὲν ἀναίτιως εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αἰτίου πρεσβεύων, ἡ δὲ θεία φύσις ἀπαράλλακτός τε καὶ ἀδιαίρετος διὰ πάσης ἐννοίας καταλαμβάνεται, διὰ τοῦτο κυρίως μία θεότης καὶ εἷς Θεός, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τῶν θεοπρεπῶν ὀνομάτων μοναδικῶς ἐξαγγέλλεται". P. G., 45, 133-36., Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ πρὸς Εὐνόμιον πρώτους «Εἰ μέν τινα χρονικὴν ἔμφασιν ὑπερετίθει τῆς τοῦ Μονογενοῦς ὑποστάσεως ὁ τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Υἱοῦ μόνῳ τῷ τῆς αἰτίας λόγῳ προθεωρῶν, εἰκότως ἂν τὸ τῆς ἀϊδιότητος ἡμῖν περὶ Υἱοῦ λόγος ἐκινδυνεύετο". Εἶτα ἐπάγει · Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος λόγος ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τάξει τὴν διαφορὰν ἔχων · ὡς γὰρ συνάπτεται τῷ Πατρὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχων οὐχ ὑστερίζει κατὰ τὴν ὕπαρξιν, οὕτω πάλιν καὶ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς ἔχεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐπινοίᾳ μένῃ κατὰ τὸν τῆς αἰτίας λόγον προθεωρου μένου τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποστάσεως, ὥστε τοῦ λόγου τῆς αἰτίας ὑπεξχρη μένου, ἐν μηδενὶ τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἀσυμφώνως ἔχειν". P. G., 45, 464 O. – Σημείωσαι ὅπως οἱ φησιν ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχον", ὅπερ εἶπε πρότερον περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἁπλῶς κατὰ τὸν τῆς αἰτίας λόγον · λόγος δὲ τῆς αἰτίας ἐστίν, τὸ μὲν εἶναι αἰτιατὸν γεννητῶς, τὸ δὲ εἶναι αἰτιατὸν ἐκπορευτῶς.
[From Gregory of Nyssa at the end of the discourse against Ablabius: "For indeed, if someone gave the same account of cause and nature." P.G., 45, 133 C. In the same discourse of the same author: "Since, therefore, the hypostases in the Holy Trinity are distinguished by the reason of cause, proclaiming the uncaused and those from the cause, the divine nature is understood to be unchangeable and indivisible in all thoughts; therefore, it is chiefly one divinity and one God, and all other divine names are uniquely proclaimed." P.G., 45, 133-36. From the same at the end of the first against Eunomius: "If he considered any temporal emphasis of the hypostasis of the Only-begotten, considering the Father of the Son only by the reason of cause, our discourse on the eternity of the Son would reasonably be endangered." Then he continues: "The same discourse applies to us concerning the Spirit, having the difference only in order; for just as the Son is joined to the Father and having His being from Him does not follow in existence, so too the Spirit of the Only-begotten adheres, remaining in thought according to the reason of cause, considering the hypostasis of the Spirit, so that, using the reason of cause, the Holy Trinity has nothing inconsistent within itself." P.G., 45, 464 C. - Note how he says "having its being from Him," which he said earlier about the Son, but simply according to the reason of cause; the reason of cause is that being caused by generation, and that being caused by procession.]

[43] Βασιλείου ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὰς κανονικὰς ἐπιστολῇ · Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τοῦ Μονογενούς πρότερον (τὸ Πνεῦμα δηλαδὴ τὸ ἅγιον) · οὐδὲν γὰρ μέσον Υἱοῦ καὶ Πατρός". P. G., 32, 396 C., Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου · θέλω τὸν Πατέρα μείζω εἰπεῖν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ ἴσοις εἶναι τοῖς ἴσοις ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ εἶναι · τοῦτο γὰρ περὶ πάντων δοθή σεται. Καὶ δέδοικα τὴν ἀρχὴν, μὴ ἐλαττόνων ἀρχὴν ποιήσω, καὶ καθυ βρίσω διὰ τῆς προτιμήσεως ... Θέλω τὸν Υἱὸν προτιμῆσαι τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὡς Υἱόν · καὶ οὐ συγχωρεῖ μοι τὸ βάπτισμα, τελειοῦν με διὰ τοῦ Πνεύ ματος". P. G., 36, 420 B. – Σημείωσαι ὅπως τὸν Υἱὸν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ βούλοιτ' ἂν προτιμᾶν ἢ τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Υἱοῦ · ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὡς αἴτιον, τοῦτον δὲ ὡς Υἱόν.
[Basil in the canonical epistle: "But not even before the Only-begotten (the Holy Spirit, that is); for nothing is between the Son and the Father." P.G., 32, 396 C., Gregory the Theologian: "I wish to say that the Father is greater, from whom both being and being equal to the equal come; this will be granted concerning all. And I fear the principle, lest by preference I make the principle lesser and insult through the preference... I wish to prefer the Son over the Spirit, as the Son; and baptism does not allow me, perfecting me through the Spirit." P.G., 36, 420 B. - Note how one might prefer the Son in another way than the Father over the Son; the former as the cause, the latter as the Son.]

THIRD TREATISE ON THE PROCESSION OF THE SPIRIT

6.We say and understand those who say that the Holy Spirit is manifested through the Son in another way, that it was revealed to men through the Son, granting its energy and grace to the apostles first through the breath, then more completely and fully in the form of fiery tongues, given and sent, jointly poured out and distributed such grace of God and the Father and indeed of the Spirit itself, and the outpouring of grace and participation in the divinity of the Father and the Son and the Spirit acting together and as one God. Thus, it is said to be manifested and shine through the Son, as it is revealed through the Son and imparted to creation[44].

7.But since it has also been said, albeit rarely[45], that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, we are compelled to understand this reverently out of respect for those who said it[46], even if we do not make it a proclamation or it should not become one, but should remain a pious opinion[47], as it has indeed been said by those who said it. And since the term "proceeds" is intended to mean "receives," "exists," and "is brought forth into its own hypostasis"[48], we understand something eternal in this term, but not that the Holy Spirit exists from the Son, just as it is said that all things were made through the Son, without differing at all from saying they were made from the Son. For if this were true, it would have been said simply that the Spirit proceeds through the Son, just as it is said that all things were made through the Son. But it is neither thus through the Son nor is it said so, but always with the accompanying mention of the Father's person and name, it is said to proceed from the Father through the Son, even if rarely; otherwise, never, so that the Spirit is not misunderstood as one of the things that were made through the Son. For only the Son, together with the Father and the Spirit, is the beginning of these things, and is first in relation to them, even if He is not said to be first by being from the beginning, neither is He said to be second, nor is the Spirit said to be

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[44] Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ · Ἓν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐκ Θεοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον καὶ δι' Γοῦ πεφηνός, δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις". P. G., 10. 984 D., Τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ · Ἐκ τοῦ Γιοῦ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα οὐ λέγομεν, Πνεῦμα δὲ Γἱοῦ ὀνομάζομεν, καὶ δι' Γιοῦ πεφανερῶσθαι καὶ μεταδίδοσθαι ἡμῖν ὁμολογούμεν". P. G., 94, 832 B., Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Πνεῦμα ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπο ρευόμενον · ὅπερ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγεται, ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ φανερούμενον καὶ τῇ κτίσει μεταδιδόμενον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον". P. Θ., 96, 605 B.
[Gregory the Wonderworker: "One Holy Spirit, having its existence from God and manifested through the Son, that is, to men." P.G., 10, 984 D. John of Damascus: "We do not say the Spirit is from the Son, but we call it the Spirit of the Son, and we confess that it is manifested and given to us through the Son." P.G., 94, 832 B. The same: "The Holy Spirit of God and the Father, proceeding from Him; which is also said of the Son, as it is manifested and imparted to creation through Him, but does not have its existence from Him." P.G., 96, 605 B.]

[45] Ἀθανάσιος ἅπαξ, Βασίλειος ἅπαξ, Μάξιμος ἅπαξ, Ταράσιος ἅπαξ, καὶ Δαμασκηνός.
[Athanasius once, Basil once, Maximus once, Tarasius once, and John of Damascus.]

[46] Λατίνου διδασκάλου, τοῦ Σκότου · «Δεῖ ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀξιώματα καὶ ὑγιῶς νοεῖν · πολλὰ γὰρ ἀξιώματα τῶν ἁγίων, ἅπερ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀληθῆ τῇ τοῦ λόγου δυνάμει, ἐξηγούμενα ὑγιῶς ἀληθεύουσι τῇ ἐννοίᾳ".
[From a Latin teacher, Scotus: "The sayings of the saints must be interpreted and understood correctly, for many sayings of the saints, which are not true in the power of the word, are interpreted correctly and are true in meaning."]

[47] Εὐλογίου Ἀλεξανδρείας · «Ἄλλο δόγμα καὶ ἄλλο κήρυγμα, καὶ ἡ διαφορά, ὅτι < τὰ δόγματα – μετ' ἐπικρύψεως καὶ σοφίας ἀπαγγέλλονται καὶ τὴν ἀσάφειαν πολλάκις ἐξεπίτηδες περιβάλλονται, ὡς ἂν μὴ βεβήλοις εἶεν τὰ ἅγια ἔκθετα καὶ οἱ μαργαρίται τοῖς χοίροις προκείμενοι · τὰ δὲ κηρύγματα χωρίς τινος ἐπικρύψεως ἀπαγγέλλονται".
[Eulogius of Alexandria: "Doctrine is one thing, and preaching is another, and the difference is that doctrines are presented with concealment and wisdom and are often purposefully enveloped in obscurity, so that holy things are not laid open to the profane, and pearls are not thrown before swine; but preaching is presented without any concealment."]

[48] Κυρίλλου ἐν τῇ ἐξηγήσει τοῦ Ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος" · Εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ὁ Υἱὸς καθ' ὑμᾶς, πῶς οὐκ ἐν ἀμείνοσι νοοῖτ᾽ ἂν τὸ Πνεῦμα παρὰ τὸν Υἱόν; P. G., 74, 420 A.
[Cyril in the commentary on "When the Paraclete comes": "For if He does not proceed from the Father, that is, from His substance, as you say, how can the Spirit not be thought of better than the Son?" (P.G., 74, 420 A.)]

second or third; only the Father is called the first cause, being the beginning and source of divinity, the cause of all things[49]. For just as He is the cause of all things with the Son and the Spirit as God, so He alone is the cause of the Son and the Spirit in His paternity, that is, in His fecundity. Thus we say that the Holy Spirit exists from the Father and proceeds through the Son; this is what it means to proceed from the Father through the Son because of the utmost unity of essence, as it is not apart from the Son[50], but proceeds in Him from the Father, that is, it exists in Him from the Father and remains in Him, and reaches from the Father through the Son, and proceeds through the Son, divinely understood as both reaching and proceeding[51], since it is not otherwise possible to indicate the utmost communion of nature; and as one might say, passing inseparably through the hypostasis of the Son. For if the Son were the cause of the Spirit, this would suffice to indicate the communion of nature, that is, that it naturally exists from Him, just as the Son being begotten from the Father shows the unity of the Father and the Son, and the Spirit's natural unity with the Father is shown by its proceeding from Him. But since the Spirit is not said to exist from the Son, meaning to proceed and exist, it is said to proceed in another manner, as mentioned before, neither proceeds from the Son, nor exists from the Son, nor has its cause of existence from the Son, nor is the Son its projector, nor its beginning, nor its cause, nor its procession, nor its projection, nor anything like these which

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[49] Βασιλείου πρὸς Εὐνόμιον · Ὁ γὰρ τὸν Υἱὸν ἀναιρῶν, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τῶν ὅλων δημιουργίας ἀνεῖλεν · ἄρχει γὰρ τῆς ἁπάντων ὑποστάσεως ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, δι' οὐ τὰ πάντα γέγονεν". P. G., 29, 736 D. Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου · πΑἱ δὲ ἰδιότητες, Πατρὸς μὲν ἀνάρχου καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐπινοουμένου καὶ λεγομένου, ἀρχῆς δὲ ὡς αἰτίου καὶ ὡς πηγῆς καὶ ὡς ἀϊδίου φωτός · Υἱοῦ δὲ ἀνάρχου μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ἀρχῆς δὲ τῶν ὅλων". P. G., 35, 1073 A., Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · „Ἄναρχον, ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἷς Θεός". P. G., 36, 476 A. – Σημείωσαι ὅπως οὐκ εἶπε τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς", διότι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Υἱὸς ἀρχὴ πρὸς αὐτό, ἀλλὰ μόνον πρὸς τὸ πᾶν.
[Basil against Eunomius: "For he who destroys the Son, destroys the beginning of the creation of all things; for the Logos of God, through whom all things were made, is the beginning of the existence of all things" (P.G., 29, 736 D.). Gregory the Theologian: "And the properties, of the Father, without beginning and conceived as the beginning, and as the cause and source and as the eternal light; of the Son, not without beginning, but the beginning of all things" (P.G., 35, 1073 A.). Gregory the Theologian: "Unbegotten, the beginning and what is with the beginning, one God" (P.G., 36, 476 A.). Note how he did not say "from the beginning", because the Son is not the beginning in relation to himself, but only in relation to the whole.]

[50] Ἀθανασίου · Οὐ γὰρ ἐκτὸς ἐστι τοῦ Λόγου τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ὄν, ἐν τῷ Θεῷ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐστιν". P. G., 26, 633 A., Καὶ αὖθις · Τοῦ δὲ Πνεύματος ὄντος ἐν τῷ Λόγῳ, δῆλον ἂν εἴη, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἦν διὰ τοῦ Λόγου τὸ Πνεῦμα". Ibid., C., Κυρίλλου ἐν λόν τῶν Θησαυρῶν · Ἐν δὲ τῷ Υἱῷ ψυσικῶς τε καὶ οὐσιωδῶς διῆκον παρὰ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα". P. G., 75, 577 A., Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Θεὸς ἄρα τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐστιν, τὸ ἐν Υἱῷ παρὰ Πατρὸς < ψυσικῶς > ὑπάρχον καὶ ὅλην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἔχον". P. G., 75, 580 C.
[Athanasius: "For the Spirit is not outside the Logos, but being in the Logos, it is in God through Him" (P.G., 26, 633 A.). And again: "And since the Spirit is in the Logos, it is evident that it was also in God through the Logos" (ibid., C.). Cyril in the Treasury: "And in the Son, existing naturally and substantially from the Father, is the Spirit" (P.G., 75, 577 A.). Cyril: "Therefore, the Spirit is God, existing in the Son from the Father naturally, having all His operation" (P.G., 75, 580 C.).]

[51] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐξηγήσει τοῦ Ἰωάννου · Ἐπειδὴ ὁμοούσιόν τὰ ἐστι τῷ Γῷ καὶ πρόεισι θεοπρεπῶς δι' αὐτοῦ, πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐφ' ἅπασι τελεωτάτην ἔχον ἐνέργειάν τε καὶ δύναμιν, διὰ τοῦτό φησιν, , ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται". P. G., 74, 449 B. – Σημείωσαι τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ θεοπρεπῶς" · εἰ γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, τὸ βούλοιτ' ἂν τὸ θεοπρεπώς"; μάτην ἄρα παρέρριπται, ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον.
[Cyril in the commentary on John: "Since it is consubstantial with the Son and proceeds divinely through Him, having its complete and perfect operation and power, therefore He says, 'He will take from what is mine'" (P.G., 74, 449 B.). Note the "divinely through Him"; for if through Him as from Him, what would divinely mean? Therefore, it is said without reason.]

are always said between the Father and the Spirit[52]. Therefore, since neither the Scripture says this, nor any of the ancient teachers have said it, the newer teachers saying that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son indicate the unity of essence and its immutability[53], and we following their thoughts say and understand it as they said. Understanding that the Son is begotten from the Father, thus also the Spirit proceeding simultaneously and in the same order towards their beginning, and each being applied to its own cause[54], thus to speak, nevertheless not separated from the Son, as understood by the examples given before, in which the proceeds are more united to their origin than to themselves. They are not united to each other, except in the origin; for two branches are not united to each other, except in the stem; nor two rays, except in the sun, and similarly in other cases. Thus, the Spirit is not understood as separated from the Son, both proceeding from the Father naturally and in the immediate succession of those examples being sufficient, and the proceeds being united through their whole selves are not sufficient, saying that it proceeds from the Father, those who added through the Son did so for their own reasons, and we also think this way, that in the Son indeed it receives its being from the Father, not only with Him, and towards its own hypostasis by the power of the projecting cause, that is, from whom it exists, not in whom it exists, divinely defined. Therefore, the Spirit does not receive its being from the Son, to say the same through the Son, nor is the Son considered as its cause with the Father, both of whom are equally considered the Father as the beginning. For neither did any of the blessed say this, nor can it be true, whether they lead to one God, or as two hypostases, or in one power, or however. For everywhere the monarchy is wrongly honored[55], either being merged or diminished in divinity, to paraphrase Gregory slightly. For if there were any device to save this and all other truths, for the reason and for the people of the Church, who should not be preached ambiguous doctrines, the blessed would not avoid this doctrine as something dreadful, but rather the Spirit receives its being and everything

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[52] Μυρίοι καὶ πάντες, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται. Βασίλειος καὶ ὁ Νύσσης · «Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑφέστηκεν". Ὁ Νύσσης · Τὴν δὲ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αἰτίαν ἔχει ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου φωτός". P. O., 45, 416 B. , Ὁ Θεολόγος · Τῷ Θεῷ δὲ ἄλλο τί μεῖζον ἢ Υἱοῦ τυγχάνειν Πατέρα, Ο προσθήκη δόξης ἐστίν, οὐχ ὑφαίρεσις, ὡς δὲ καὶ προβολέα Πνεύματος"; Εὐλογίου Ἀλεξανδρείας · Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀρχὴν μὲν ἔχον τὸν Πατέρα, δι' Υἱοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν κτίσιν ἐπ᾽ εὐεργεσίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐρχόμενον". Ὁ Θεολόγος · «Αἱ δὲ ἰδιότητες Πατρὸς μὲν ἀνάρχου καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐπ · νοουμένου καὶ λεγομένου, ἀρχῆς δὲ ὡς αἰτίου καὶ ὡς πηγῆς καὶ ὡς ἀϊδίου φωτός". P. Θ., 35, 1073 A., Ἀθανασίου καὶ Βασιλείου · Τὸ δὲ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐκπόρευμα ὂν τοῦ Πατρός". P. O., 25, 208 A. Ὁ Θεολόγος · Τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡμῖν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὁ μὲν γεννήτωρ καὶ προβολεύς, λέγω δὲ ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀσωμάτως · τῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν γέννημα, τὸ δὲ πρόβλημα". P.Θ., 36, 76 B.
[Myriads and all, that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. Basil and Nyssa: "And from the Father He subsists." Nyssa: "He has the cause of His subsistence from the archetypal light." (P.G., 45, 416 B.) Gregory the Theologian: "Is there anything greater for God than to have the Son as Father? The addition of glory, not the subtraction, as being also the projector of the Spirit?" Eulogius of Alexandria: "The Holy Spirit has the Father as its origin, but comes to the creation for the benefit of humans through the Son." Gregory the Theologian: "And the properties, of the Father, without beginning and conceived as the beginning, and as the cause and source and as the eternal light." (P.G., 35, 1073 A.) Athanasius and Basil: "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father" (P.G., 25, 208 A.). Gregory the Theologian: "To us, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the former is the generator and projector, I mean impassibly and timelessly and incorporeally; and of the latter, one is the generation, the other the procession" (P.G., 36, 76 B.).]

[53] Μαξίμου · Ἐξ ὧν οὐκ αἰτίαν ποιοῦντας τὸν Υἱὸν τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως σφᾶς ἀπέδειξαν (μίαν γὰρ ἴσασιν Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύ-ματος τὸν Πατέρα αἰτίαν, τοῦ μὲν κατὰ τὴν γέννησιν, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν), ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ προϊέναι δηλώσωσι καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ συναφὲς τῆς οὐσίας καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον παραστήσωσιν". P. Θ., 91, 136 A.
[Maximus: "From which they did not make the Son the cause of the procession of the Holy Spirit (for they know one cause of the Son and the Spirit, the Father, of the former by generation, of the latter by procession), but they expressed that it proceeds through Him, and thus they showed the connection and indistinguishability of substance." (P.G., 91, 136 A.)]

[54] Κυρίλλου. Voir ci-dessus, nº 33.
[Cyril. See above, no. 33.]

[55] Τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐν τῷ πρὸς "Ἡρωνα · «Μήτε τὴν μοναρχίαν κακῶς τιμῆς συναιρῶν ἢ περικόπτων θεότητα". P. Θ., 35, 1224 A.
[The Theologian in his letter to Heron: "Do not falsely tie or cut the monarchy to diminish the divinity." (P.G., 35, 1224 A.)]

from the Father. For in receiving its being from the Father, it proceeds through the Son, as it receives its numerical identity with Him and is understood as united entirely except for the personal distinction, and not as through a vessel or in any corporeal manner, but divinely, as our immaterial mind can imagine that passage and conjunction, and without any temporal interval, thus it is said to receive from the Son's things, that is, of the Son[56], but from the Father; and nothing causally from Him, but only from God and the Father, from whom the Son also receives His being as a divine hypostasis, and all that He has. And as it seems, as many eminent teachers say, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, remains in the Son[57] or continues, or rests, or resides, or accompanies, this means the same as proceeding from the Father through the Son, differing only in the compact and expanded sense; just as about the Spirit's giving or sending, sometimes they say, it proceeds from the Father and comes through the Son[58], sometimes they say, it comes or is granted from the Father through the Son, using the more concise expression. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is connected to the Son by the reason of consubstantiality[59], but not by the reason of causality. And this connection and immutability in the numerical identity of the natural unity is what some indicate by "through Him," adding to "proceeds from the Father," as said. United with the Father and the cause of the Logos, it is said to proceed from the Father, and this is believed. For even if it is thought of as being dependent on the Son and is spoken of in this way, it is called the Spirit of the Son, but it is dependent on the Son in one way and on the Father in another way. It is said to be from the Father as having its existence from the Father[60]. For they are said to be connected when one is known through the other due to some inherent similarity, and one exists because of the other. For example, a brother of a brother is connected to each other as equals, as they are known through each other. This is the same for all relational terms. But a father and a son among humans are connected not only in this way but also because one is the cause of the other's existence. The Apostle also

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[56] Τοῦ Κυρίλλου ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἑρμείαν · Ἀκατηγόρητον οὖν ἄρα παντελῶς καὶ λοιδορίας ἀπάσης ἔξω κείσεται τὸ λαβεῖν λέγεσθαί τι παρὰ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ · προϊὸν γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ φυσικῶς ὡς ἴδιον αὐτοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὧν ἔχει τελείως, λαμβάνειν λέγεται τὰ αὐτοῦ. P. G., 74, 449 C.
[Cyril in his works against Hermias: "Therefore, it is entirely blameless and beyond all reproach to say that the Spirit takes something from the Only-Begotten; for proceeding through Him naturally as His own, it is said to take what is His." (P.G., 74, 449 C.)]

[57] Ἐν ταῖς περιόδοις τῶν ἀποστόλων · «Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα καὶ εἰς τὸν ἕνα Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς ἓν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ μένον ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ". P. G., 2, 1217 A.
[In the Acts of the Apostles: "Peace to you and to all who believe in one God the Father and in His one Son our Lord Jesus Christ and in one Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and remaining in the Son." (P.G., 2, 1217 A.)]

[58] Κυρίλλου · Εἰ γὰρ καὶ πρόεισιν ἐκ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλ᾽ ἔρχεται δι' Υἱοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. P. Θ., 76, 556 C. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Ἐκ Πατρὸς νοούμενον, δι' Υἱοῦ δὲ τῇ κτίσει χορηγούμενον". P. Θ., 75, 600 C. - Ὅτι δὲ ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ χορηγεῖται τ πέμπεται ἢ δίδοται, ἅπαντες.
[Cyril: "For even though the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, yet it comes through the Son, and so forth." (P.G., 76, 556 C.). Cyril: "Considered from the Father, but given to the creation through the Son." (P.G., 75, 600 C.). "For it is from the Father, through the Son, that it is granted, sent, or given to all."]

[59] Κυρίλλου. Ὥσπερ ὁ δάκτυλος ἀπήρτηται τῆς χειρός, οὐκ ἀλλό-τριος ὢν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ φυσικῶς · οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῷ τῆς ὁμοουσιότητος λόγῳ συνῆπται πρὸς ἕνωσιν τῷ Υἱῷ, κἂν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύηται". P. G., 73, 704 B.
[Cyril: "As the finger is attached to the hand, not alien from it, but naturally within it; so the Holy Spirit is united to the Son by the concept of consubstantiality, even though it proceeds from God and the Father." (P.G., 73, 704 B.)]

[60] Βασιλείου · Τοῦ Υἱοῦ μὲν ἤρτηται, ᾧ ἀδιαστάτως συγκαταλαμ-βάνεται · τῆς δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰτίας ἐξημμένον ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, ὅθεν καὶ ἐκ-πορεύεται". P. G., 32, 329 C.
[Basil: "It is dependent on the Son, with whom it is inseparably connected; but it has its existence from the cause of the Father, whence it also proceeds." (P.G., 32, 329 C.)]

speaks of the Spirit of God and from God[61], and only the Spirit of the Son and Christ, following the leader of our sacred truth, who said it is the Spirit of truth, proceeding from the Father. After Paul, those led by the Spirit distinguish the relations in this way, calling the Holy Spirit the Spirit of the Son, as it belongs to Him by nature[62], as His own[63], as not alien according to the substance[64], as consubstantial with the Son and co-divine[65], and in sum, because of the natural affinity of the divinity[66]. The Spirit of the Father[67] is from the Father, existing and receiving its being naturally from Him, to whom the unity of substance also follows. Therefore, due to the unity of essence[68], we confess the Holy Spirit to be from the Father and affirm it to be through the Son, following the teachers who spoke and thought in this manner, both in word and in meaning, yet without considering it as having existence from the Son[69], for the Father alone is the cause[70]. The Son is not the cause of the procession of the Holy Spirit[71], but He has all things of the Father except the cause[72],

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[61] Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου · «Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ καὶ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ · καὶ ἵνα μήποτε ἀκούσαντες ἡμεῖς Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, δι' οἰκειότητα νομίσωμεν λέγεσθαι Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, εἰσάγει ἡ Γραφὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ προστίθησι τῷ Θεοῦ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄλλο δὲ τὸ Θεοῦς καὶ ἄλλο τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ' ". P. Θ., 52, 813 D.
[Chrysostom: "Spirit of God and Spirit from God; and lest we, hearing Spirit of God, think it is said by way of kinship, the Scripture introduces the Holy Spirit and adds to God's the 'from God'; for the former means God's and the latter means from God." (P.G., 52, 813 D.)]

[62] Βασιλείου · «Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ λέγεται, ὡς ᾠκειωμένον κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ". P. G., 32, 152 B.
[Basil: "It is called the Spirit of Christ, as it belongs to Him by nature." (P.G., 32, 152 B.)]

[63] Ἡ πρώτη σύνοδος · Ἰδίου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καθὰ γέγραπται · , Ε' τις Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει". P. G., 85, 1288 C.
[The first council: "As His own Son, as it is written: 'If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ.'" (P.G., 85, 1288 C.)]

[64] Κυρίλλου · Ἴδιον δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀλλότριον · ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἀλλότριον τοῦ Γοῦ κατὰ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας λόγον". P. G., 77, 180 D.
[Cyril: "It is His own, as it is not alien; and it is not alien to the Son according to the concept of substance." (P.G., 77, 180 D.)]

[65] Αναστάσιος · Τοῖς μὲν ἀποστόλοις σύνεστιν ἀεὶ μεθεκτῶς, τῷ δὲ σωτῆρι Χριστῷ καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν ὡς ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὁμόθεον · ταύτῃ του λέγεται Πνεύμα Θεοῦ καὶ Πνεύμα Χριστού". P. G., 89, 1328 B.
[Anastasius: "It is always present with the apostles to be shared, but to our Savior Christ and God as consubstantial and co-divine; for this reason, it is called the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ." (P.G., 89, 1328 B.)]

[66] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον λέγεται Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ καὶ Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ καὶ Πνεῦμα Υἱοῦ, δεικνύντος δι' ὅλων του λόγου τὴν φυσικὴν συγγένειαν τῆς θεότητος". P. G., 89, 1325 AB. (67) Δαμασκηνού. Voir P. G., 94, 832 B.
[Cyril: "The Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of the Son, indicating through all of this the natural kinship of the divinity." (P.G., 89, 1325 A-B.)]

[67] Δαμασκηνού. Voir P. G., 94, 832 B.
[John of Damascus. See P.G., 94, 832 B.]

[68] Κυρίλλου ἐν ἐὰ τῶν πρὸς Ἑρμείαν · Πότερον δὴ μόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, ἢ γοῦν καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἢ καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἑκατέρου καὶ ἀμφοῖν, ὡς ἐν ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ διὰ τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς οὐσίας". P. G., 75, 1009 B
[Cyril in one of his works against Hermias: "Whether indeed only of God and the Father, or even of the Son, or also from both, as from the Father through the Son because of the identity of substance." (P.G., 75, 1009 B.)]

[69] Δαμασκηνοῦ · Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχον τὴν ὕπαρξιν". P. G.. 96, 605 B.
[John of Damascus: "But not having its existence from Him." (P.G., 96, 605 B.)]

[70] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Οὐχ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον · μένος γὰρ αἴτιος ὁ Πατέρα. P. Θ., 94, 849 B.
[John of Damascus: "Not as from Him, but as through Him proceeding from the Father; for the Father alone is the cause." (P.G., 94, 849 B.)]

[71] Μαξίμου · «Ἐξ ὧν οὐκ αἰτίαν ποιοῦντας τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύ ματος ἐκπορεύσεως σφᾶς ἀπέδειξαν". P. G., 91, 136 A.
[Maximus: "From which they did not make the Son the cause of the procession of the Holy Spirit." (P.G., 91, 136 A.)]

[72] Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου · «Πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ ὁ Υἱὲς ἔχει, πλὴν τῆς αἰτίας". P. G., 36, 252 A.
[Gregory the Theologian: "All things that the Father has, the Son also has, except causality." (P.G., 36, 252 A.)]

that is, except to produce a divine hypostasis; for He is otherwise the beginning of beings, as the cause and creator. How could He have the cause of divinity, who is wholly Son and only[73] and begotten? The Father alone is Father, that is, the only generator and projector[74], to whom alone belongs what is fitting for a cause, source, and generator[75]. For this is the characteristic of the paternal hypostasis, the advancement of the inherent fruits in Him through His own generativity[76], without anyone having an intelligent mind being disturbed[77], lest the Son seem to lack something naturally of the Father because He does not have this characteristic of the Father's hypostasis and the individuality along with all the divine attributes[78]. It would be possible to demonstrate with more examples how the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, how it is thought and spoken of, but it is sufficient to use the examples of the saints. As the radiance from the sun proceeds through the beam, that is, together with it and in it, evidently passing through it, so it reaches us, and as accompanying it, it is communicated to us through it[79]. Or as light from the sun through the shining forth[80], so the Holy Spirit is from the Father through the Son, and further, through the Son, it is in the

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[73] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Ἀληθῶς υἱὸν τὸν Υἱόν, ὅτι μόνος καὶ μόνου καὶ μόνως καὶ μόνον (οὐ γὰρ Πατήρ), καὶ ὅλον υἱὸς καὶ ὅλου". P. Θ., 35, 1221 B.
[Gregory the Theologian: "Truly the Son is the Son, because He alone is of the only one and only, and solely and only (for He is not the Father), and wholly Son and wholly." (P.G., 35, 1221 B.)]

[74] Θεολόγου. - Voir P. G., 36, 76 B.
[Gregory the Theologian. See P.G., 36, 76 B.]

[75] Δαμασκηνοῦ. Voir P. G., 94, 849 A.
[John of Damascus. See P.G., 94, 849 A.]

[76] Κυρίλλου · Εἰ γνώρισμα τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑποστάσεως ἡ καρ πογονία εἴτουν θεογονία, φυσική τίς ἐστι πάντως ἰδιότης αὐτοῦ.
[Cyril: "If the characteristic of the Father's hypostasis is fruitfulness, which means divine generation, it is certainly a natural property of His."]

[77] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν Θησαυρῶν · Οὐκ ἂν τις εἶποι νοῦν ἔχων, ἀνόμοιον φαίνεσθαι τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱόν, ἐπεὶ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγέννησε μηδὲ Ὑἱοῦ γέγονε Πατήρ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦτο θαυμαστὴν τινα καὶ ἀκρι βεστάτην ὄψεται τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ τὴν εἰκόνα · ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Πατὴρ ἄτρεπτός τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος ὢν ἀεὶ μένει Πατὴρ καὶ εἰς Υἱὸν οὐ μετα-βάλλεται, οὕτως ὁ ἐξ αὐτοῦ Λόγος Υἱὸς προελθών, μένει τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστί, τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ ἀναλλοίωτον καὶ διὰ τούτου δεικνύων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὅμοιος ὢν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τῷ Πατρί". P. G., 75, 208 B.
[Cyril in the Treasuries: "No one having reason would say that the Son appears unlike the Father, since He did not generate nor become the Father of the Son, but rather through this one would see a wonderful and most accurate image of the Father in the Son; for as the Father, being immutable and unchangeable, always remains Father and does not change into the Son, thus the Logos, having come forth as Son from Him, remains what He is, showing in Himself the immutability of the Father and, through this, being similar to the Father." (P.G., 75, 208 B.)]

[78] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Εἰ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, ταῦτὰ ἐστι καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ (πρόδηλον δὲ ὅτι τοῖς φυσικοῖς τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἀξιώμασιν ἐναβρύνε-ται), πρόσεστι δὲ τῷ Πατρὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεοπρεπῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἀγεννήτως, ἔξει τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Υἱός. P. Θ., 75, 557 D.
[Cyril: "If all that the Father has is also the Son's (it is clear that He enjoys the natural honors of the One who begot Him), and to the Father, along with other divine goods, belongs also being unbegotten, the Son will also have this." (P.G., 75, 557 D.)]

[79] Τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος · Καὶ καθάπερ ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῇ ἀκτῖνι συμπαρομαρτοῦσα ἡ ἔλλαμψις δι' ἐκείνης ἡμῖν μεταδίδοται, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῷ Υἱῷ συμπαρομαρτοῦν δι' ἐκείνου μεταδίδοται τοῖς ἀξίοις κατὰ τὴν τῶν χαρισμάτων μετάδοσιν".
[John of Damascus in his work on the Holy Trinity: "And just as in those [radiance] accompanies the beam, and through it is communicated to us, so the Holy Spirit accompanies the Son and through Him is communicated to those worthy according to the distribution of gifts."]

[80] Ἀθανασίου ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν τρίτῳ · Οὐδὲ τριῶν ἡλίων ὑπεθέμεθα τὴν εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ ἥλιον καὶ ἀπαύγασμα καὶ ἂν τὸ ἐξ ἡλίου ἐν τῷ ἀπαυγάσματι φῶς". P. G., 26, 352-53.
[Athanasius in the Third Discourse Against the Arians: "We did not propose the image of three suns, but of a sun and radiance, and as the light from the sun is in the radiance." (P.G., 26, 352-53.)]

Father[81], that is, not separated from the Son nor outside Him, but in Him no less than with Him, proceeding and existing from the Father, receiving the same nature and substance from the Father as the Son does in a different way, and thus united with Him and distinctly, pure from the natural unity. Those who speak in this way are convinced. We do not say that the Son is the cause of the Spirit being in God the Father, because it is said to be in the Father through the Son, as some ignorantly force this purpose instead of "from" and "cause" alone, everywhere, as in wealth the greedy and violent, and in laws, the sophists act. Thus, believing in the eternal manifestation of the All-Holy Spirit from God and the Father, whether it is about the eternal existence, or about the spiritual grace, rejecting the causal cause in the blessed Trinity[82], this new mixture in one person[83]. I reject the greatest and greater and grand in the Trinity, the Apollinarian ladder; I disapprove of the Father and the Son being one existing God, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, and the subsequent dyad in the divinity. I do not tolerate the Holy Spirit subsisting from two persons, and being related to each of them as the cause, and the subsequent dualism. I do not accept considering God first, then willing, the unapproved conjunction of Ptolemy and Valentinus with the bad priority and subordination. I reject the first and second actualities in God inwardly, and various signs of thoughts, either as non-existent and empty noises introducing no doctrine and matter, or if they have truth and existence following reason, they are no different from those outlandish positions, which were far away from the Church. I deny the distinction of substantial kinds in the divine hypostases, and those considered or following the hypostases themselves. I do not like the Son and the Spirit not being distinguished unless one proceeds from the other. I disapprove of the first, second, and third ranks and extremities and midpoints, elevating the Son of God to the cause of the All-Holy Spirit, against those who used them disrespectfully and roughly. For such positions are unheard of and foreign and lead to nothing healthy, but were only devised for the construction of doctrine, from a prejudice praised by those approving them rather than following the sound word of faith, and persuading only those who, out of simplicity or inexperience or malice, cling to them, instead of the approved and old and first opinion. I hate the misunderstandings, which some attribute to the sayings of the saints, which they said in their struggles against the heretics, skillfully adapting the word to the need, and they make these into doctrine and faith.

8.I am persuaded by the great Basil, in his discourse on faith, speaking thus about himself and following the other saints. He says: "As long as it was necessary to fight against the heresies that arose from time to time, I followed those who came before me and considered it my duty to prevent or even overturn the blasphemies introduced by the devil's impiety, using various arguments as needed for those who were ill, and often employing these arguments, though not written, yet not alien to the pious mind according to Scripture. As the Apostle often did, he did not refuse to use Greek terms for his purpose. Now, however, I thought it

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[81] Τοῦ αὐτοῦ · Οὐ γὰρ ἐκτὸς τοῦ Λόγου τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Λόγῳ ὄν, ἐν τῷ Θεῷ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐστιν". P. G., 26, 633 A. Καὶ πάλιν · Τοῦ δὲ Πνεύματος ὄντος ἐν τῷ Λόγῳ, δῆλον ἂν εἴη, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ἦν διὰ τοῦ Λόγου τὸ Πνεῦμα. Ibid., C.
[Athanasius: "For the Spirit is not outside the Logos, but being in the Logos, it is in God through Him." (P.G., 26, 633 A.) And again: "Since the Spirit is in the Logos, it is evident that it was also in God through the Logos." (Ibid., C.)]

[82] Ἀθανασίου ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀϊδίου ὑπάρξεως · «Ἔσται τὸ αὐτὸ αἴτιον καὶ αἰτιατὸν καὶ γεννῶν καὶ γεννώμενον, ὅπερ ἄτοπον". P. Θ., 26, 472 A.
[Athanasius in his work on Eternal Existence: "There will be the same cause and caused, the generator and generated, which is absurd." (P.G., 26, 472 A.)]

[83] Θεολόγου · π῎Ιν' ἡ τις καινὴ μίξις, τὸ γεννητοαγέννητον. P.Θ., 36, 89 A.
[Gregory the Theologian: "What is this new mixture, the generated-ungenerated." (P.G., 36, 89 A.)]

fitting, for our common purpose, to fulfill in the simplicity of healthy faith the commandment of your love in Christ, and to speak what I have been taught by the divinely inspired Scripture, avoiding both the names and terms that are not in the divine Scripture, yet preserving the same meaning inherent in the Scripture. What introduces a strange meaning to us and is not found preached by the saints, I reject entirely as foreign and alien to the pious faith." And a little further on: "We have always and now determined to avoid any voice or idea foreign to the teaching of Christ, and the purpose now before us is quite different from those occasions when we were prompted to write or speak otherwise. For then, the aim was the refutation of heresy and the overthrow of the devil's schemes, but now, the confession and simple revelation of healthy faith is proposed. Therefore, neither the same character of speech suits us then and now. Just as a man would not take the same tools for farming and fighting (for different are the tools of those producing their livelihood in peace, and different the armors of those arrayed in war), so one would not say the same things when exhorting in healthy teaching and when refuting opponents. For the style of refutative discourse is different from that of exhortative discourse; the simplicity of those confessing piety in peace is different from the struggles of those standing against the oppositions of falsely called knowledge. Thus, we also manage our words everywhere according to judgment, using them in a way suitable for the preservation or building up of faith, sometimes resisting more strenuously against those trying to overthrow it through the schemes of the devil, sometimes explaining it more simply and intimately to those wanting to be built up in it, and doing nothing other than what the Apostle said, to know how to answer each one."

9.I also know that the great Basil conceded to Eunomius the third rank in dignity, so that in this way, by turning against the impious one, he would refute the falsehood abundantly.

10.I also know that the theologian Gregory said thus about the greater in his discourses against the Arians: "It is clear that the greater is of the cause, but the equal is of the nature, and we concede this out of great gratitude, clearly to refute you." Then he adds: "These things to those boasting of the greater." One may also find the great Athanasius, often yielding to the need of the struggles. Those who come across these and are opposed to us and the ancestral glory, like flies sticking to weaker flesh, and adding a little color of misunderstanding, then forming a certain natural argument, seek to empty the mystery according to us, thinking to have everything from this. And having captured many through ignorance of such things, they led them away as captives, doing the work of sophists, not theologians. But the great Dionysius says: "It is characteristic of those unwilling to think of divine things, not to pay attention to the power of the aim."

11.And the great Athanasius in the first against the Arians says: "It is necessary, he says, as it is fitting to do with all divine Scripture, and it is necessary, so also here, to understand faithfully the time and person and the example which the Apostle wrote, so that the reader, not knowing otherwise or taking something different from these, does not stray from the true understanding." And a little further: "When someone has the right knowledge of these things, they have the right and healthy understanding of the faith; but if someone takes it otherwise, they immediately fall into heresy." Cyril, Maximus, and Chrysostom also advise the same.

12.And even something clearly stated by one of the saints, if it does not agree with common opinions, if we cannot draw it towards the precise rule of truth with some contrivance, it must be set aside with respect to the speaker. Thus, Augustine wisely advises in his letter to Fortunatus: "We ought not to hold the discourses of anyone, even if they are some well-known Catholic men, as the canonical Scriptures, so that it is not

permissible for us, while preserving the honor due to them, to reject and disapprove anything in their writings if we find it contrary to the truth, either understood by the grace of God from others or from ourselves. I myself am such in the writings of others, as I want those who take up my writings to be."

13.Therefore, Thomas, finding Augustine saying that the soul of the first man was created with the angels before the body, and afterwards it inclined itself to the body to serve generation by its own will, although he seems to think the same about all souls from many indications, Thomas tries to reform the opinion for the better, and thus finding him in error, he sets himself with the other saints who held the true opinion. Likewise, regarding the heavenly bodies, finding Jerome and Augustine not holding the correct opinion, for they thought them to be animate, and more so Jerome, he sets himself with the opinion of Basil and our John of Damascus, knowing also this to be the opinion of the universal Church. For he was not unaware that the pre-existence of human souls, the animateness of heavenly bodies, and the ideas, and generally speaking the false doctrines of Origen, were anathematized by the Fifth Council. Gregory of Nyssa also agrees with the blessed Augustine in the apology concerning the Hexaemeron. He says: "Our writings, as if practiced in a gymnasium, should be set before those who meet them, causing no harm to anyone, if something is found contrary to common opinion in what is said. For we do not make the word doctrine, to give occasion to those who slander, but we confess to be only exercising our mind with the proposed thoughts, not putting forth explanatory teaching for those who follow." Because of this gratitude, Augustine and Nyssa are honored with the honors of the blessed, even though some of their opinions are rejected. They would not have this honor if they stubbornly held to their own opinion.

14.Therefore, following this rule of our teachers, we examine the persons, times, and needs of the statements made by the saints, and, with God's help, we do not stray from the truth. Hence, those statements of the teachers, which some sophistically or ignorantly misunderstand, we capture well and without coercion to the purpose of the truth and the subjection of Christ. Rather, we confirm our opinion about them clearly from the very words of the teachers themselves, finding no more reliable witnesses in their writings. At the same time, we have gathered the statements of the teachers, which clearly proclaim the opposite of some misunderstandings, so that in the present matter of our faith, like in a logical treatise of many words and struggles, everything is well established. With foreign ideas rejected and our own added, like in a single series of proof, made through the saints, for every need. And with God's help, nothing of our own is said, but all the words and doctrines are of the teachers.

15.Furthermore, what is even greater for the assurance of my conscience, I do not follow my own opinion, but accept the statements of the ancient teachers, along with many great teachers before me, who, during the long period of the schism, considered the addition to the Creed to be abominable. They showed this in their writings, securing their followers in the faith, as if foreseeing the future ignorance or indifference towards the faith of those to come. From both of these, many now either ignorantly or arrogantly despise our ancestral doctrine. I mean teachers like Joseph, Nilus of Rhodes, the chosen vessel, the wise and most Christian emperor Manuel, the blessed Nilus of Thessaloniki, Nilus of Constantinople, the patriarch Callistus, the patriarch Philotheos, Theophanes of Nicaea, the patriarch Gregory, a man inferior to none of the ancients, his holy synod of over seventy scholars, which now denounces those praised by some of our own, the blessed Gregory of Thessaloniki, patriarch Germanus, and those decreed by him (I omit the testimony of enemies, Barlaam), Eustratius of Nicaea. I pass by John of Russia, known as Chrestos, Leo of Bulgaria,

THIRD TREATISE ON THE PROCESSION OF THE SPIRIT

Theophylact of Bulgaria, Nicholas of Methone, Niketas called the universal teacher, Psellus the greatest of philosophers, countless others, up to the wise emperor Leo and the blessed Photius, in every rank and order, all who, with many and great books still preserved, refute those who declared the Son of God the beginning or cause of the Holy Spirit in the Creed of Faith, and those who believed the earlier decreed matters in Florence. Although many of these writings came about after our city was liberated from Italian slavery, some, escaping the hands of the Latins, the older ones, were preserved. How many works of fire are likely to have been made by the Latins, who held the city for over sixty years? They were not likely to cherish them, criticizing them sharply. And those who did not write, who never undertook such endeavors, who could count them? I do not mean the older ones of great lineage and power at that time, but those a little before us and those in our time, like Nicholas Cabasilas, a man equaled to the ancients in spirit and wisdom, patriarch Euthymius, the chartophylax Balsamon, a foremost leader in all wisdom, Meletius the teacher of teachers, Isidore of Thessaloniki, countless others, of whom we now are but dregs. Therefore, we would be ridiculous, as Plato said in Theaetetus, considering ourselves to say anything while rejecting the ancient and all-wise men. But let us not proceed to such a great danger. If someone mentions Cydones and Kalekas, it is not surprising in the spiritual threshing floor of the church that tares and thorns, and other evil seeds, also grow. Such was also Beccus, but more than seventy scholars of the Church refute his doctrines word by word, whose vote convicts those who now and afterwards resist, resembling them as statues do the living, if not worse, since they are unaware of being so. Will we, then, forsaking the ears of grain, pay attention to the tares? Forsaking the blossoming meadow of Christ, with continuous flowers blooming year after year, exuding a wonderful fragrance, will we be content with two or three cut and trampled ones? Moreover, Cydones and his student Kalekas, persecuted for the sake of the Akindynian and Barlaamite heresies, allied themselves with the Latins and their doctrines on the procession, having nowhere else to turn. They found the Latins favorably disposed to that heresy, and Cydones became even more fervent than the Latins for Thomas, whom the Romans honor with the honors of the blessed, equally with the ancient teachers. Before him, they said the Roman doctrines on the procession had nothing sound. Such is the strength of the testimony from our leaders.

16.Therefore, since God has given us some critical power, and exercising it as far as we can according to the established laws, we find our Fathers after the Latin schism not only agreeing with the teachers, but also with the holy scriptures and councils, and instructing us in nothing contrary. Hence, we are led not only by reverence towards the Fathers and their wisdom and virtue, as indeed those with sound mind among laypeople ought to be disposed, knowing that after the Latin schism, they rightly judged this doctrine and, cleansing the belief concerning the procession of the All-Holy Spirit from all troublesome chaff, have handed down to us a pure meal, considering it sufficient for truth and salvation for those who cannot judge for themselves. But daring to judge somewhat about them by the power sent to us by God, although small, yet greater than our other purposes, we find them, by the grace of Christ, walking the truly royal path which our King and Lord Jesus, the overseer of truth, and His subordinate leaders and shield-bearers, led by His Spirit, walked. Thus, they received the statements of the ancient and first teachers as consistent with the canonical scriptures, the apostles, the councils, and the teachers of faith who excelled in them.

17.For indeed, the teacher of truth and the first and only best and most sufficient interpreter of the procession of the Spirit, Jesus, said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, but is sent by the Father through Him. This is what it means: "Whom I will send to you from the Father." For He says, "The Paraclete

will come, sent from me from the Father," that is, from the Father through me; for it is the Spirit of truth, that is, of me, and it will accomplish the common work of the Trinity, bringing the testimony about me to the knowledge of the Trinity for those who believe. This Spirit indeed proceeds from the Father, from where I also came forth. For I came forth from the Father eternally and have come in time." For even though it is sent from both into creation, and is sent as coming no less authoritatively, yet it proceeds from the Father into its own hypostasis. Wouldn't it seem unharmonious for His true disciples, even now, to dare to deliver to us the eternal procession of the Spirit and its temporal mission by different canons and terms? Therefore, they did not dare, but all harmonize with the chief. For they knew that, valuing something else, they would fall away from the truth. For Gregory of Nyssa, in his work against Eunomius, says: "Our Lord Jesus Christ appeared on earth and lived among humans, so that people would no longer form opinions about being according to their own ideas, making doctrines out of conjectures, but, convinced that truly God was manifested in the flesh, we may believe that the mystery of godliness delivered to us through Him, the Word and God, who spoke to the apostles through Himself, is the only true one." And observe their agreement, anyone with sense and knowing piety. The blessed Apostle Paul says that the Holy Spirit is of God and from God, that is, from the Father, but never says from the Son, only that it is the Spirit of the Son and of Christ.

18.In the acts of Saint Andrew it is said: "Peace to you and to all who believe in one God the Father, and in His one Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and in one Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and remaining in the Son." Gregory the Wonderworker: "One Holy Spirit, having existence from God, and revealed through the Son, namely to humans." The First Council: "Receive one divinity of the Father, who ineffably begot the Son, and of the Son who was begotten from Him, and of the Holy Spirit who proceeds from Him, the Father, being of the Son, as the Apostle says: 'If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, they do not belong to Him.'"

19.The great Athanasius, agreeing with this, in his letter to Serapion concerning the Spirit, says: "Therefore, those who think wrongly about the Holy Spirit do not think rightly about the Son either. For if they thought rightly about the Logos, they would also think healthily about the Spirit, which proceeds from the Father and, being of the Son, is given by Him to the disciples and all who believe in Him. This is the healthy belief concerning the Spirit, for it is the straightforward teaching of Christ." He also says in his dialogue against the Orthodox and Montanists: "Just as there is no intermediary between the mind and the word and the breath, so there is no intermediary between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The Spirit must be understood as perfect, proceeding from the Father in perfect hypostasis." In another dialogue, he says: "Nothing precedes the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but the Son is begotten of the Father, and the Spirit proceeds from the Father." And again: "For He did not unite an angel to the divinity, nor did He attach a creature to Himself and the Father, but the Holy Spirit, which proceeds from the Father, and receives from Him and is given." In his discourse beginning with "We believe in one God," he says: "The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father, is always in the hands of the sending Father and the bearing Son." In the fifty chapters concerning the natural equality of the three divine persons, he says: "What is God? The beginning of all, according to the Apostle who says, 'One God, the Father, from whom are all things'; for the Logos is begotten of Him, and the Spirit proceeds from Him. Then all creation came into being creatively through the Logos in the Spirit."

THIRD TREATISE ON THE PROCESSION OF THE SPIRIT

20.The Second Council, against Macedonius, who said the Spirit proceeds creatively from the Son alone, says: "And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who is worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son." The same is stated by the remaining councils up to the Seventh, adding nothing about the Spirit (for it was sufficiently developed, both concerning the essence of the Spirit and the cause of its origin, against which Macedonius babbled), nor about the issues raised in each, but all after the Third adhered to the decrees, those about not adding anything to the Creed, both observing it in practice and declaring it verbally similarly to the Third.

21.Gregory the Theologian, being present at the Second Council, says: "But what will you do with the procession, tell me, appearing in the midst of your division and introduced by a greater theologian than you, the Savior? If you have not removed that voice from your Gospels for your third testament: 'The Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father.' As much as it proceeds from there, it is not a creature; as much as it is not begotten, it is not a Son; as much as it is between the unbegotten and the begotten, it is God." He also says: "Therefore, standing on our grounds, we introduce the unbegotten and the begotten, and the one proceeding from the Father, as the divine Word Himself says." The great Basil, in his letter to his brother, says: "Since the Holy Spirit, from whom the gift of all good things to creation springs, is dependent on the Son, with whom it is inseparably associated, but has its existence from the cause of the Father, whence it also proceeds, this has the distinguishing mark of its hypostatic property, that it is known after the Son and with Him, and exists from the Father. The Son, recognizing the Spirit proceeding from the Father through Himself and with Himself, shining forth uniquely from the unbegotten light, has no commonality in the distinguishing marks with the Father or the Holy Spirit, but is known by these said marks alone." He also says: "Properly, the Son is from God, and the Spirit is from God, since the Son came forth from the Father, and the Spirit proceeds from God; but the Son is begotten of the Father, and the Spirit proceeds ineffably from God."

22.The same: "We must believe as we were baptized; we were baptized in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. But the Father is unbegotten, the Son is begotten, as light from the sun, and from the mind the word; the Holy Spirit is the procession from the Father. Therefore, the property of the Father is unbegottenness and being called Father; the property of the Son is being called Son and being begotten from the Father; and the property of the Spirit is being called Holy Spirit and proceeding from the Father." The same: "And he who said 'the Spirit' alone, included in this confession both the one of whom the Spirit is, that is, Christ, and the one from whom it is, that is, from God, as the Apostle says." Gregory of Nyssa: "The Spirit proceeding from the paternal hypostasis." And again: "Shining forth through Him, having the cause of its hypostasis from the archetypal light." And again: "Having the cause of its being from the God of all, from whom the Only Begotten is light, shining forth through the true light."

23.Maximus, in his explanation of the holy Dionysius: "The radiance of His own coming into existence as a living image, and the All-Holy Spirit proceeding worshipfully and ineffably from the Father, as the Lord mystically teaches." The same in the same: "That is, the ineffable radiance of the Son from the Father, and the inconceivable procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father." The same in his discourse to Macedonius: "But the Son is begotten from the hypostasis of the Father, hence the Only Begotten Son; and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father." The same in his dialogue between the Orthodox and the Manichaean: "The Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father." John Chrysostom: "As the Son said of Himself, 'I came forth from the Father and have come,' so He gives this to the Holy Spirit, 'who proceeds from the Father'; for what

is not written should not be thought." Cyril in his work against Julian: "The Spirit proceeds ineffably from the Father, and is given to creation through the Son." The same in his commentaries on Luke: "But we say this, the Logos was not baptized bare and by Himself, but was partaker of the Holy Spirit. For we know that He is God and bodiless and holy among the holy; for they confess that we have all received from His fullness. For the Holy Spirit proceeds from God and the Father and is also proper to the Son. It is said many times, the Spirit of Christ, the Holy Spirit proceeding from God and the Father, and testifying, saying, 'You are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you; but if anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to Him.' And again, 'Because you are sons, God sent the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' Therefore, as I said, the Holy Spirit proceeds from God and the Father, is given to creation, and given to the worthy, as the Only Begotten Son of His Word, truly and by nature the Son, excelling in the honors of the Father."

24.The same in his commentary on "When He Comes": "We love the truth and the doctrines from the truth, and we will not exalt ourselves over them, but following the faith of the holy Fathers, we say that the Paraclete, that is, the Holy Spirit, is proper to the Son, and not externally imported, nor acquired in Him, as it is in those capable of holiness, who have their origin from non-existence, but consubstantial with Him as indeed also with the Father. Thus, the power of ecclesiastical doctrines will not drift into polytheistic mythology for us, but the holy Trinity is bound into one principle of divinity. In this way, showing the unity of the substance, He calls Himself and that of God and the Father, saying that the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, proceeds from the Father, and clearly and unmistakably refutes the wholly blasphemous Christ-fighter. For the one who wished to totally blaspheme against the Son would likewise be thought to err against the one from whom He is. Therefore, when the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, comes, that is, Mine, who proceeds from the Father, He will testify about Me." The same in the resolution of Theodoret's accusation: "For the Holy Spirit proceeds from God and the Father according to the voice of the Savior, but it is not alien to the Son; for it has all things with the Father." And again in his works against Hermias: "The Father brings it forth from His own nature, and the Son gives it to the worthy." The same in his letter to John of Antioch: "In no way do we tolerate the faith defined by some to be shaken, that is, the Creed, given by our holy Fathers who met in Nicaea, nor do we allow ourselves or others to change any word written there, nor even to transgress a single syllable, remembering the one who says, 'Do not remove the ancient landmarks which your fathers have set.' For it was not they who spoke, but the Spirit of God and the Father Himself, who proceeds from Him and is not alien to the Son according to the substance."

25.Those who misunderstand other sayings of Cyril and force them to their own opinion, in which he attacks Nestorius with all his might, are experiencing what Athanasius says happens to those who do not consider persons, times, or circumstances in their interpretations of Scripture. Cyril himself reproves them in these very words: "When some of those accustomed to perverting correct statements twist my words to suit themselves, let not your Holiness marvel at this, knowing that even those of every heresy derive the occasions of their delusions from the divinely inspired Scripture, perverting what is rightly spoken by the Holy Spirit with their own evil thoughts and drawing unquenchable fire upon their own heads." Moreover, the blessed Damascenus says: "This we worship, the Father, begetter of the Son, unbegotten; for the Son is not from anyone else, but begotten of the Father as from himself; the Holy Spirit of God and the Father, as proceeding from him, which also is said to be of the Son, as manifested through him and imparted to

creation, but not having existence from him." I pass over his other very clear sayings. The blessed Andrew of Crete says: "For neither can the Father be seen otherwise than in the Son, nor the Son in the Father, nor the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, reside in the Son by essence and rest as consubstantial and co-throned and co-equal with both." I pass over the sayings of the blessed Theodorus the Graptus and of the holy patriarch Nicephorus; but instead of all these, it will suffice to take up the very council in the seventh synod as sealing it. For, after setting forth the symbol of faith in its definition, it ends by saying: "We follow the ancient decrees of the Catholic Church; we observe the institutions of the Fathers; we anathematize those who add anything or take away anything from the Catholic Church; these things were confessed by our Lord and his disciples and the ecumenical councils and the Fathers who shone forth in them, in which they publicly confessed to the common faith and delivered the true faith privately to their disciples, as teaching us in the manner of history." Thus, it was also with our Fathers after the addition to the symbol. After much care over so many years, they showed with words, writings, and even blood that they did not accept it, except as bearing the same mind as the previously mentioned ones. The sayings, which those who assert the addition forced, they most piously drew to this common rule of faith, not contradicting and violently dragged, as in the other misunderstandings. With these, the blessed Mark, shepherd of the Ephesians and leader of our assembly in Florence, and the only one who fought for the glory of the Fathers, and alone remained steadfast in good resistance, and caused the praiseworthy change for those who had fallen. Thus thought the holy and wise men of our time. I do not know how, in a short time after their departure, all were taken into the choir of the blessed ones who had gone before. What remained but to happen the things that happened? So, suffice it to say; I also think by the grace of Christ, seeking peace with all men and praying for it, but not abandoning the ancestral truth, and desiring to unite all men in it, if they wish, but otherwise keeping myself from those who do not think the same, knowing the laws of the Church, and to speak of the whole, having previously proposed all those things, as at the beginning of this confession, I believe with my soul and confess with my tongue that God the Father begets from his essence his Word ineffably and brings forth from his same essence the Holy Spirit beyond all utterance, consubstantial, co-eternal, and co-divine persons, distinguished from each other by generation and procession, that is, by the different manner of their subsistence from the Father, yet being in each other by nature, as having the same essence numerically from the Father and at the same time having the same relation and order to the cause. I express in numbering the persons by preposition, saying to believe in the Father, the Son from him, and the Spirit from the Father through the Son, either because of the Word being considered generatively and being proclaimed, or because in the Son, by reason of the unity of essence; I know only the hypostasis of the Father as the beginning and cause of the Son and the Spirit, either separately if anyone blames the word, or jointly as the cause of both, that is, unbegotten and without cause; but I do not understand the Son of God and the Holy Spirit as cause or beginning or producer of the Spirit, either as God fearing the Spirit, or as the Son reverencing the monarchy and the paternal property in begetting, nor even the unity sought and unheard of the productive power, referring to the same things and causing the same fear in both; nor shall I ever share with those who think thus; but if anyone abolishes what was decreed in Florence about the Son of God being the beginning and cause and producer of the Spirit, and that the Spirit has existence from the Son as cause and beginning, unequivocally, indisputably, without deceit, in writing, as said by no one of the saints, nor in the ecumenical councils, nor in the sacred scriptures, and understanding the evil misinterpretation of the preposition, and

then confesses to me that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father as from the beginning and cause subsisting it naturally; wherever it is said to proceed from the Father through the Son, understanding this because of the connection of essence and its unity, as receiving its being with the Son and in the Son, and having one essence with the Son from the Father at the same time, in the differentiation of persons, I shall be united with him as much as in the question about the Spirit; for about other matters, there would be another discourse.[84]

26.Therefore, I have set forth our opinion in summary, or rather the opinion of all the saints and our Fathers, because I noticed that some were ignorant of our ancestral doctrine. However this may happen to them, driven by the love of truth and the desire to benefit others, I thought it necessary not to overlook them, so that we would not be guilty of neglecting them. For the more zealous, the two volumes of works I have composed are sufficient, and before them, the numerous and excellent books of our teachers sufficiently manifest the ancestral doctrine. But it was necessary to provide also for those who are not like them, so that our doctrine might be well known to all by God's help. Thus, I can say: What should I have done that I have not done for the glory of truth and the honor of the Fathers? What should I have pointed out to their children that I omitted in the guidance, being the least in the last times, placed by God's providence in the rank of those who can say something about the faith? May it be for the benefit of both him and me and those who agree with us. It is impossible for those who prefer the evangelical voice to human sophistries not to be tried by some hardship or danger. Having done this, I will be silent, leaving it to God to oversee the doctrines of truth and His Church as He knows best, imploring everyone and praying that none may carelessly, worldly, or unbelievingly consider or handle these matters, nor associate with those who are led by any of these passions or all of them.

27.No Greek will dare to say anything against this, our confession, unless he is a patricide or matricide, and among those who degrade the Church, our mother, sophists from among us, who ought not to have endured, replacing the true sons of the Church who piously fought for her. Otherwise, one who pays attention to childish chatter instead of the filled mind of our holy Fathers. I do not speak at all about those who are not from our Church. For neither are we subject to their laws, nor they to ours, since they embraced their peculiarities. This is the confession of my faith. Thus I believe in the procession of the Holy Spirit from God the Father, that is, His subsistence. Concerning ecclesiastical correction, that is another matter. May the Lord correct what concerns it as He wills, and we pray, even if we cannot, for to Him belongs the glory forever. Amen.

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[THE END]

[84] Ἤγουν περὶ τῆς προθέσεως καὶ τῶν ἀζύμων · καὶ ὁμοῦ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας · Ἀκινδυνισταὶ γὰρ οἱ Λατῖνοι, ἢ μᾶλλον, οἱ Ἀκινδυνισταὶ λατινισταὶ ἦσαν · ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ οὐδὲν ἧττον τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐκ πορεύσεως δόγματος, ἀποπεμπτέα ἐστίν.
[That is, concerning the addition and the unleavened bread; and together concerning essence and energy. The Latins, or rather, the Latinizers among the Akindynists, also hold these, which should be rejected no less than the doctrine about the procession.]